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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain 102 papers, 32 roundtables, and 5 symposia. Among the papers are "Weathered by Their Experiences" (Aiken); "Politics of Knowledge and Theory Construction in Adult Education (AE)" (Alfred); "Self-Directed Learning as a Political Act" (Andruske); "All Things Bold and Beautiful" (Armstrong); "Violence Against Women" (Baird); "Learning to Unlearn White Supremacist Consciousness" (Barlas et al.); "Ontology at Work" (Beckett, Morris); "Adult Literacy Classroom as a Social System" (Beder et al.); "Action Research on Documenting Learner Outcomes" (Bingman); "Voices from the Deep" (Boshier); "Contesting Criticality" (Brookfield); "Making Mathematics Come Alive" (Brown, Uhde); "Telling Stories and Creating Participatory Audience" (Butterwick, Selman); "Motivation in AE" (Carre); "Researchers as Co-Learners" (Castleden, Kurszewski); "Women's Development at the Margins" (Clark); "Road Map or Mosaic" (Daley); "One Year After Enrollment in Literacy Programs" (Ebert, Bingman); "Lifelong Learning" (Edwards, Usher); "Interdictions & Benedictions--AIDS Prevention Discourses in Vancouver, Canada" (Egan); "Is the Learning Organization for Real?" (Ellinger et al.); "Women Crafting New Work" (Fenwick, Hutton); "Leadership for Adult and Continuing Education (ACE)" (Fleming, Caffarella); "AE in the End of the Century" (Fragoso, Lucio-Villegas); "Research That Hurts or Research That Helps?" (Gorman); "Feminine Pedagogies and Graduate Adult and

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Proceedings of the
41st Annual
Adult Education Research Conference

Edited by
Thomas J. Sork, Valerie-Lee Chapman and Ralf St. Clair

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June 2-4, 2000
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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June, 2000

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Preface

Academic conferences spring up like mushrooms whenever the conditions are right for the spores to take root. What delegates experience as a few days of professional and social exchange depends upon a rich substrate of anxiety, dedication, teamwork, conflict, struggle, and creativity that makes up the conference environment. The nourishment for growth comes from the process of decision making, ranging from major policy issues – like how many paper slots are allocated to each participating organization – to the mundane – like which APA rules should we observe and which should we ignore in the *Proceedings*. The healthy condition of this conference is a compliment to the hard work and dedication of individuals around the world who were involved in nurturing its development.

This meeting began with a proposal to host the 41st Annual Adult Education Research Conference at the University of British Columbia. AERC was last held at UBC in 1980, so the adult education faculty felt it was time to have it back in British Columbia. But in our proposal to AERC we suggested that the Vancouver conference should follow on the pattern established at the University of Leeds in 1988 and at Birkbeck College, University of London in 1997 by making this a more international event. Several research groups were invited to participate and become involved in selecting the presentations. Such an arrangement requires each research group to give up a bit of autonomy for the greater good, so we are thankful to the Steering Committee of AERC for agreeing to this proposal and working with us to bring this genre of conference to North America. The five participating research groups are the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC), Adult Learning Australia–Research Network (ALA–RN), the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE), the European Society for Research in the Education of Adults (ESREA) and the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA).

Having had the benefit of previewing all 625 pages included in the *Proceedings*, we can confidently say that this conference includes an exciting range of research problems, contexts, methodologies, theoretical orientations, and narrative styles. We are also pleased that we were able to introduce the Research Roundtable as a session format this year. Although a bit of an experiment at AERC, this format encourages discussion of research-in-progress and research-related issues that don't lend themselves to paper sessions and symposia, so we hope it is retained for future conferences. We find ourselves looking forward to the sessions with great anticipation.

The conference is heavily dominated by researchers from the Northern Hemisphere – not surprising given the relative sizes and locations of the participating groups and the fact that the conference is in English. While it is natural that we focus on the work that is included in the conference, it is also important that we reflect on whose work is not included and why. The gatekeeping function served by adjudication groups is an important quality control device, but it can also exclude innovative and controversial work, both of which are needed in adult education. One of the challenges for 21st Century adult education will be to become and remain more inclusive than has been the case in the 20th Century.

We want to thank the current Steering Committee of AERC – Mary Alfred, Paul Armstrong, Amy Rose, and Edward Taylor – for their support, encouragement and wise council. We owe a special debt to Paul Armstrong and his colleagues who planned the 1997 SCUTREA conference in London because we have borrowed shamelessly from their good work in preparing for this conference. We also want to thank Paul Bouchard and Bill Fallis, President and Past-President respectively of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, and members of the CASAE Executive Committee, for agreeing to incorporate the 19th Annual Conference of CASAE into AERC 2000. Similar thanks are extended to the Executive groups of ALA-RN, ESREA and SCUTREA for agreeing to be partners in this conference.

The members of the five adjudication groups who selected the sessions to be presented at the conference are owed our collective thanks for reading all the proposals and making the difficult decisions about which to accept. The chairs of the adjudication groups were Griff Foley, Tom Nesbit, Edward Taylor, Richard Taylor and Miriam Zukas.

This conference would not be possible without the help of dozens of staff, students, faculty and graduates of the Department of Educational Studies at UBC. Those who took on major responsibilities include Cynthia Andruske, Marlene Atleo, Jo-Ann Archibald, Roweena Bacchus, Amanda Benjamin, Shauna Butterwick, Valerie-Lee Chapman, Ralf St. Clair, John Egan, Michael Fisher, Garnet Grosjean, Shibao Guo, Cheryl Jeffs, Katherine McManus, Michael Marker, Glen Menzies, Suzanne Moore, Tom Nesbit, Paschal Odoch, Alejandro Palacios, Dan Pratt, Shauna Pomerantz, Adnan Qayyum, Kjell Rubenson, Bonnie Soroke, Rick Thomas, Rosemary Taylor, Gongli Xu and Jeannie Young.

Patricia Vertinsky, Head, Department of Educational Studies and Nancy Sheehan, Past Dean, Faculty of Education, provided both financial support and encouragement.

The danger of listing names is that someone will inevitably be left out, so to those of you who have helped but not been named, our thanks.

We hope you enjoy the conference and the *Proceedings*.

Thomas J. Sork
Valerie-Lee Chapman
Ralf St. Clair

Papers

Weathered by Their Experiences: Black Women Returning to RN Completion Programs

Lolita Chappel Aiken
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Abstract: *The purpose of this study was to explain factors that affect the participation of Black women in RN completion programs.*

Understanding why adults participate in education and how to structure educational programs to optimize their retention in and completion of these programs has been a longstanding research interest in the field (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). With the increasing accessibility of higher education in the past 20 years, adults over 25 now constitute nearly half of the U.S. students in post-secondary institutions (Levine & Cureton, 1998). Alongside this growth in participation has developed an impressive body of literature that seeks to explain adults' participation in undergraduate education (Donaldson, Graham, Kasworm, & Dirkx, 1999; Kasworm, 1990). One stream of this research, which has examined barriers to participation, has identified situational, institutional, dispositional, and informational factors (Cookson, 1989; Merriam & Brockett, 1997). However, an emerging body of literature has suggested that these factors do not recognize that the experiences of Black and White adults returning to higher education are different (Briscoe & Ross, 1989; Fleming 1984; Moses, 1989). In fact, the studies on Black women in college classrooms (Johnson-Bailey, 2000; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996) have found that these factors, while relevant, do not account for the primary issues faced by these women. Rather, it has been argued, Black women's participation in college is uniquely affected by struggles around race, class, and gender in the wider society (Hayes & Colin, 1994).

The problem this study seeks to address is that the research literature on the participation of adults in higher education has rarely focused on factors affecting Black women. The few studies that have examined the experiences of Black women have not addressed the participation of these women in programs in which nearly all of the participants are women, such as in a nursing program (Sokoloff, 1992). Some studies have focused on their classroom experiences only, while others have examined the participation of Black women, but in generic undergraduate programs. Thus, an undergraduate nursing program for adults provides a unique context in which to more clearly isolate the effects of race from gender on the college experience. The purpose of this study was to explain the factors that encouraged and discouraged the participation of Black women in RN completion programs.

Background and Methodology

During the 1990s several comprehensive reviews of the literature were published (Donaldson, et al, 1999; Kasworm, 1990; Hayes & Flannery, 1995; Spanard, 1990). This literature generally focuses on the uniqueness of adults' experience in comparison to the traditional 18-22 year old student. Thus, issues of race have received little to no treatment in the studies covered in these systematic reviews. Kasworm (1990) provided a comprehensive review of research published between 1940 and 1986 on adult undergraduate learners in higher education. Forty-six years of research studies did not include the race of the learners and, race was not mentioned in the review. Hayes and Flannery (1995) provided a systematic review regarding adult women's learning in higher education. They found that only six articles referenced race or ethnic groups of women and only three devoted significant attention to racial or ethnic differences among women. Black women were not the focus of any study. Hayes and Flannery (1995) concluded that most research continues to focus on White middle class women. Spanard's (1990) review of factors that motivate and barriers that hinder participation of adults in higher education found that institutional barriers include location (place), schedules (time), fee structures (cost) and campus friendliness. Again, however, issues of race never surfaced as a factor in the participation of adults in higher education. The most recent review of the research literature by

Donaldson, et al (1999) presents a comprehensive model of six major elements of adults' college experiences that can "explain adult student involvement in higher education"(p. 2). Even with the continued expansion of racial and ethnic diversity of adult learners in the 1990s, this review continued the trend of previous reviews in its lack of attention to how issues of race affect the participation of adults in higher education. Research that has specifically examined the experiences of Black women returning to college have found that the issues of participation for these women "are different and exist in the long shadow cast by a society driven by race, gender, and class hierarchies" (Johnson-Bailey, 1999, p. 29). Although reentry Black women experience some of the same situational, psycho-social, and institutional barriers as White women, such as doubts about ability, program scheduling, and lack of financial aid, they considered these issues as secondary to other barriers (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996; Johnson-Bailey, 1999).

The purpose of this study required an approach that would not objectify the Black woman's voice while recording her experiences. Thus, a qualitative design and a Black feminist theoretical framework guided this study (Hill Collins, 1995). A constant comparative methodological design was used to analyze the data. The process involved grouping and categorizing the interview data that had similar units of meaning. Three criteria guided the purposeful sample selection. The first was that the women had to self identify as being Black because the women shared an African descent and a history of oppression. The second was that the Black women had to be registered as a nurse and have received an associate degree or a diploma in nursing. The success of an initial degree or diploma would have been behind the participants. The last criterion was the Black women had to be currently enrolled in or had graduated from a RN completion program within the last three years. Seven of the ten women were attending RN completion programs and three women had graduated from a program. All programs were located in the Southeastern U.S.

Findings

The factors that encouraged the participation of Black women in RN completion programs were internal and external to the women.

Factors Encouraging Participation

A belief in God and/or Spirituality was identified as the major internal factor. Most women in the study spoke of God or a spiritual journey while participating in RN completion programs. Black women said they shared experiences with God and that God played a motivating force in their educational experiences. Betty stated that, "I think it all goes back to the grace of God. He watches over me day to day." Shelly agreed that "My biggest support is God. He shows me who I can depend on... He really wants me to be a nurse or that's in the plans for me. Mary identified God as her motivator and protector, saying, "God was just pulling me through. It's just God and I believe this program came along at the right time, you know."

All of the women shared stories of *determination*, the second internal factor. Some women stated they were determined to complete the program while others stated the importance of being goal driven or self motivated. For example, Betty stated that, "I had looked at the curriculum but I was determined. I came in with the attitude that I was going to graduate."

Eight of the ten Black women attached *social mobility* to the educational success of earning a BSN. As Betty explained, "I got overlooked for jobs because I didn't have the title BSN." Sara claimed that, "This degree will help me get a better position..." Joyce views the BSN as a "stepping stone" to where she really wants to be. Sharon shared these sentiments and stated, "My purpose was to get my BSN and move forward." Mary concluded that "Blacks study to better themselves and need the BSN to move into other health related professions..."

Having *previous experience* as a RN was a factor that encouraged participation. Eight of the ten women found that successful completion of an accredited nursing program and having the experience of being a practicing RN gave Black women courage to participate in RN completion programs. Betty explained it this way, "diploma graduates are the best, even though we have to go back to school for life...Mary said that her attitude was different when she returned for the BSN because of her previous nursing experience. "I didn't have the fear like, I am not going to let you graduate. And they can't really hurt you because you are already a nurse. The degree can't be taken back. So your attitude is different. You are more confident."

Factors Discouraging Participation

The factor of the *experience of being other* was prevalent throughout these women's experiences. Black women were able to live in the two worlds, the Black world and the White world (Hill Collins, 1995). These women were aware that they were the other, and it was just a fact of life. When being the other could not be tolerated by the women, it was viewed as discrimination. The experience of being the other did not stop the participation of Black women in RN completion programs although it did discourage such participation. Black women in the study noted a difference in the ways they were treated in the classroom and in the clinical areas as compared with their White colleagues. Of particular interest in this category, all women in the study used code language. This type of code language was synonymous with Hill Collins' (1995) insider/outsider language. For example, Melissa's code language was vivid throughout her experiences. Words such as "their," "they," and "White women" were used in reference to White people while "I," "we," and "Black women" were used in reference to Black people. Melissa stated, "we [Black students] tried having study groups but with only two of us [Black students] because nobody else showed up." Sara's code words were "we," "us," "they," and "them." Sara stated, "Sometimes you want to talk about your background which is all right. It's as if we aren't as important or intelligent as they are. . It's because she grew up different [from White Americans]." Joyce shared a story that exemplified the concept of the experience of being other and the story was told using code language. Joyce stated, "Once we were doing a presentation and she (the teacher) said she wanted it to be fifteen minutes. They [White students] got up and went on and on and on... It was like, they just thought they [White students] knew everything and did not follow the rules." The Black women saw themselves as the other in the classroom and in the clinical arena. This is significant for this study because it allows readers to understand the magnitude of the sense of other in the lives' of Black women. Hill Collins (1995) would analyze this factor as Black women being on the margins versus being at the center in the classroom and clinical practice.

Racism was manifested throughout the educational processes of the Black women. The *culture of racism* was a major factor that discouraged participation of Black women in RN completion programs. Properties that emerged from the culture of racism included injustice, psychological distress, and denial. These properties supported the culture of racism because they aided in the maintenance and perpetuation of the status quo.

The concept of *injustice* was noted throughout the educational experiences of the Black women in the study. Injustices were manifested by way of intimidation, difference in treatment, silence, misdiagnosis, ignoring, and humiliation. Shelly stated that injustices were carried out in her practicum setting in covert ways. She shared her perspective on dealing with injustice as it relates to differences in treatment afforded Black nurses because of race.

The way I look at it is some things need to be left unsaid. The reason I get in trouble all the time is because I speak out against what I feel are injustices. If you're Black and you seem to have a decent [level of] intelligence, they are going to get rid of you...or you are going be isolated.

The culture of racism was maintained through a property called *psychological distress*. Psychological distress occurred over injustices. Joyce's example shows this.

She [the teacher] would tell them [White students] that they [White students] could do extra things for credit like their e-mail and web pages. You know, we [Black students] didn't know a thing about it. We could have made our own web page. When we came to class, they had set up their web page and were showing it to us and everything. We knew nothing about a web page for extra credit.

Psychological distress was evident when Joyce concluded, "we [Black women] were sitting there looking stupid. We surely could have used the extra credit."

An example shared by Marie was in regard to being touched by the teacher in a physical health assessment class. Marie experienced psychological distress when the teacher made it obvious that she did not want to touch her and that the information in class was not meant for her.

Some of the other students did have some problems. She (the teacher) did seem a little distant but I could tell that she was more willing to touch, you know one on one, with some of the other [White] students, in terms of touching body parts... Her [the

White teacher's] distance didn't make me feel good at all....

Denial of racism was used as a strategy that protected Black women from their reactions to racism in the classroom and in the clinical areas. To deny racism included the realization that Blacks were treated different from Whites in a system that supports racism. Usually the resulting denial of racism causes one to mask the truth, which will lead to further oppression. Denial of racism was a barrier to participation in RN completion programs because the Black women justified injustices. The denial of racism was obvious as Melissa shared her experiences in the classroom. According to Melissa, she has never experienced a confrontation in the classroom with classmates. "In fact, they [White women] always ask me, "Why you so quiet?" You know around that situation [racist situations] there, I just know how to be when you are in a situation like that. You are just quiet and you just say what you have to say and that's it. You don't say any more. You don't say no less, no more than what you need to say. I don't know if that's a hindrance or what." When Melissa was asked if she could have spoken out in class, she answered, "No, I never said anything. It was just like that's the way it is, no one really said anything. I didn't feel comfortable enough to speak out against it. I didn't because when people are brought up that way you can't really change them." Melissa experienced denial and feelings of powerlessness, yet she denied racism and offered justifications for racist actions by stating that people will not and can not change if raised in a racist community.

Mary maintained that she has not experienced racism while in the program. She shared the following incident which analysis highlights as a racist experience. Mary posited, "I have had no problems, and I am not experiencing racism." However, she told stories of attendance policies that were enforced by Black teachers and followed by Black students but not White teachers or White students. When the attendance policy is not followed by White students, Mary stated,

> *I am just not going to try it.... And I think that is just a general thing being Black. Just like your mama told you, "You can't do what the White people do." You understand. See the rules apply to who they want them too. I mean if they clearly say that you can't miss any more than one class, well, if you do, what do you have to stand by? Whereas, we have had White people who have missed several and it's just kinda, okay.*

At the conclusion of this story Mary further stated that "I am not experiencing racism. It just works out for me."

Discussion

Participation has probably been the most studied phenomenon in the field of adult education. However, the vast majority of this literature does not offer an understanding of how the basic interlocking structural characteristics of race and gender affect adults' decisions to participate and remain in higher education. The results of this study differ most dramatically from the research summarized by the comprehensive reviews (Donaldson, et al., 1999; Kasworm,1990) in the factors that discourage Black women from participating in higher education. Whereas previous research cites barriers such as inconvenient scheduling, lack of confidence in academic abilities, and conflicting life roles (Donaldson, et al., 1999), this study found that issues of race (Experience of Being Other) and racism (Culture of Racism) were the strongest barriers to participation. The women shared stories of injustice in their individual stories and explained how the course content of their respective programs supported a culture of racism. They also reported that Black women were treated differently in classes as compared to their White classmates. My conclusion is that being a Black women in society is such a fundamental marker of experience that it overwhelms other issues and becomes the central defining factor in their decision to participate and remain in higher education. Given that race strongly predicts participation in adult education, the results of this study should not be surprising. This study does not discount those variables found in earlier studies that used White women (Hayes & Flannery, 1995) or all adults (Kasworm, 1990), nor does it contend that those findings are not applicable. However, I suggest that those factors are played out in the long shadow of being a Black woman in American society. Another example of barriers being understood differently are the psycho-social factors cited in the literature that include self-esteem issues and past experiences as a student. Black women experience these factors as psychological distress, resulting from the Culture of Racism and the Experience of Being the Other.

Finally, this study has implications for all research on participation in higher education and adult education, more generally. By studying Black women as reentry students from the perspective of Black feminist thought, we can develop a more complete understanding of the college experience for all adults. This study both widens and sharpens the research lens so that for the first time, we can also see the advantages of being an adult White woman in higher education. By universalizing the college experience so that issues specific to Black women were not accounted for, prior research has largely taken whiteness to be the normative experience for all adults (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, in press). The literature has not done this for gender and according to Hayes & Flannery (1995) even as the literature seeks to make visible the gendered experience of reentry women, it has so largely for white women. Hopefully, this research can open up new avenues for research about adults in college that takes account of the factors that both privilege and disadvantage them as they seek to negotiate and complete this important educational degree.

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The Politics of Knowledge and Theory Construction in Adult Education: A Critical Analysis from an Africentric Feminist Perspective

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Abstract: *The Eurocentric worldview has dominated research and practice in adult higher education at the exclusion of other worldviews. Using the contours of the Africentric tradition, this paper examines the philosophical assumptions of andragogy and self-directed learning for their applicability to understanding and facilitating learning and knowledge construction among members of African descent.*

Introduction

The concept of cultural diversity in higher education in the United States has been restricted to discussions and debates focusing primarily on enhancing the presence of students and faculty of color, with special emphasis on retention and recruitment (Blackwell, 1987; Carter & Wilson, 1994). A more important dimension of cultural diversity that has received scant attention is the diversification of the philosophical foundations of higher education. If we hold the assumption that the various institutions found in our society mirror the predominant values of that society, then it is reasonable to assume that the philosophical underpinnings of adult higher education emanate primarily from a European-American worldview. As a result of this ethnocentric and exclusive worldview, theories and models are conceptualized, for the most part, with little regard for the worldviews or epistemological orientations of the other ethnic group members of our society. Noting that the dominant theories influencing the practicing of adult education were developed using the Eurocentric epistemological orientation, we must continue to challenge the underlying assumptions that the values present in these theories are universal to all groups.

Andragogy and Self-Directed Learning: Two Major Concepts of Adult Learning

Within the last quarter of this century, andragogy (Knowles, 1975, 1984) and self-directed learning (Houle, 1961; Knowles, 1975; & Tough, 1971) have dominated the field of adult education. These theoretical constructs have been the momentum for much research, debate, and practical implications in the field. Malcolm Knowles (1975, 1984) popularized the concept of andragogy, "the art and science of teaching adults" from pedagogy, "the art and science of teaching children" within United States adult education. The concept of andragogy has the following assumptions: (1) Adults need to know why they need to learn something before undertaking to learn it; (2) adults have a self-concept of being responsible for their own decisions and for their own lives; (3) adults come into an educational activity with a greater volume and a different quality of experience than youths; (4) adults become ready to learn those things they need to know and be able to do it in order to cope effectively with real-life situations; (5) adults' motivation to learning is enhanced if the learning is relevant to every day life; and (6) the most important motivation to learning comes from an internal desire to learn. (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 1998, pp. 64-68).

Another major theoretical construct that has dominated adult learning theory is self-directed learning. This concept grew out of andragogy and suggests that adults have a need to direct their own learning. According to Caffarella (1993), "From this perspective, the focus of learning is on the individual and self-development, with learners expected to assume primary responsibility for their own learning. The process of learning, which is centered on learner needs, is seen as more important than the content" (p. 26). The assumptions of self-directed learning, therefore, view the learner as having the power and the intellectual capacity to diagnose, plan, implement, and evaluate her own learning.

While these learning theories have dominated research and the practice of adult education, it is important to continue the critical analysis of these legendary works to determine whether the values and assumptions that these espouse still hold as valuable constructs in the evolving field of adult education in a multicultural society. In addition, adult education must consider other worldviews, philosophical models, and theoretical constructs in order to build more inclusive institutions of higher learning. One alternate philosophical model that has received little attention in adult education is the Africentric model (sometimes referred to as the Afrocentric model). The Africentric model can be used as a lens through which to critically examine models of adult education theory and practice for their inclusiveness and adaptability to an audience beyond those of European descent.

Therefore, the primary question guiding this analysis is "To what extent are the values and assumptions that the concepts of andragogy and self-directed learning espouse culturally relevant in today's field of adult education that values diversity and different ways of knowing and knowledge construction?" This paper, therefore, will examine the philosophical assumptions of these theoretical constructs from the perspectives of critical Africentric feminist epistemology (Collins, 1990).

The Africentric Perspective

The Africentric model has been described as a philosophical model based on traditional African philosophical assumptions (Asante, 1987, 1988; Baldwin and Hopkins, 1990, Schiele, 1994). A basic assumption of the Africentric conceptual framework is that African Americans have a distinct cultural orientation (Asante, 1987; Baldwin, 1981; Nobles, 1980; Schiele, 1994). In addition, it is assumed that despite the influence of the Euro-American culture, African Americans tend to operate within the influence of the African worldview (Baldwin, 1984; Nobles, 1980). Therefore, efforts to understand African American relationships and experiences must incorporate the values and principles of the African American worldview. As Bell, Bouie, and Baldwin (1990) note, "The African-American worldview is rooted in the historical, cultural, and philosophical tradition of African people. This worldview incorporates Black behaviors and psychological functioning from the perspective of a value system which prioritizes the affirmation of Black life" (p. 169).

According to Schiele (1994), "Afrocentricity is viewed as being distinct from and oppositional to Eurocentricity with a distinct set of cosmological, ontological, epistemological, and axiological attributes" (p. 152). Cosmologically, the Africentric model holds the view that all elements of the universe are interconnected (Nobles, 1980) and that humanity, nature, and the self are conceptualized as the same phenomenon. Ontologically, the Africentric model assumes that all elements of the universe are spiritual, and that they are created from a similar spiritual substance (Akbar, 1984; Nobles, 1980). The focus on spirituality supports the cosmological view of interdependency and assumes that for elements to be considered interdependent, there must be a universal link and that link is the spirit of the creator (Akbar, 1984; Baldwin, 1981; Nobles, 1980). Epistemologically, the Africentric perspective places considerable emphasis on an affective way of obtaining and demonstrating knowledge (Akbar, 1984, Asante, 1988; Schiele, 1994). Constructing and acquiring knowledge through emotions or feelings is considered valid and critical from an Africentric perspective. Affect as a means of knowing does not discount the concept of rationality, but suggests that there are alternate ways of knowing that must be considered. The axiological dimension emphasizes the value of interpersonal relationships. The maintenance and enhancement of harmonious interpersonal relationship is considered the most important cultural value in the Africentric tradition (Schiele, 1994).

Building on the Africentric worldview, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) has proposed an Africentric feminist epistemological framework for understanding and assessing knowledge claims among people of African descent, particularly Black women. As Collins (1990) notes,

> Despite varying histories, Black societies reflect elements of a core African value system that existed prior to and independently of racial oppression . . . and that Black people share a common experience of oppression . . . This Afrocentric consciousness permeates the shared history of people of African descent through the framework of a distinctive Afrocentric epistemology. (p. 206)

Africentric feminist epistemology acknowledges a way of knowing that is grounded in African centered traditions. According to Sheared (1996), "among Africentric feminist and Africentric scholars, the term is used to address the ways in which people of African ancestry construct their worldviews" (p. 10). Although Collins (1990) developed the framework from the perspective of Black women's standpoint, it is by no means exclusive to Black women.

Analysis of Adult Learning Theories from the Africentric Feminist Perspective

The Africentric feminist perspective is based on the following assumptions: (1) concrete experiences as a criterion for meaning; (2) the use of dialog in assessing knowledge claims; (3) the ethic of caring; and (4) the ethic of personal accountability (Collins, 1990). These assumptions provide a framework for the analysis of andragogy and self-directed learning to determine their applicability to other ways of knowing that are not rooted in the European-American tradition.

Concrete Experience as a Criterion for Meaning and Credibility

This dimension highlights the importance of personal experience as central to the learning process and suggests two types of knowing—knowledge and wisdom (Collins, 1990). According to this concept, one acquires knowledge through wisdom, which is the ability to negotiate the forces in one's life through intuition. For the African American, it is knowing how to live and survive despite oppressive forces. It is through the validation of such wisdom that knowledge is acquired. One of the assumptions of this view is that anyone making a knowledge claim must have acquired first hand experience of the claim in order to be viewed as credible. This calls for the instructor/facilitator to disclose personal experiences relevant to topics under discussion. This practice highlights the humanness of the instructor and encourages marginalized students to move closer to the center and find their voice to articulate their own experiences, albeit different from those of the majority. Unless students with alternate worldviews can find their voices to articulate their constructed knowledge, only the experiences of elite students will form the bases for knowledge construction and validation, thus perpetuating the tradition of power domination in knowledge construction.

Andragogy and self-directed learning acknowledge the importance of the learner's experience in facilitating adult learning; however, they do not acknowledge the facilitator's experience as a valuable part of the pedagogical process. From the Africentric perspective, this is critical because as Collins notes, "For most African American women, those individuals who have lived through the experiences about which they claim to be experts are more believable and credible than those who have merely read or thought about such experiences (p. 209).

The notion of experience, however, remains elusive in these learning concepts. African American experience in centered in a culture of race, class, and gender oppression, which is often managed through wisdom or intuitive knowledge. What is not clear is the value that these learning concepts place on subjective knowing. In a Eurocentric educational culture that values objective ways of knowing, the degree to which other ways of knowing are brought in from the margin to the center must be explored. The elitist nature of objective ways of knowing can suppress the learning and knowledge construction among those situated in the Africentric tradition.

Use of Dialog in Assessing Knowledge Claims

Dialog implies a talk between two subjects, not a speech of subject and object (hooks, 1989). Learning in communities and groups where dialog occurs is one of the hallmarks of the Africentric epistemological framework. This dimension emphasizes connection rather than separation in the construction and validation of knowledge. The importance of finding one's voice to articulate one's knowledge claim is supported through this epistemological dimension.

Andragogy and self-directed learning emphasize learning as an individualistic process with a primary goal of self-development. Caffarella and Merriam (1999) in their discussion of self-directed learning note, ". . . learning on one's own or self-directed learning has been the primary mode of learning through the ages . . ." While this may be so, I suggest that the tasks mastered or acquired from the learning project or activity do not remain solely with the individual learner; that the activity (accomplished or unaccomplished) is shared and discussed with other individuals and groups. Therefore, andragogy and self-directed learning do not address the social implications of the learning . For knowledge to be validated, it must be made public, and that is done in relationships with individuals or within a community. Although andragogy highlights the need for dialog between instructor and student and suggests the benefits of collaborative learning, it does not emphasize the relationship that develops among students. Therefore, these learning concepts minimize the importance of contexts, social relationships, and connections as important dimensions in the construction and validation of knowledge. For members of the African Diaspora who are oriented towards the Africentric tradition of collectivism, the individualistic nature of these learning concepts (in their pure form) may become barriers to learning and community building.

The Ethic of Caring

An ethic of caring suggests that personal expressions, emotions, and empathy are central to the learning and the construction of knowledge. This dimension of the Africentric framework places great emphasis on individual uniqueness within an African-centered collective identity, the use of emotion and dialog in learning, and the capacity for empathy in understanding another's knowledge claim (Collins, 1990). Self-identity can only be articulated and validated in relationships and connections of mutual trust. Andragogy and self-directed learning perspectives highlight the importance of a trusting environment in facilitating adult learning. According to Knowles (1984), the responsibility of the facilitator is to "provide a caring, accepting, respecting, helping, social atmosphere" (p. 17). It is assumed that such an atmosphere will promote an ethic of care and encourage the articulation of one's self-defined standpoint. While this suggestion is highly regarded, the theory is simplistic in its ideology that participants, upon entering the classroom, will dispense their prior judgements, myths, and assumptions about other cultural groups to create this environment of trust and acceptance. It also assumes that we all come to the classroom with the same positional power (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1997) and it fails to account for sociocultural differences that determine who gets heard and whose experiences get validated.

The Ethic of Personal Accountability

This dimension suggests that, not only must individuals develop their knowledge claims through dialog and present them for the validation by others, it also suggests that those making knowledge claims are expected to be held accountable for their claims. According to Kochman (1981), "Assessment of an individual's knowledge claims simultaneously evaluate an individual's character, values, and ethics. African Americans believe that all views expressed and actions taken are thought to derive from a central set of core values and beliefs (Cited in Collins, 1990, p. 218). This suggests that those centered in the Africentric tradition evaluate not only the knowledge that is articulated, but also the person who is making the claim. This highlights the Africentric view of the personal and subjective nature of learning, which emphasizes that one cannot separate what is known from the one who claims to know.

Andragogy and self-directed learning theory do not factor in the assessment of knowledge claims and the credibility of the one making the claim. Although self-directed learning promotes assessment of one's learning, it does not emphasize the critical assessment of others' claims. Because African Americans have had their experiences and histories distorted and misrepresented, they remain suspicious of those who claim to be experts (Guy, 1996). Since andragogy and self-directed learning focus primarily on the learner, they fail to acknowledge the social consequences in the process of knowledge construction.

Summary

These two concepts about learning construe the learner as an individual with equal power to make decisions about her learning with little or no regard for extraneous or contextual variables. Both andragogy and self-directed learning focus primarily on the individual perspective and view learning as a purely psychological phenomenon. The psychological paradigm holds the notion that learning is a cognitive process and is internal to the individual (Caffarella, 1993). This view disregards the social construction of knowledge, which is of significant value among members of the African Diaspora, women, and other ethnic groups.

The concepts of andragogy and self-directed learning tend to ignore the politics of positionality (power relations, race, class, gender, and ethnicity) and their influence on the teaching and learning dynamics in the classroom (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1997). They support the notion of universality with the assumption that adult educators can use one design strategy or theoretical model with all participants.

Despite the shortcomings of these concepts, they have had a profound impact on our understanding and practice of adult education. Both concepts stem from humanistic philosophical orientation that fosters individual growth and development in a respectful, caring environment. They support the Africentric value that the learner's experience is a powerful tool in the construction of knowledge. However, the learner's experiences are not conceptualized from the same perspectives. Africentric experiences are conceptualized in communities, through the oral tradition of story telling, music, dance, and other affective ways of knowing. The concepts of andragogy and self-directed learning highlight the value of the learner's experiences in the construction of knowledge, but do so from an individualistic and private sphere and not from a sociocultural context.

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Self-Directed Learning as a Political Act: Learning Projects of Women on Welfare

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Abstract: *This paper explores self-directed learning of women on welfare in their transitions to paid work and education as political act, and expands the definition of self-directed learning to the political realm.*

Background and Purpose

For the past year, I have been following the transitions from welfare to paid work and education of 21 women living in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. In these communities, taxpayers, policymakers, social workers, lawmakers, employers, and others, often stereotype women on welfare as lazy, dependent, unmotivated, undirected, lacking initiative, and possessing few if any skills. However, I have found a different story. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how women on welfare are self-directed learners engaging in a variety of learning projects as they navigate structures in their transitions to paid work and education. As self-directed learners, women on welfare actually become political change agents as they attempt to control and to initiate change in their everyday worlds in response to oppressive external structures.

Theoretical Framework

Over time, numerous definitions have evolved for the concept of self-directed learning. Sometimes definitions overlap, causing confusion and sometimes even contradictions between meanings (Chovanec, 1998). Some definitions include dimensions of process and personality; others are multidimensional; still others itemize characteristics of the self-directed learner. Some even include social contexts of self-directed learning. According to Candy (1991), "The term self-direction embraces dimensions of process and product, and that it refers to four distinct (but related) phenomena: 'self-direction' as a personal attribute (personal autonomy);... as a willingness and capacity to conduct one's own education (self-management);...as a mode of organizing instruction in formal settings (learner-control);... as the individual, non-institutional pursuit of learning opportunities in the 'natural societal setting' (autodidaxy)." (p. 21).

According to Brookfield (1984), adult educators need to expand the definition of self-directed learning to include marginalized groups, for researchers tend to focus on self-directed learning amongst the white middle class or within educational institutions. Brookfield (1993) maintains that adult educators need to consider that self-directed learning is often political, for power and control are frequently catalysts for self-directed learning influenced by "political" structures and conditions. Learning is an activity influenced by social contexts, not divorced from them (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991; Candy, 1991). Furthermore, social contexts provide arenas for self-directed learning influenced by structures locally, globally, and cross-culturally (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991). According to Brookfield (1993), concerns over the omission of "political context, cultural contingency, and social construction of self-directed learning activities" have been in the background for a while. He notes that Brockett and Hiemstra (1991) recommend: "The political dimension of self-direction continues to be largely overlooked by adult educators, and this needs to be remedied" (p. 220). Brookfield (1993) argues that self-directed learning is inherently political in nature, and maintains that, "Instead of being equated with atomistic self-gratification, self-direction can be interpreted as part of a cultural tradition that emphasizes the individual's standing against repressive interests" (p. 225). Moreover, when individuals take control of their learning, it will likely bring them "into direct conflict with powerful entrenched interests" (p. 237) and structures.

In his theory of social practice, Bourdieu (1977) maintains that individuals tend to operate within dynamic fields of forces or symbolic sites, called fields, where collective symbolic struggles occur for positions based on an individual's strategies for delegating or imposing decisions on others (symbolic violence) (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990). Within fields, individuals strategize for position and power depending upon their dispositions (habitus), social capital (networks), cultural capital (education), and symbolic capital (prestige). Bourdieu acknowledges the individual operates as a creative, social, and political agent. Bourdieu (1977; Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990) has explored individuals' social relations individually and collectively within 'fields of social practice' as they strategize to maximize their life opportunities. Bourdieu's theory can be applied to women's transitions from welfare to paid work and education, for he proposes a way of thinking to describe and analyze individuals holistically as social actors by examining the "genesis of the person and of social structures and groups" (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 3). Furthermore, this theory offers a way to analyze practical life dialectically by taking into account "the interplay between personal economic practice and the `external' world of class history and social practice" (p. 3). Thus, we may look at the relationship and interplay of social structures and the ability of individuals as social and political agents to navigate through and within social spaces by examining the individual's patterns of practice in everyday life. Furthermore, Bourdieu purposes social relations link individuals to dynamic collectives of persons bound together in socio-structural relationships reflecting micro and macro structures within everyday worlds.

I believe that women on welfare, while undertaking self-directed learning endeavors, engage in "political" activities that challenge structures that control their lives. They participate, actively, and in some cases, unwittingly, in struggles to challenge structures, agencies, and individuals by acquiring knowledge through self-directed learning projects leading them to strategize ways to gain control over their lives. Using Brookfield and Bourdieu's work as a backdrop, I maintain that women on welfare engage in self-directed learning endeavors as political acts leading to greater power and control over their lives as they act as agents against repressive structures.

Research Design

To explore these theories, I have been interviewing three groups of women on welfare: 9 women age 40 and older, 5 women with children under age 7, and 7 women in their thirties. Selected through snowball sampling, these 20 single women and 1 married woman on welfare, are participating in my year long study with interviews at 3 month intervals. I chose the first two groups, for they seem to 'fall between the cracks' of government policy and programs. The third group tends to be the focus of government policy. Since the purpose of this research is to explore women's transitions and learning within their everyday worlds, I am collecting data through thematic life history interviews. These include: welfare, education, learning, work, family, children, and transitions. However, for this paper, I am focusing on how women become active political agents through self-directed learning endeavors. Life histories link women's lived and unlived lives, experiences, and relationships to social structures over time (Alheit, 1992); Bertaux, 1981). This approach highlights structural influences and women's abilities to plan their lives while instigating changes on institutions, agencies, and individuals through dispositions they discover through self-directed learning "projects."

All women, except two, are mothers of at least one child. Two women grew up in very affluent homes while others grew up in low income working families. Only two women were raised on welfare, and their mothers later left welfare for paid work. Before resorting to social assistance, three women indicated that their combined spousal income surpassed $120,000 a year. All but two women have a GED (General Education Diploma) or Grade 12, and one woman is one credit short of Grade 12, but she has attended college. Currently, 6 are enrolled in college; 5 are working; 3 have disability benefits; 1 lost her job recently; and the others are on welfare.

Findings

Initial analysis of the transcribed, taped interviews indicates that self-directed learning endeavors play a significant part in women's lives as they attempt to leave welfare. Women acquire knowledge, information, and benefits that assist them in their transitions to education and paid work. Analysis of the interviews reveals that women's self-directed learning projects result in women becoming political agents seeking to regain control over their lives in five areas: welfare entitlements, education and training, employment, legal rights, and health resulting in social justice and citizenship. The following excerpts highlight the themes resulting from learning endeavors women undertook to facilitate their transitions from welfare to paid work and education.

Often, women research welfare policy to find out their entitlements, for welfare staff frequently do not alert the women to available benefits that may help women with employment and health. For example, Moe took it upon herself to read every new pamphlet in the welfare office. Frequently, she said, "I read every pamphlet that I can get my hands on in the welfare office. Often, find information that you're entitled to, but nobody takes the time to tell you about them." For example, she discovered services, like pre-employment programs exclusively for abused women, or benefits, such as medical entitlements, not mentioned by her social worker. Lila, also, continually asked questions and took it upon herself to read government policy on her entitlements. "The only way I was able to get my IUD is that I knew from reading *BC Benefits* that I was entitled to birth control. Even though my male social worker said that it only covered birth control pills, I demanded that I be given the IUD, for did they really want to interpret the act so strictly as to put me in danger of becoming pregnant!"

Not alone in her experience, Tumbleweed found that the only way she could gain access to education and training was by engaging in intensive research on programs, services, and career opportunities before she was "allowed" to enroll in a pre-employment program. Tumbleweed was told by her social worker that she was "too old to go to school because in five years she would be 45, and no one would want to hire her." Undaunted, Tumbleweed began going around her community and researching the programs and services available to her by talking to program staff and reading program descriptions. She also enrolled in mini career-planning courses to help her find a direction for a career that would not "take her forever." Finally, after a couple of months, she returned to her social worker and showed her what she had found. Reluctantly, the social worker "gave her permission" to enroll in a pre-employment program that would help Tumbleweed practice skills and help her find a career through education and training.

After staying at home for seven years, Mary decided that she would like to return to the workforce now that her son was in school. She knew that her work skills were a bit rusty, so she set out to improve them while researching potential jobs and following up on any leads to jobs. At home, Mary had a computer, so she bought a software program to help her improve her typing speed through daily practice. At the same time, Mary took several mini-workshops on resume writing to find out the best way to market herself. In the meantime, she took a very part-time job at a retail story with the hopes of advancement or of gaining some experience to find another job. In her spare time, Mary enrolled in a series of mini-seminars to help her with interviewing skills, overcoming barriers, career planning, and networking. Then, she applied to a government agency and was called to write an entry exam; however, after three weeks of waiting, she discovered that she had failed the exam. Undaunted, she got out her old GED book and began reviewing math and English skills. After several months of hard work and self-directed study, Mary was hired for a limited two-week contract with the same government agency. Now, while she is waiting to be recalled, she is continuing to practice and improve her skills through her self-directed endeavors.

I was amazed to discover through my conversations with Mia and Lovey that many women on welfare engage in complex legal research to help them become experts in divorce and custody battles with vindictive ex-partners. For example, Mia told me, "I've spent hours in the public library, college library, and the law library to research my legal rights. I have to know them because I need to know what the judge and my ex's lawyer are saying and how it will affect me and my children. Also, I have to know my rights and the questions I have to ask my lawyer." She continually haunts the libraries, for she must help her lawyer to keep cost down, for with the new legislation, women on welfare are no longer entitled to legal aid for divorces or child custody. Lovey says the same thing, and she keeps abreast of policy changes, in part, through her volunteer job at a library where she can read new policies and legislation pertaining to divorce and child custody.

Lilith has become an expert on her anxiety and eating disorders through her continual self-directed research projects. For example, Lililth reads any new policy and legislation she can find on health benefits. She also continually searches out programs that might help her with her anxiety. She has discovered by investigating the Web, medical books, and other resources the kind of care she needs. This is not offered in her community. She has also found out through her explorations that "I've learned more about my disorder than any of the health professionals or social workers. I know the kind of programs that I need. I don't need to be given pills or put in the hospital again for what I have. What I need are breathing exercises of a particular type, and you can only get these, if you're lucky, in Vancouver. No one wants to help, and they certainly can't believe that a woman on welfare would know as much as I do about her condition." Lately, she has gone to Vancouver on her own to seek out a program. Now, she is on a two month waiting list with the hopes of getting into a program that offers the service she needs.

Observations

What I found most significant is that women are undertaking often quite complicated learning projects requiring much research on policy, laws, consulting with staff from a variety of agencies, the Internet, and various texts. What is really interesting is that most women do not see this as self-directed learning, nor do they understand the complexity of their research endeavors. They often say that they are just "doing what needs to be done." As mentioned, women must research welfare policy to find out their entitlements, for welfare staff frequently do not alert them to available benefits. For education projects, women research much information for careers as well as ways to "get permission" from authorities to pursue their career goals. They undertake complex research of child custody and support laws and policies in order to get benefits from ex-husbands as well as ways to divide property assets with ex-spouses. Women tend to see research on health as a way to get services, benefits, or even medication for themselves or their children.

From my discussions with and observations of the women in my study, I have watched how their "learning projects" have brought them into direct conflict with government bureaucrats and others. However, in the end, many of the women's learning endeavors have enacted them as political agents creating change in their lives and those of their children. Moreover, many have shared this information and success with others attempting to make transitions. Many of the women's self-directed learning projects have led to greater social justice for them as well as different treatment of them citizens. Although often surprised, bureaucrats generally grudgingly gain respect for women's learning and their efforts to leave welfare. Furthermore, women's learning projects help them as political agents of change take some control and power back from a variety of agencies, institutions, and individuals.

Implications for Adult Education

Examining self-directed learning endeavors of women on welfare has implications for adult educators. First of all, as Brookfield (1993) mentions, this type of research pushes us to expand the definition of self-directed learning to include marginalized individuals instead of just the middle class or professionals. Secondly, this exploration pushes the definition of self-directed learning into the political realm and beyond just personal development and self-fulfillment. Thirdly, as adult educators, we can look at self-directed learning in the social context as it is influenced by external, social forces, and structures. Fourthly, this research would help staff from government training programs understand that women on welfare have greater skills and need more than just life skills or budgeting in their programs. Fifthly, this research helps "emphasize women's interdependence, connectedness, and the politics of nurturance" (Brookfield, 1993, p. 240) to women's transitions and of their actions as political agents of change. Finally, this research encourages us to notice that women on welfare through their actions are political agents seeking to regain control and power over their lives as they navigate social spaces and social structures in their everyday worlds.

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All Things Bold and Beautiful: Researching Adult Learning through Soaps

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Abstract: *This paper proposes that, globally, informal lifelong learning outside of education institutions is often neglected, and that cultures of learning must recognize and value a wide range of informal learning. In popular culture, soap operas have both intentionally and unintentionally been sites for learning, and their significance need to be more thoroughly researched. But this challenges conventional methodologies. Innovative approaches are needed, including the use of chat forums on the worldwide web, through the internet.*

Popular Culture as Cultures of Learning

In Britain, the Labour Government was elected on a manifesto slogan of 'education, education, education'. Since coming into power in May 1997, there has been a substantial amount of political rhetoric around lifelong learning, with a limited amount of redistribution of resources towards it. As yet, there is very little evidence of a significant let alone radical shift in terms of practice. A National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (NAGCELL) was set up soon after the Labour Party took control, under the leadership of Professor Bob Fryer, the former principal of Northern College, a residential adult education college in South Yorkshire. In its first report, *Learning for the Twenty-first Century*[1], there were a number of radical ideas, built around the identification of the need to build cultures of learning. If Britain was to become a learning society, then there had to be a revolution in attitudes toward valuing learning. Many employers as well as other kinds of communities who could benefit from lifelong learning, it was argued, currently exclude themselves, or are excluded, from the 'pleasures and achievements'[2] of lifelong learning. Nothing short of a revolution would challenge this exclusion. This report had a clear but constrained influence on government policy, as represented in *The Learning Age*[3] in February 1999. This was initially intended to be a statement of government policy on lifelong learning, but was urgently downgraded to a policy consultation document as the implications became apparent.

As the Government began to implement some of the more feasible and conservative aspects of *The Learning Age*, the National Advisory Group was re convened in order to look at a narrow range of issues relating to policy implementation. The second report, *Creating Learning Cultures*[4], however, took a broader perspective on how to build the Learning Age. Moreover, this was set in the context of the risk society - changing cultures and cultural change. Among the ten characteristics of the risk society[5] identified by the Advisory Group are 'the increasing variety and pluralism of popular culture' and 'the growing importance of communications and information technology to many aspects of our lives'[6]. The main concern is for those who are excluded from lifelong learning. Whilst the assumptions and values behind this viewpoint need to be challenged, that is not the purpose of this paper. Rather, it will pick up issues relating to the recognition that learning could take place through popular culture:

> ...policy-makers and providers need to devise strategies and policies which go with the grain of its (the contemporary world) of its positive and popular features so that people can make imaginative use of them. This includes learning from and working closely with those organizations and individual who already know how to achieve success – through imaginative outreach, the engaging use of new information and communication technologies, and through creativity in the fields of popular culture, music, sport, communications and entertainment.[7]

If this is recognizing the potential of popular culture and the world of entertainment to promote lifelong learning, and to argue for parity alongside structured and accredited education programs, then this is a major revolution in attitudes among policy-makers. However, this potential does need to be researched and not merely taken as axiomatic, or it will not be able to justify its validity alongside national learning targets and qualification outcomes.

The use of popular culture in creating learning cultures therefore needs a more thorough examination.

Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) and Learning

This paper focuses on a rather narrow range of both popular culture – soap operas – and ICT. And the media – television – is hardly new technology, although the digital revolution is transforming its capacity in conjunction with cable and satellite. The use of television in educational broadcasting has been around for a very long time, and is relatively well researched. According to Fieldhouse, 'it is arguable that broadcasting has been the major adult education agency of the twentieth century'[8]. Where the literature goes beyond the techniques of using television as a 'window on the world' in the classroom, or a major teaching strategy in distance education, into a more cultural analysis of the uses of television, it has largely been researched with children, and in particular concentrating on the effects of violence in the media[9]. Its application to adult learning is somewhat limited, and largely negative. For example, in terms of learning for citizenship or political democracy, the interests of the dominant class are assumed to be served by the media: television supposedly engages people in non-critical, passive entertainment as an alternative to adult education classes which will develop their political awareness and critical thinking skills[10]. This paper is proposing the view that far from being about passive non-learning, television viewing can have tremendous potential for stimulating critical commentary and raising awareness of a wide range of issues, not least through popular cultural programs including soaps.

In order to move beyond the critique of the hegemonic power of television, it is important to engage with the thesis. In particular, the work of Raymond Williams is important, for he not only provided critical insights into television as a cultural phenomenon, but was himself an experienced adult educator, and brought these interests together[11]. As early as 1961, he was denying that 'telly-glued masses' exist[12], and that a deeper understanding of working class popular culture was needed. That analysis came through, in part, the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: it was 'the place to be'[13]. As Julie Fenton has put it:

> Acknowledging the faltering of the purely political imperative, the CCCS work to uncover and celebrate those counter-hegemonic practices within working-class culture which resist the influence of dominant culture.[14]

Part of the CCCS analysis was to look at the genre of soap operas as cultural studies. As the literature indicates, the analysis of soap operas is multi-dimensional. There are debates about genre – what are the defining characteristics of a soap opera that set it aside from any other television program? Whilst this is problematic, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss fully. According to Allen, the defining of a program as a soap is by no means clear-cut – it depends on target audience, interpretive communities, and transnational and transcultural factors[15]. Second, there is the relationship between soaps and everyday life – do they accurately reflect society, or are they unrealistic or distorted fictions? Third, how useful is the notion of social capital in explaining the popularity of soap operas[16]? Transnational factors play a part in this – how realistic is an American soap viewed in Romania? Then there are questions about the characterization and actors whose professional and private lives can be heavily influenced by regular appearances in television soaps. This analysis is focusing on soaps as popular culture through which informal or incidental learning may occur.

Soap Operas: What Can They Teach Us?

During the writing of the final stages of this paper, a British national radio station broadcast a live phone-in discussion about the realism of soap operas. One caller expressed his view:

> *It seems to me that today most young people get their education about HIV, eating disorders and marital relationships from soap operas. That's sad.*[17]

This assertion needs researching. If indeed it were true, then soap operas, consistently the most popular programs on British television carry a significant responsibility, equivalent to schools and colleges. A content analysis of British soaps over a period of time shows (1) that educational issues are intentionally raised in only a minority of episodes of a very few soaps; (2) there is considerable evidence of values and attitudes being promoted and sustained through soaps towards a number of social and political issues and problems, including health, welfare, employment and learning itself. Sometimes soaps are praised for raising delicate issues such as sexual abuse and rape, eating disorders, infidelities, and drug abuse; at other times, they are criticized for being too serious and failing to entertain because the issues being dealt with are so sensitive. The issue of whether this is a *sad* state of affairs may be a reflection of one's position on social capital. Whilst soaps, and television in general may be seen as devices through which an individual's social capital is reduced with declining participation in civic associations, there is evidence of increasing informal networks around soaps. Through the worldwide web, there are enhanced and global opportunities to engage in discussion about soap operas. The number of chat forums that focus on specific soaps or on soaps in general are vast, and the level of participation is high with thousands of messages and contributions to the chat added everyday.

Because of space restrictions this paper is concentrating on an example of intentional learning: the use of television soaps to 'normalize' the problem of illiteracy, to convey the notion that this is a common problem faced by many people, and that with the commitment of the individual and the support of education and training bodies, progress can be made. Dymock[18] argues that television has contributed to the extent of illiteracy as a problem, because of the ease in which it can disseminate information, including verbal information, meaning that people no longer need to read or write – technology can communicate on their behalf. It is somewhat paradoxical, therefore, that the Australian government increased funding to develop a national television teaching series aimed at adults who had literacy difficulties. This was the experience elsewhere too. Literacy through television is part of education broadcasting[19]. In this context, Druine and Wildemeersch conclude that "the most important learning today encompass both television and radio airwaves"[20]. Television is more than a vehicle for developing literacy. From a liberatory perspective, television has its own literacy that needs to be critically decoded and interpreted[21]. It is a significant part of culture.

In two leading national soap operas in Britain, literacy has been dealt with as part of the narrative of the soap. Most recently, the writers of *Coronation Street*, set in a working class community in urban Manchester in the north of England, have revealed that Tyrone, a 17-year old tear-away from a lone-parent family, could not read, which he is embarrassed and angry about, but is persuaded to discreetly undertake reading lessons from a local resident, a retired teacher. In *Brookside*, set in a small neighborhood in Liverpool, also in the north of England, where the working classes and middle class live side by side (and where class conflict often features as a theme), the literacy theme is less part of the narrative than part of a national campaign. The executive producer of *Brookside*, and the chairman of the company that makes the series, Phil Redmond, had been approached by a leading international novelist, Ken Follett (whose partner, Barbara is an elected member of the Labour Government) to get involved in a new literacy campaign in early 1998, the National Year of Reading in Britain. Redmond had already been castigated in the late 1970s when his children's TV program about a school, *Grange Hill*, told a story about a 12-year old boy who could not read. Redmond was told at the time that no child could enter secondary education without having been taught to read. We now know better. Redmond believes that literacy is vital, and was happy to pick the theme up again in *Brookside*, a series that attracts around six million viewers (*Coronation Street*, along with *EastEnders* based in London, are the two most popular soaps in Britain, with around 15 million viewers each).

It was appropriate because the soap is renowned for dealing with a wide range of issues. Redmond had already worked with the government's Department of Health and the Home Office to raise awareness of anti-drugs campaigns through the program. Redmond, recently made honorary professor of media studies, at the John Moores University in Liverpool, is at pains to insist, however, they do not just take the government line, but do their own research and develop their own storylines. Thus the story of Niamh Musgrove, a woman who had been successful in her job for many years until the company decided to become computerized. We then discover that all this time she had not been able to read due to disruptions to her schooling, and yet had developed successful strategies for overcoming this disadvantage. Now it was out in the open. She could no longer manage her unit, as her charges could no longer respect her. Her family was embarrassed, as they had been unaware of this (even though she had four children, two of whom were adults). After a little struggle coming to terms with recognizing her 'problem' she is also persuaded to do something about it, and goes along to the local further education to undertake a literacy campaign. We are shown how welcoming and caring the college is. From this point the story becomes less significant in the series, but it is evident that she quickly acquires literacy skills.

This raises two issues about realism. Some argue that the situation was unrealistic, because she could not have hidden her disadvantage for as long as she did; nor could she acquire the skills as quickly as she did. Second, as the story came to light, the program ended with an advertisement, using the characters from the soap to promote a new literacy campaign, 'Brookie Basics'. As many as 800 centers across Britain, most of whom are quality kitemarked by the Basic Skills Agency, agreed to use the campaign and the materials the *Brookside* company produced in conjunction with the City of Liverpool Further Education College. A national telephone hotline would put callers in touch with their local literacy center. However, on a global scale, and compared with many Australian and American soaps, including *The Bold and the Beautiful*, British soaps are generally characterized by their attempt to reflect real issues and contexts[22].

Researching Learning through Television

Unfortunately, to date it has not proved possible to get any research data on the success of the literacy campaign through *Brookside*. We are told that there was a 'substantial response' to the program, but no data has been published on take up and success. This raises issues to do with the basis of research for learning through watching soaps. Whilst a statistical analysis might be useful, there is also a qualitative dimension to this. Given the global nature of soaps, it is feasible to carry out a series of qualitative studies using the vast networks of soap opera viewers that exist through internet chat forums. As well as being evidence of social capital, these can be a potentially rich source of research data, although the use of the net and chat forums do pose some genuine concerns in terms of both reliability and validity. There is evidence to suggest that some of those who engage in discussions on the net not only wish to remain anonymous, but intentionally misrepresent themselves. This has two effects. The first is that we cannot collect demographic data very easily. Whilst we have a vast amount of views and opinions expressed, it is not easy to associate them with even basic independent variables such as gender, ethnicity, nor age. So, if wished to know whether women more than men learned through soaps, we might be able to get some indication from the web, but names used are not always a good indicator of gender, not only because of cultural differences, but because of pseudonyms chosen. Second, if there is a possibility that if chat participants are prepared to misrepresent their identity, then they may also misrepresent or exaggerate their views. On the other hand, there is a vast amount of data that can be examined and critically analyzed, and placed in the context of what is already known about those who watch soaps[23].

Notes

[1] National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (The Fryer Report) (1997), *Learning for the Twenty-first Century*. London: Department for Education and Employment.

[2] National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (The Second Fryer Report) (1999), *Creating Learning Cultures: Next Steps in Achieving the Learning Age*. London: Department for Education and Employment, 1999.

[3] Department for Education and Employment, *The Learning Age: A Renaissance for a New Britain*. London: Department for Education and Employment, 1999

[4] National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (1999) op. cit.

[5] As proposed by U. Beck (1992) *The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage and developed by A.. Giddens (1998) 'Risk society: the context of British politics' in J. Franklin (ed)

(1998) *The Politics of Risk Society*. London: Institute of Public Policy Research.

[6] National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (1999) op. cit. p. 7

[7] ibid

[8] R. Fieldhouse (1995) 'Historical perspectives on future developments and diversity in British adult education' in Ian Bryant (ed), *Vision, Invention, Intervention - Celebrating Adult Education: Papers from the 25th Annual Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults, Winchester 1995*, University of Southampton/SCUTREA, 1995; p. 81

[9] See, for example, G. Dunn (1977) *The Box in the Corner: Television and the Under Fives*. London: Macmillan; M. J. A. Hare (1983) (ed) *Learning from Television: Psychological and Educational Research* .London: Academic Press

[10] Benn states that for a whole section of the population, but especially younger adults, 'social capital' is reduced by not being involved in civic associations. 'The main culprit is television ... television privatises social time'. R. Benn (1997), 'Participation in adult education: breaking boundaries or deepening inequalities' in P. Armstrong, N. Miller and M. Zukas (eds), *Crossing Borders, Breaking Boundaries: International Research in the Education of Adults. Proceedings of the 27th Annual Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults, July 1997*, University of London/SCUTREA; pp. 31-34. Brookfield cites the example of the Phil Donahue Show which encourages the audience to 'explore and consider critically interpretations of the world different to those they normally held. The Donahue show can be viewed as a metaphor for many adult education programs.' S. Brookfield (1997) 'Adult education as political detoxification' in Armstrong, Miller and Zukas (eds) (1997) op. cit. pp. 122-128.

[11] A. O'Connor (1989) *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings*. London: Routledge.

[12] R. Williams (1961), *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. p. 361

[13] J. McGuigan (1999) 'Whither cultural studies?' In N. Aldred and M. Ryle (eds), *Teaching Culture: The Long Revolution and Cultural Studies*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education; p. 81

[14] J. Fenton (1997) 'Desiring a discipline: negotiating the post-modern divide' in P. Armstrong, N. Miller and M. Zukas (eds) op. cit. p. 153

[15] R.C. Allen (1991) 'Bursting bubbles: soap opera, audiences and the limits of genre' in E. Seiter et al. (eds) (1991) *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*. London: Routledge.

[16] In drawing on Robert Putnam's work on social capital, Juliet Merrifield observes that there is intrusion into people's private spaces by government and global commodity culture, and suggests that 'television soap operas ... have more reality than their neighbourhoods for many people'. J. Merrifield (1997) 'Finding our lodestone again: democracy, the civil society and adult education' in P. Armstrong, N. Miller and M. Zukas (eds) (1997) op. cit. p. 322

[17] BBC Radio Five Live with Nicky Campbell, 8 February 2000

[18] D.R. Dymock (1995) Vision, provision and television; an Australian perspective on 25 years of adult literacy development' in Ian Bryant (ed) (1995) op. cit. pp. 51-56

[19] However, I would argue that the broadcast element goes beyond what Jenny Stevens, referring to the 1970s BBC TV's series *Your Move*, described as 'a motivator and stimulant', important as that may be. Cited in H. A. Jones (1977) 'The NIAE literacy research: a case study in methods' *Papers from the 7th SCUTREA Annual Conference, University of Hull, July 1977*; p. 66

[20] N. Druine and D. Wildemeeersch (1997) 'From deschooling to reschooling adult literacy in Flanders: limitations to the mainstream model of adult basic education' in P. Armstrong, N. Miller and M. Zukas (eds) (1997) op. cit. p. 135

[21] See D. Buckingham (1993), *Children talking television: the making of television literacy*. London: Falmer Press.

[22] However, they do not always succeed. British soaps, for example, have a significantly higher death rate than the population as a whole. One is estimated to have seven times the current death rate.

[23] For example, E. Seiter et al. (1991) 'Don't treat us like we're stupid and naïve': toward an ethnography of soap opera viewers'. In E. Seiter et al. (eds) (1991) op. cit. Ch. 12.

Violence Against Women: Looking Behind the Mask of Incarcerated Batterers

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Abstract: *Addressing violence against women by sharing battered prison women's written accounts with incarcerated male abusers, in a Freirian/humanities adult education program, confirmed the feminist perspective of male entitlement, female subordination in a sociohistorical context.*

Introduction

According to a January 11, 2000 Associated Press article, "Intimate murder claims nearly 4 [American] women a day," adding that "difficult challenges remain" in resolving violence against women. In December, 1999, Johns Hopkins Center for Health and Gender Equity (CHANGE) reported that, globally, "one woman in every three has been battered, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime ... that, increasingly, gender-based violence is recognized as a major public health concern and a violation of human rights" (Heise, et al, 1999). In 1995, the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women, for its Declaration and Platform Action Plan, devoted an entire session to this issue. Exploring and addressing violence against women, therefore, is an enormous undertaking charged with emotion and controversy especially when confronting legal, cultural and social legacies and influences on gender roles. This study looked at the problem from a feminist perspective in the sociohistorical context of male entitlement and female subordination. The purpose was to examine the impact of a Freirian/humanities-oriented "inward journey" model (Baird, 1997) on male identity and definition formation, supported by the Newman, Lewis, Beverstock (1993) research that emphasizes the importance of the cognitive approach within humanities for socializing the inmate, for developing an awareness of self and society.

Why Men Batter: Some Theoretical Perspectives

The literature on violent intimate relationships states that men are the perpetrators in 95% of the cases but adds that many men do not resort to violence when feeling provoked by a partner (Belknap, 1996; Goodyear-Smith, 1999; Heise et al, 1999; Marleau, 1999). Regarding those who do, the literature is separated into two broad categories: *excuses* and *justifications* (Belknap, 1996). The *excuses*, a deficit construct which denies responsibility, attributes battering to factors such as learned behavior, family abuse, poverty, limited education and low moral reasoning (Newman, Lewis, Beverstock, 1993). For a developmental history issue, Newberger (1999) is cited as he is a pediatrician specializing in the treatment and prevention of family violence. Some male characteristics discussed in his book which provides insights are aggression, which appears between 6 months to two years of age, and the adverse affects of a boy (more than a girl) being left unattended by a single mother. Newberger also notes that the younger a boy develops a prejudice, the more rigid it is apt to be. His book includes recommendations for parents of male children with the implication they will be addressed. Of particular interest to this study is Newberger's (1999) observation that when males grow up they tend to expect females to provide for most of their needs, and his recommendation that parents must help boys to grow up not treating females badly, indicating that the male should give back the nurturance he received from a woman.

The Newman, Lewis and Beverstock study (1993) focused on male inmates' deficiencies which include a 75% rate of illiteracy. Among the risk factors for their unsocial behavior, the researchers included Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning which were developed partly in response to prison environments. According to Kohlberg's theory, moral acts of will are informed by reason, with prisoner's reasoning found to be at the lower stages. Newman, Lewis and Beverstock (1993), therefore recommend an educational paradigm with the cognitive aspect of humanities programming to change values, beliefs and attributes, which are unrecognized by prisoners as causative factors for their behavior.

Justification, alternatively, looks at the battering male through a socially constructed gender lens, in a sociohistorical context. Used by prisoners more frequently than *excuses, justification* is equated with entitlement, a patriarchal legacy that tolerates and glorifies aggression. This perspective draws heavily on the work of criminal justice feminist scholar Belknap (1996) since it synthesizes the findings of other researchers in the field such as Dutton, 1998; Ptacek, 1998; Walker, 1979. Men batter because it is an effective way to control women and because they feel entitled to do so. Those who batter have violent-prone personalities; they are jealous, possessive and have traditional views of women. The batterer blames the woman for initiating such behavior: she is lazy, unfaithful, prepares a poor meal, is unresponsive to his sexual needs. As king of his castle, he can treat his intimate partner any way he chooses because she is his property and, as a "child," she needs to be disciplined, to be taught a lesson. In addition to cultural and social institutions, TV and the media validate aggressive behavior; therefore, the male who batters does so because he can, because such behavior is not considered aberrant.

Methodology and Data Collection

Based on the success of an ongoing humanities program with incarcerated females which uses women's literature as a reflection, discussion, writing medium for promoting esteem, identity and empowerment (Baird, 1997), the prison administration extended an invitation to implement the model collaboratively with the men's counselor for sex abusers in a county jail. Instead of established authors, the "literature" link for meaning-making and understanding was writing of incarcerated women who had experienced abusive relationships – physical, psychological and emotional - and who volunteered to share their personal stories. The men in this study ranged in age from 19 to late 40's and were predominately African American. Some were court-ordered for ongoing counseling; others requested permission to receive the counseling, to learn to change.

A series of three critical humanities reading and writing sessions was conducted; each series consisted of ten weekly meetings. Some sessions were held in the cell block with all inmates present (35-40 men); smaller groups (20-25 men) met in the multipurpose room for more in-depth discussion and for group interviews. Frequently the reading and discussion of the women's stories was followed by interaction with the male counselor, especially in a situation where the inmates questioned or could not accept as accurate what a battered women had written. His role was to address such issues from a counseling perspective. To reinforce that process, he always insisted that inmates refer to their victims, predominately intimate partners, by name rather than in pejorative terms which were also explored for negative sexual implications and/or connotations. He employed role-playing techniques to reinforce a point and elaborated on both behavioral aspects and socially-constructed gender roles. Data were gathered over an eighteen month period. Data consisted of a series of formal and informal evaluations and interviews with ten volunteers who participated in the humanities-oriented program on violence against women, using the personal stories of battered female inmates as the mechanism for generating reflections, discussion and writing. The men's oral and written responses were coded and analyzed for underlying thematic constructs.

Findings

Dominant themes that emerged were consistent with feminist research that labels alienation, family abuse, poverty – factors attributed to battering – as *excuses,* and entrenchment in the male role of entitlement, the *justifications* (Belknap, 1996). In a 1986 study on male spousal abuse, Williams turned to perspective transformation theory with male participants because, in part, most of the available information came from women's stories. In this study, it is precisely the battered women's stories that were the triggering mechanism for abusive incarcerated males to look behind their masks, to define themselves, and for their writing to become a personal inventory process for identity formation.

Two sets of writing resulted: one set, which became the men's publication, was thematic and often reflected the counseling component on dealing with identity issues generated by the women's writing. In this set, the men wrote about "the real me," pain and abuse. They addressed what it meant to be a man, and lost love. The unrecorded discussion that precipitated the writing was more detailed and used more explicit language, projected emotions that ranged from hostility, denial, not "understanding her problem" to feelings of regret and shame. In the other set, each participant provided a direct response to a specific woman's problem. In some cases the respondent assumed the role of critic, or offered advice; others addressed the abuse.

Who, then, is behind the mask? Defining "the real me" consistently began with descriptors such as loving, caring, kind, happy, liking to have fun and to make people laugh. Then, abruptly, many of the "real me's" continued with a *justification:* they liked to play mind games with people, they took anger and stress out on people who were closest to them "because I know I can get away with it." Others labeled themselves as monsters or animals when they weren't happy. "We had been together for a long time and I had been controlling... started using drugs and ordering her around. I needed to know when she came home, where she was ... I was overprotective of her ... later found out she didn't like it." Their *excuses* for such behavior were consistent: "from the beginning I was separated from my mother and grew rebellious" or, because of parental abuse, they turned to drugs and alcohol which precipitated violence.

Inevitably, group discussion turned to definitions of manhood.

What it means to be a man? Well, to me, [it] always meant to be in control over everything, not to be scared of nothing and never show your feelings or what we would call weakside because if we did we think it's a chump move or something so I always wanted to be in control and never let anyone control me and never showed my feelings.

The other frequently cited definition of what it meant to be a man focused on fatherhood,

she looked like a red apple to be picked. We were real close ... she would have had her first baby to me but we were about 17 years old. Her mom got her an abortion ... I do miss her ... she would have been my first to have my baby.

Other men reflected on lost loves. For one man it was his dog. Several referred to mothers, some to their fathers. Another wrote, "I fell in love with the streets ... gave myself to drugs and street life."

The second set of writings involved selecting one of the women's stories and responding to it directly. As examples, "She" wrote:

Dad, when you started abusing me, you not only hurt me, but you scarred me as well. I can't talk to you on my own ... 'cuz I feel like if I say the wrong thing to you when it's just us, you will backhand me.

One "He" responded:

Every person does things in their own way. I'm sure if you asked your father he would say he loved you ... talk to him ... you also have to do things for yourself, don't expect your father to be with you every step of the way.

Another "He" was reminded of his own father, of experiences that still affect him today ... "I learned he emulated things done to him by his father who I'm named after."

A "She" wrote:

I remember when I was at my cousins ... that I was rape on her birthday ... couldn't get away ... there were four of them ... so they all rape me and then ran a pitch fork under my neck.

To which a "He" wrote:

Well "sweetheart" the best thing to do is talk about it, to hold it in is too painful and you possibly could go crazy. Oh yes, please don't hold a grudge against your cousin ... It would bring more stress on plus it wasn't her fault.

One of the inmates offered an overview of all of the stories that were shared.

I didn't have a father in my life, my mother did it all by herself and she has made me strong ... most of what I read was inspiring. Others, well, all I can say is that some of you need to consult professional help to deal with some of the issues that plagued you. But, all in all, they were very entertaining and upbeat ... Keep up the good work ... knowing your *problem is finding your solution.*

Analyzing the writing and discussion, according to Newberger's stages of male development (1999), the men's *excuses* for their behavior could have stemmed from un-addressed childhood hostility; prejudices, mainly towards females; inattention from a single female parent and alienation from a father. The men in this study, however, were not prone to *excuse* their behavior or to blame their situations to explain violence; rather, they blamed the victim. The men felt *justified* to do so because of their entrenched perceptions of women as "hos". Theirs were socially-constructed gender definitions reinforced by their father's behavior and attitudes. Those who admitted to wanting to change found it both difficult and threatening in the prison culture and on the outside. To them, being men meant being a non-trusting risk-taker, being in control in all situations and being entitled to wear the mask of violence.

Fortunately, the county jail provides ongoing counseling for sex abusers because for many of these men the doors have been revolving ones with their records including other infractions in addition to abusing women. The counselor frequently commented favorably on the humanities model because it generated discussion during and between sessions. The men indicated they liked the process because it was a change from "traditional" counseling; it was as though they were really communicating with women they may have known. The following are examples of their written evaluations.

One commented:

Well I haven't been in to long but so far it has helped relieve stress and I'm starting to learn how to talk more about what's bothering me and I'm starting to own up to my wrong doings. It's not easy ... I really want to learn how to relieve my anger in a positive manor instead of resorting to violence all the time.

Another acknowledged that, "I will get a better understanding of what abusive behavior is and what some of the characteristics are."

and

Without the means and confronting situations (negative as well as positive) of/from this group and the members/participants of or in it, I would never be compelled nor forced to look at my problems as such: PROBLEMS ... I get "HELP" ... from this group.

Conclusion

Though confined to a specific and limited male population, the result of this study on violence against women supports the patriarchal dependency model that sanctions male violence and female submissiveness. Feminist scholars are consistent in their advocacy for restructuring women's role, for "building a political, economic and social system equitable to women" (Armon & Dawson, 1997; Belknap, 1996 and a February 19, 2000 consult with Dr. Dupont-Morales, a criminal justice professor). The recent Hopkin's report considers the issue one of such magnitude that it requires long-term commitment and strategies from all parts of society to empower women, reach out to men, as in this study, to "change beliefs and attitudes that permit abusive behaviors" (Heise et al, 1999). Utilizing a Freirian/humanities format within adult education was a start. There is an implied need for more, continuing community-based involvement, and the need for more extensive studies on violence. Expanding the topic from "who batters and why," the global implication, the "Right Quest/ion" for adult education needs to be imbedded in the roots of human rights and social justice. Our vision and quest for the millennium begs building on the Freirian foundation, examining the power and control issues at all levels that engender violence.

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Learning to Unlearn White Supremacist Consciousness

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Abstract: *Using cooperative inquiry as a self-directed learning strategy, people of European-American descent learn to unlearn white supremacist consciousness. Facilitators of changed thinking and behavior include relationships of trust in the all-white inquiry groups and relationships with people of color in participants' daily lives.*

Using Cooperative Inquiry to Learn about White Supremacist Consciousness

The purpose of this study is to describe how people with the power and privilege conferred by white skin used cooperative inquiry as a self-directed learning strategy to change their consciousness and behavior. Specifically, this study reports the learning experience of people of European-American descent who voluntarily participated in a cultural consciousness project sponsored by the California Institute of Integral Studies. Four different cooperative inquiry groups met during the course of an academic year to pursue the topic, "the meaning and impact of white supremacist consciousness in my life." Each group formulated its own specific inquiry question within the parameters of this topic.

The term "white supremacist consciousness" describes a consciousness that takes for granted the legitimacy of having white norms and values dominate U.S. society. That this consciousness is often invisible to those who hold it strengthens it as a force for hegemony. Coming to consciousness about hegemony and the racism hegemony fosters is similar to a process described by Ruth Frankenberg (1993) as race cognizance. The discourse of race cognizance perceives difference among races and embraces these differences as autonomous systems of multiple cultures that are equally valid. Frankenberg contends that many well-intentioned white people in the United States overemphasize all people's essential sameness and engage in a discourse of color- or power-evasiveness, commonly called color blindness. Awakening to white supremacist consciousness is for us a process of becoming aware that white norms of thinking and behaving exist, that they are only one among many cultural constructions for human beingness, and that "color-blindness" from the summit of white privilege perpetuates racism and systems of domination.

Cooperative inquiry (CI) is a systematic strategy for self-directed group inquiry that has been developed over the past thirty years as a research method (Heron, 1996) and recently studied as a liberatory structure for adult learning (Bray et.al., 2000). Of the four groups participating in this project, some adhered more closely than others to procedures for cooperative inquiry, but all actualized, in some form, essential principles of the CI process. Groups engaged in cycles of action and reflection in which they made meaning from members' own life experience. Participation was voluntary. There was a shared commitment to democratic participation, shared responsibility for facilitation, shared intention to engage questions about white supremacist consciousness and to test the group's emergent learning through some form of putting the group's ideas into practice.

Nineteen participants worked in four different cooperative inquiry groups of four to six members. One group met for five months, two for the full academic year, and one continued to meet into a second year. One of the groups was convened online, with members not meeting face-to-face until a culminating event at the close of the academic year. Three of the groups were all women, while one group had two men. Sixteen of the participants were graduate students, though not all were studying at the school that sponsored the project. Some students registered for academic credit; one group included both students and faculty.

Research Procedures

One of the CI groups decided to investigate the impact of the CI process on participants and invited the project coordinator to join them as a research team. We, the authors of this paper, are that team. We interviewed the thirteen others who had participated in the project during the 1998-99 academic year, asking them about changes they perceived in themselves and about how the inquiry process had influenced these self-reported changes. Finally, we asked them to reflect on the particular experience of being in an all-white group as a context for the inquiry.

The interviews were taped and transcribed and the full data-set coded independently by each researcher. We then met as a team for several rounds of reflection. Analysis and interpretation in this paper are based not only on insights precipitated by the interview data, but also on reflection about our own experience during the original inquiry. Thus, the findings represent the outcome of a dialogue between our analytic understanding of the interview data and our experiential knowing from our own group's inquiry.

For this short report, we have selected a few descriptors of changes in consciousness and a few examples of the changed behaviors participants attribute to their CI experiences. We then offer insight into why the process proved to be an effective change agent for these learners.

Changes in Consciousness Regarding Being White and Actions Based on Changes

Participants entered the inquiry groups with different levels of awareness or consciousness regarding white hegemony. These different levels existed on a continuum, ranging from complete unconsciousness to a passionate disdain for "other" white people because of their racism. Helen is typical of one end. She describes her initial lack of awareness, even "a lot of denial" about the existence of white supremacist consciousness and then continues, "now [I] think how closed my eyes were to some things. How could I not have thought about white culture or white consciousness? It's amazing to me, now that I look back, where I have come from there."

Further along on the continuum were people who suppressed any thoughts of race and racism in an attempt to be colorblind. Ann, who has two Chinese daughters-in-law and a practice that includes African-American clients, explains that she was aware of her privilege as a white person. Her awareness led her to attempt not to "see people as that different, not wanting to offend anyone." She says that through engaging with her inquiry group she "got over that idea that we have to [be colorblind. Instead, we have to] face it and know it is here and be aware..." Ann says she has come to realize that good intentions, no matter how well meant, are "not enough."

At the other end of the continuum were people who disdained the company of "unconscious" white people. Brooke comments on how the inquiry group provided a place for her to "move through my anger" at people who are unconsciousness about racism. Prior to being in the group, I was aware when I saw any of the "isms" I'd have anger come up. And [my cooperative inquiry group] helped me with finding a way to work with the anger...." Robin remembers that when she started her cohort-based graduate program,

> *I wanted a non-Eurocentric learning environment. I thought, "white people have nothing to teach me, they're not worth my time." I learned so much in our cohort work about what I could learn from white people that I didn't really expect the cooperative inquiry group to teach me anything new. I just joined it because Victoria invited me, and because I wanted to learn how to use the method of cooperative inquiry. I was mistaken. This has been an incredible learning for me about the possibility of white people learning to be in relationship, to be connected with each other.*

Learning Compassion

Even though the nineteen participants entered the inquiry process at different points on this continuum of white supremacist consciousness, almost all had in common several significant changes in consciousness. One of these changes was a new compassion for themselves and other white people when they expressed racist thoughts and behaviors.

Eleanor's new compassion helps her pay attention to prejudiced thoughts. Before her CI participation, she was so ashamed of having prejudiced thoughts that she "would just close them down so fast that they wouldn't really have contained any reality for me...." In contrast, she now notices such thoughts "in a little moment" of awareness. She notes that "[w]hen that happens I feel a little bit scared, and a little bit kind to myself, at the same time." With compassion for herself on these occasions, she thinks "I need to give myself explicit permission, not exactly in words, but to say to myself, 'It's okay to have the thought. It is all right.'" Because she has learned to be "a little bit kind" to herself, Eleanor now can stop repressing thoughts

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that shame her. Instead, she can notice them, reflect on them, and learn from them. "Like one time I called Pedro Pablo... letting that be what it was, you know, and having it be remembered and real....I was able to experience myself in my own race, racist kind of mental reactions."

Rachel entered the inquiry process with personal strong commitment to uncovering racism and disdain and anger toward less aware white people. During the inquiry, as she deepened her capacity to recognize her own oppressor behavior, she began to understand how she was like those she disdained. Former feelings of anger towards other white people were transformed by compassion for them, and for herself. he comments,

> *I'm always reluctant to find out how much more of myself is white supremacist... [I]t is what we [her CI group] often called that white fog–the psychic fog that wants you to keep doing things the way that you've always done them and [not] look...it's the dominant culture [that] doesn't want us to look...you can get very full of rage and go after that oppressor and when you find out you're the oppressor, it's a little more ticklish to go after that oppressor, because you're having to go after it in yourself all the time.*

Learning about White Norms

Other changes in consciousness include a deepened appreciation of the debilitating effects of white norms of individuality, disconnection, and dualistic thinking. The online group reflected frequently on how learning to be a "good girl" had disconnected them from authentic interaction with others. A second group, after crafting an action in which members were to observe their authenticity with people of color, came to realize that they didn't know how to be authentic with each other. All members of that group agreed that this recognition was a watershed. Rachel describes how the meeting created "such a deep sense of connectedness that I don't think there was any turning back for any of us. It was almost like having a vision. [After that meeting] we were now something we weren't before. We were now some kind of whole." In Gretchen's group, creating a supportive place to express different viewpoints resulted in what she called "a sacred experience," one in which "the connection that we felt with each other shifted, so that that separateness had moved into a fluidity." Gretchen reports how she has come to realize that when she separates herself from others, as if there is a "moat" around herself, then she "can't really be empathic or connected to life."

Changing Behavior

Participants' changing worldviews translated into changed behaviors and actions in the world. These changes range from developing new awareness of racist thoughts or white privilege to initiating systemic changes in workplaces.

Daniel, reflecting on his increased awareness, says that there are more "people of color present than just a few years ago" at gatherings in his home, which to him suggests "some sort of fundamental shift in how I show up in the world." Rachel tells us about how colleagues of color in her municipal workplace notice her changed attitudes and the frequency with which she calls attention to racist practices. Brooke describes her increased ability to "find a way to deal with situations where I can speak to it [racism] in a way that the person could hear me." She notes that she used to strike out in anger and her new approach makes her more effective when she confronts people about racist behavior. Brooke also reports that because of the CI project, she chose to seek supervision from a woman of color in her training as a psychologist, despite the difficulty of locating such a person at her school.

Many participants talked about changed participation in the workplace. Ann, who had previously tried to maintain an aura of colorblindness, is now "more liable to ask a client who is Black about race, rather than act like it sort of wasn't there." Marge is proud that the diversity workshop she developed has been formally scheduled as part of the professional development program in the college where she teaches. Eleanor, who is a writing teacher in a highly diverse community college, has changed her teaching and influenced school-wide change. Before participating in the CI, she never asked her students to write about their cultures or their experiences with discrimination, in part because she thought it would be unethical to ask disclosure from her students when she did not know how to be disclosing about herself. She also believed that if she talked about racism, it would "be like reinforcing it and make it more powerful and more oppressive to minority people." As a result of her CI experience, Eleanor asked her remedial writing class to write about personal experience with racism. She completed the assignment herself and volunteered to be first to read her paper, which described through a vivid critical incident her own struggles with understanding how to confront racism. "I read mine first and you could just feel the whole room shift. It was really powerful because, I think, of how honest I was. It was hard for me to be this way and, you know, they knew that." Like Marge, Eleanor also created a diversity workshop for college faculty and administrative staff. Her workshop spawned the rejuvenation of a disheartened institutional diversity committee, who sought and received a new budget allocation of $10,000.

Understanding How the Process Facilitated Changes in Consciousness and Behavior

Each group was unique. Members came with different levels of awareness about the inquiry topic, and different attitudes and skills about cooperative inquiry as a process. In spite of group differences, common themes stand out as important in understanding how the groups' processes facilitated growth and change among the participants.

Vulnerability and Trust

The role of vulnerability and trust are described by all groups. In the online group, members spoke often of embarrassment, noting they had created enough trust with each other that they "were able to share embarrassing things that we were ashamed of and embarrassed about in an open and honest way, and to be really supportive of each other...." Marge remarks, "I could see the process of becoming more vulnerable. In one way, it reminded me of the Last Judgment (laughs), when you are stripped naked and all your deeds are there for everyone to see, especially for oneself to see....we built up a confidence and I think we helped each other. As one person became more open about her experience, it allowed the rest of us to do that as well." The group's capacity to develop trust was greatly facilitated when it arranged to have its online workspace deleted, rather than archived at the end of the semester. Sally explains, "One of the things we realized was that the online environment holds your words forever….in a group you could say something that was embarrassing, but that was it. Here it lingers. Someone could go back a year later and read it again. It just felt as though we were carving our vulnerability into stone, exposing our self, so we were really reluctant to talk about some things [until we arranged to have the conference deleted at the end of the academic term]."

Tara, a member of the group that started its work mid-year, describes a different kind of trust. Tara came into the project with considerable experience in anti-racism and multicultural work. She explains that there are many aspects of racism that she feels comfortable in talking about in a multiethnic group, but that she is reluctant to talk about difficult personal interactions with people of color. She "felt safer to talk to other white people about stuff like that because I wasn't worried that I would be hurting someone's feelings, or expecting them to come in and teach me...." However, Tara does not often talk with white people about these issues because she finds them often to be defensive or unconscious about racism, unable to help her hold herself accountable but instead prone to go to some "weird place" like telling her "Oh, that's reverse racism." She explains that her CI group was different, "I want somebody with a deep understanding of the dynamics of whiteness and racism to hear me so they are supporting me in the way they should be supporting me, and they're not supporting any [racist conditioning] that comes out of me." When Tara was involved in a troubling situation with a woman of color, she brought her "feelings and the whole experience" to the group. "So I was trusting that this group would do that [not support her racist conditioning] for me, and they did....I allowed myself to just dwell in my own subjective experience, and I rarely will do that with other white people…."

Fullness of Learning from Experience

Tara's phrase, "dwell in my own subjective experience," expresses an essential element for understanding how this experience in CI groups composed only of white people enabled the participants to grow in changed consciousness and changed behavior. Cooperative inquiry is a systematic strategy that helps people learn from their own experience. Its architect, John Heron, has written extensively about the role played by feelings and emotions in enabling the learner to become fully conscious of her or his experiential knowing (Heron, 1992).

When feelings of shame or distrust block us from fully experiencing our experience, it cannot become a source for learning. In each of these CI groups, when members speak about the importance of vulnerability and trust, they are referring to a dynamic that enables them to become more conscious of their own experience. For example, Eleanor told us that before she participated in her CI group, when "prejudiced thoughts" came into her mind, she would "just close them down so fast that they wouldn't [contain] any reality." Now she has learned to give herself "explicit permission" to have the thoughts, notice them, and learn from them.

Having practiced vulnerability in their CI groups, participants are more likely to try out new behaviors in other contexts of their lives. The inquiry group is a place to practice, as for example in Rachel's group where members decided to learn to be authentic with each other, or in Eleanor's group where she practiced "being brave" about naming racist thoughts and practices.

Another important factor in the success of these groups was the presence of people of color in members' lives. Many participants work in diverse settings or live in diverse communities; most were involved in academic programs where multiculturalism and racism were key content areas of the curriculum. Thus, even though participants flourished from the unique benefits afforded by an all-white context for inquiry, the people of color in their lives were also a strong influence on their learning. Ann explains, "there were always spaces in the circle where we had people of color sitting even though we couldn't see them. It was just feeling their presence and the stories that we would bring back from encounters we have had, it felt like they were there with us."

Conclusions

White people often mask their experience from themselves. When that experience is related to race, racism, privilege or hegemony, the motive to separate themselves from their experience is strong. They may be repressing their prejudiced thoughts, which they are ashamed to discover exist. They may be afraid of making visible their own "unknowing," – either to people of color whom they want genuinely not to offend, or to white friends and colleagues who might judge them as ignorant and insensitive. In our study of these four CI groups, each group achieved a context of trust sufficient for participants to be able to be vulnerable enough with each other that they could "dwell" in experience and learn to challenge pervasive habits of mind. We recommend adult educators familiarize themselves with this liberatory practice and strategies for its facilitation.

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Ontology at Work: Constructing the Learner/Worker

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Abstract: *Constructing adult learners' and workers' identities starts with their embodied actions, and to do this we present a philosophical perspective, two fieldwork sites and a model for learning.*

Introduction: Bringing Back the Body

What sorts of adults do we want to be? "Fast capitalism" requires workers who are creative and decisive (Beckett, 1996), yet compliant and mindful of the precarious and contingent nature of their employment (Garrick, 1998; Usher et al, 1997). "Lifelong learning" requires self-directed and experientially-sensitive learners, across the age-range, and within and beyond work (UNESCO, 1999; Edwards & Usher, 1998). These expectations and their critique are hotly contested, but we contend that the debates so far are shaped by epistemology (such as the nature of competence) and ethics (such as the formation of character (e.g., Saul, 1997; Sennett, 1998). Powerful and necessary though these debates are, we want to draw attention to ontology, that is, the kind of beings adults are in the light of new expectations of work and of learning. Ontological enquiry is about what there is – the furniture of the world. We start from the commonsense premise that when adults are at work, and also when they are learning at and for work *they are ineluctably embodied, and therefore active.* The detailed philosophical analysis is elsewhere (Beckett & Morris, 2000). Here, we will show, empirically, how self-hood ("identity") grows out of certain adults' everyday enactments, through a model of learning which is based in: *practical, performative, material (embodied), actions-in-context.* We will examine two contexts:

(1) Staff in Aged Care Facilities (ACF)

Who are the workers in an ACF? The profile is shaped not only by nursing, but also by health care work of widening variety: physio- and other therapies; welfare and other agencies; and a growing number of "patient care attendants" (PCAs), "nursing assistants", and the like. Various stages of residents' medical dependency necessitate 24 hour care (especially the high dependency of the "nursing home"), so shift work is a feature, as is the part-time, predominantly female workforce.. Little formal education or training is available for most of this part-time, female workforce. Indeed, most of those who are not nurses or allied health professionals have little formal qualifications, but may have years of experience.

The project we draw from here (Beckett, 2000) was to improve the management of residents with dementia at an ACF – Pleasantville (pseudonym) – by sharing staff experiences in addressing these behaviours, and in that way constructing these experiences as learning. Learning strategies involved staff communication skills (including both initial documentation and verbal discussion between staff), interpersonal skills especially teamwork (such as pairings) in analysing "critical incidents," and reflective discussion of workplace responses to such incidents. Seven to ten staff in the dementia unit at Pleasantville, comprising nurses and PCAs, all females, met fortnightly over two months, just outside the unit, with my leadership, on alternate Wednesdays. Each staff member met her "pair" to swap experiences in the preceding few days, and what was done to address these at the times they arose. Each "pair" collected brief notes about such incidents and made a verbal report each fortnight with the unit staff as a team. I transcribed these discussions from notes taken in the meetings. Below is a sample.

After many of these experiences were regularly shared, staff agreed on some main "management" points.

Pleasantville: Meeting #3 Oct 7 1998

Resident B*****: Update: Barbara: B***** has been hospitalised with a broken femur. Maree visited her - drinking via syringe, and with family support at mealtimes. Susan: not on intra-venous drips now.

Resident C****: Update: Judith: C**** back from hospital 30 mins ago (Susan: quite dopey too – balance problems) some aggression. Barbara and Susan both astonished to see her returned so soon – medical matters still present.

Resident B***: Update: Judith: goes to bed fully-dressed. Marj: B*** required full change of clothes this morning. Susan: use a lip-plate for lunch, some wandering the unit. Marj: agreed - moves furniture, "dusts", Barbara: better at night now, and Susan agreed, as B*** heads straight for toilet in the morning, yet today's incontinence is less typical. Maree and Marjery agree recognition is quite good. S: hairdresser return trip is significant – sees the door! Janice and Marjery agree that patterning B***'s days is difficult.

Resident M***: Update: Barbara: the medical advice was to "modify" the tender caring, and change the medication. Janice: still weepy, even howling. Barbara wondered if M*** liked being a resident. Maree noted M*** can shower, reluctant to come in the door (can see reflection?). Janice: noted M*** strong on teeth-cleaning. Susan wondered if there was a lot of frustrated communication there, Barbara wondering if a firmer line was called for.

These were that: changes in staffing, and family visits are significant for these residents (they may see these as "interference"); that it is essential to have a wide repertoire of responses to engage "challenging behaviour" (across 24 hrs and several staff, a resident's behaviour will vary greatly); that hospitalisation turns residents into patients - off-site, they tend to become medical diagnoses, arriving back at Pleasantville, often disoriented; that structures and patterns are essential for residents, but they frequently struggle to re-invent these.

Question from DB: ***What do you find yourself doing in such "challenging" situations as the above?*** Participating staff agreed they found themselves:

"Trying" (including both now – e.g., "I think she should have a spoon" – and going away and trying later; "I tried to explain to J**** about her son on holidays in Sydney") is most apt. This is followed by:

"Guessing" ("What on earth is going on?" Inc. looking for other evidence e.g., urine smell; food throwing rep. chookfeeding = "going back to the farm" = mother role). This indicates that:

"Showing" is the least apt (requires the most reflection: staff wouldn't find themselves "showing" because of the ethical implications e.g. bottom-washing has a dignity aspect).

I invited the group, at a later meeting, to again reflect on their own learning: *How do you "try?"* Discussion produced agreement that staff "talk on their [residents'] level" (Maree), which is hard until you get to know residents, and talk in such a way that humours residents: e.g. "I feel good today/you look good today" to start them off, rather than ask "How are you…?" Staff know they are not likely to get at a resident's condition directly: recognise there's a telling and re-telling of stories, so they look for signs of a "new story" emerging (Barbara). The stories are indications of "residents' realities" – essential for empathetic staff in dementia units to come to understand. Staff-resident interactions centred on validation of "realities", which directly construct – indeed, *retrieve* – residents' identities. This is most clearly shown in the questions staff ask residents, which are framed by "who, what, when and where", but never by "how" or "why." These latter are often anxiety-producing, and induce identity instability (resident suspects, but can not produce, a "right" answer).

So, a refinement: if time is pressing, "trying" something is the best descriptor. But where observing over time (shaped by certain reflective questions to residents) is possible, staff agreed "guessing" is the best descriptor for how the staff come to understand challenging behaviours. They start with immediate practicalities: "Look, you have to do X...", and there is first a "*trying*" (striving through persuasion), then, with more time, "*guessing*" and "*showing*." The striving is embodied, purposeful action. Pleasantville staff are materially present, physically engaging residents' "challenging behaviours." What do we mean by this?

Undoubtedly, discourse is significant. But discourse constructs an *epistemology* of practice. Staff are able to share their learnings of what works with individual residents' "challenging behaviours" (or "hot action", Beckett 1996) within discourses. Three discourses suggest themselves: *chronological* (times of the day or night, events like visits and meals), *medical* (dosages, clinical matters, hospitals), *psychosociological* (relationships with staff, families, each other) and so on. Staff were able to piece together pattern-making and re-making, "reading" a critical situation or challenging behaviour with their colleagues, such that it can be better understood. A diversity of practical responses and reflective explanations was proffered. This can be regarded as evidence for Dewey's argument (in Garrison 1999) that the purposes of both practical action and judgement *emerge* as a creative effort to overcome what Dewey in general calls a "disrupted context" – and a dementia unit is quintessentially disruptable. These workers engage in practical reasoning, in attempts to shape stability within the unit. This is fundamentally an Aristotelian epistemology, since it is concerned with the fluidity of purposes with respect to a fluidity of means to achieve those purposes. Neither ends nor means are fixed in a linear fashion. As history tells us, this confronts much of Western education, with its traditional linear focus on both Platonic (theory>practice) epistemology, and on Cartesian (mind>body) ontology, with theory and the mind given priority. In the workplace, practical logic, aimed at what will work by drawing laterally on embodied experiences, prevails.

But discourse (and the practical epistemology which it generates) requires a *materiality*, an enactment, with functional bodies – both their own and their residents. Staff grapple with embodied "disruptions." There is a viscerality about the caring which grounds discourse with residents and with other staff – and generates activity-based learning at its most immediate. What to do "here and now" is a vexing issue for these staff; they need to "go with the flow", but also direct it - these are "enactments" of their work. They need creative and rich repertoires of actions so that reaction is not the only enactment available. They must try to anticipate residents" needs and wants. In what some prominent postmodern adult educators have called the "local, personal and the particular" (Bryant and Usher, 1997). Staff are learning from within a *community of practice*. Like all professionals, they are confronting diversity, power and a variety of discourses but in ways that are dynamic – they enact these dimensions in the daily flow of their work – and they do so by thinking and doing (and by learning, when all this is shared) in a context. A dementia setting is a "local personal and particular" workplace, illustrative of key features, or "realisations", of postmodernism (Burbules, 1996). It is also a site of powerful adult learning, for the staff.

(2) Students in Adult ESL Literacy

At two metropolitan Technical and Further Education (TAFE) Institutes, we explored how learner identities are enacted in the context of an adult ESL Literacy classroom and the implications for the teaching/learning of literacy (Morris, 2000). Extensive data was generated through a series of interviews with classroom teachers and a series of interviews with a small cohort of learners (Somali and Ethiopian women with little to no formal schooling and literacy in their first language) drawn from each class, and year long classroom observation at both sites. The findings suggest that the teachers' understanding of ESL *ness* and Literacy/il-literacy and of their learners appear grounded in an understanding of language and culture fundamentally as "representation" as opposed to "being-in-the-world" (cf., Csordas, 1994). By engaging with the world, and here specifically the world of classrooms and of language, at the level of signification, the material bodies themselves, *the adult learners,* are at risk of disappearing. But, as the following extract illustrates, by placing the body at the centre of an analysis of subjectivity, identity and literacy, different kinds of questions emerge about the self, the individual in relation to others and literacy as social/cultural practice. Here, a teacher reflects on the challenge of working with a diversity of learners in her daily practice:

So this Muslim women, she would wear the hijab, she didn't wear anything across her face, her face was exposed and we went, as I said, used public transport and everything was fine. Several months later, she has become more and more strict, and now she wears a full veil, right over the top of her face, you can"t even see her eyes, it's just a black gauze right over the top, she wears gloves as well. She wears glasses so that becomes a real problem if you go anywhere because you can't even, I don't know whether she wears the glasses underneath, but we'll go up to the self-access centre, when she's in here (women's only class) she's fine, she'll take off the veil. When she goes to the self-access centre where there might be men, here she is trying to have the veil from here to here and glasses across the top and of course it's just about impossible to keep it all together and, and she's got the gloves so she's struggling on the keyboard. One day when we were walking down the stairs and I was just next to her, and I thought I could ask her, and I said, "Look, how come only six months ago you came with me on public transport and you showed your face and that was no problem and now, you've got it totally covered?" and she said, "Well, I'm closer now to my religion, I'm more...I'm a better person now because I do this." Now for someone like you and I, that is just... how on earth can we possibly understand what stage each of these people are at and how do you know you're offending people. I said to her, "Aren't you worried about what people think of you?" I said. I mean I could, because she knows me very well so I could push the limits a little bit. I said to her, "Look. To look at you, you are very frightening, if someone on the street looks at you they would be very frightened and if there's anybody that doesn't like Muslims you're the person they're going to attack." I said, "Aren't you worried about that?" She said, "Oh no." I said, "You could have something underneath your dress, you could have a weapon and people would be frightened of that." And she was totally, she just thought there was no need for her to worry...(Interview, 7.12.99)

Of importance here is the tension that the body evokes. The teacher's re-telling provides us with a sense that certain constructions of a "Muslim" (and hence learner) are being privileged over others, and at least in this instance, are not based in the everyday experiences of the learner. In this construction, the learner's identity is treated as though stable, continuing and unitary. There is little space for "other" dynamic versions of what it means to be a Muslim woman studying at TAFE. Yet even in this short extract we begin to see how the learner is caught up with her many roles, hence "other" identities and through her response to the teacher's questioning, disrupts the strong impulse of the teacher to normalise. One might argue that underpinning the teacher's construction of the learner is a view of culture as representation, as something inscribed on the body. The learner presents a very different version of culture, one that is lived, where knowledge, beliefs and experiences are located in the body. The discourse that the teacher employs makes it difficult to understand the learner's individual body practices. The body is treated obliquely as a symbol for something else, which acts to distance us from the individual's everyday embodied experiences. Yet, as Davis (1997, p.14) argues, understanding embodiment really requires from us an ability to work out "how differences intersect and give meaning to their interactions with their bodies and through their bodies with the world around them."

What arises from this story and resurfaces throughout the fieldwork are "active bodies" constructing and reconstructing their sense of self and occasionally resisting "others" construction of them. We begin to see how different components of individuality can be understood as dimensions of existence expressed by the active body, in bodily activities. In the extract above the adult learner's embodied knowledge and experience challenges the universalising impulses of particular classroom practice that privileges a representational epistemology. By attending to the kinds of learners' identities that are constructed through pedagogical interaction in the classroom, we may better be able to understand how the meaning of literacy for adults is influenced by their agency. This is where the opportunity for doing pedagogy differently lies.

Conclusion: Ontological Significance and Epistemological Implications

In the aged care fieldwork, we observe the construction and re-construction of staff members' senses of self – they are recognised as authoritative in their work, both amongst each other, and in the broader context of the ACF. They are knowledgeable in their work: they are "knowing workers", but more fundamental than an epistemology is an ontological claim. The staff in an aged care facility confront the material reality they find at work every day, including their own material reality – they find themselves doing messy, frustrating, repetitive work with residents. More profoundly, their attempts to engage the stories ("realities") of residents with dementia assume a contiguous, extended world within which such stories can be made sensible, and in which a community of practice is possible. These "enactment" practices shape identities, both for the residents in such facilities, and for the staff themselves. Such a world is populated by material bodies, and paying attention to bodies (O'Loughlin, 1998; Michelson 1998) materialises those identities ineluctably and irreducibly.

In the adult ESL Literacy fieldwork, we observe the multiple ways that identities are constructed and how these constructions provide the resources through which individuals' subjectivities and experiences are shaped. These learners are active bodies that are not simply subject to external agency, but are simultaneously agents in their own social-construction of the world. The narratives present adult learners in a much more complex vein, as social/cultural beings and challenges the kind of generic a-historical "stick figure"[1] prevalent in much of the literature on second language learners. We begin to construct learners' experiences not as distractions or deviations from "real" language learning but rather as regarded as constituting the very fabric of learners' lives – their lives are marked by the experience of difference. If embodied selves shape and are shaped along the way, it becomes important to attend to the performative aspects of teaching one way or another. An awareness of how our teaching practices elicit or construct identities may well lead us to perform differently, one in which the scripts for teaching and learning are never complete. The challenge lies in being attentive to difference (mainly embodied differences) in ways which don't simply "re-other" those bodies and voices that are marginalised by a reliance on discourses as markers of difference.

Taken together, these two fieldwork projects support a model of adults' learning which is primarily ontological, before it is epistemological. This seems to us redolent of a Wittgensteinian research perspective (Winch, 1998), in which human learning flows from "attention" to the task at hand, giving full regard for the cognitive as well as for feelings and emotions in social settings. For us, "attention" starts with embodied consciousness. This ontological approach has epistemological implications. Adults' experiences of the kind examined above suggest a model of adults' learning like this:

– a community of practice (that is authentic, embodied work)

– a dynamic (Aristotelian means-ends) engagement with diversity, power and a variety of discourses

– a context which is well integrated with the wider environment.

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[1] This phrase was first used by McKay & Wong to capture the homogenised view of ESL learners that is often perpetuated in much second language literature.

The Adult Literacy Classroom as a Social System

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Abstract: *This presentation reports the results of a study of adult literacy education classroom behavior in which twenty adult literacy classes were observed twice in seven states. It was found that in adult literacy classes the predominant mode of instruction closely parallels the initiation, response, evaluation (IRE) mode that Mehan (1979) identified in his study of an elementary education classroom.*

Introduction

In the United States, the federally-funded adult basic education program is the primary mechanism for serving the approximately 40 to 44 million adults (Kirsch et. al., 1993) who are in need of basic literacy education. Although from the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) and the National Evaluation of the Adult Education Program (NEAEP) we know a great deal about adult literacy education programs and their learners, we know very little about what happens in adult literacy education classrooms. Indeed, a literature search uncovered but one comprehensive study of classroom dynamics (Mezirow, Darkenwald & Knox, 1975) and that study is over twenty years old.

Methods

The present study is an analysis of the adult literacy education classroom behavior. Twenty classroom sites were selected to maximize program and learner diversity, and to that end, classes were selected to represent 18 characteristics which previous research had shown to be "shaping variables" of adult literacy instruction (e.g. geographic location, program type, urban/suburban/rural, instructional level of the class etc.). Classes were selected in seven states. For each class, data were collected on four occasions. First the class was observed by a trained observer. Then the teacher was interviewed. A second observation followed and finally students were interviewed when possible. The teacher interview was open-ended and was focused on the first observation in order to gather data about the teacher's intentions for and perceptions of the class observed. The interview also afforded the observer an opportunity to discuss with the teacher any episodes in the observation that needed clarification in respect to their meaning or purpose. After each data collection, detailed and comprehensive field notes were completed. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Data were analyzed using a grounded theory methodology. First, after thoroughly studying the over seventy sets of field notes which were 15 to 20 pages in length, a preliminary set of thematic categories was identified by the researchers. These categories were primarily descriptive of classroom dynamics and interactions. Then the field notes were entered into the NUDIST computer program for qualitative analysis. Starting with the preliminary categories, three researchers then coded the data and in the process identified new themes and refined and elaborated the initial themes. Periodically the coding of the three analysts was merged using the QSR Merge Computer Program and categories were collapsed, renamed, and expanded as necessary.

Findings

The Structure and Content of Instruction

The organizing unit for adult literacy education was a teacher-prepared and teacher-directed lesson. In reading, for example, learners were typically directed to read a passage selected for its perceived interest value to learners. In writing, learners were directed to write a passage such as a brief memoir or account of an experience. In math, learners were directed to solve a set of problems. In structure, the great majority of classes we observed closely paralleled the initiation, response, evaluation mode (IRE) identified by Mehan (1979) in his observational study of an elementary school classroom. Following initiation of the lesson, there followed response in the form of what Mehan termed an elicitation – a series of question and answer episodes designed to gauge whether learners had performed the exercise correctly and to convey content.

The overwhelming predominant form of elicitation was a type Mehan defined as product elicitation, a sequence of questioning and answering designed to elicit correct, factual answers. Process elicitations, those that sought learners' opinions or interpretations, were much less common. Metaprocess elicitations, those that ask learners to reflect on the process of making connections, were extremely rare, and this is important because metaprocess elicitations can lead to higher order skill development such as critical thinking. After each elicitation episode there typically was a brief evaluation in which teachers praised learners with the correct answers or corrected those whose answers were wrong. During the initiation, elicitation and evaluation process, communication was almost always teacher to learner and learner to teacher. Communication among learners was rare.

Learners almost universally accepted the preeminence of the teachers' role as being legitimate. When teachers directed an activity, there was nearly universal compliance, sometimes after some good natured grumbling over less popular activities. In terms of what is taught and how, adult literacy education looks very much like the elementary education Mehan described. Moreover, the predominance of product elicitation suggests that adult literacy is strongly directed towards basic skills acquisition rather than towards higher order thinking and problem solving skills. We infer that the close parallels between elementary education and adult literacy education are a product of teachers' socialization in elementary and secondary education. Nearly all the teachers we encountered had been trained as elementary or secondary education teachers and the great majority had experience in the public schools. Most learners had also been socialized in this context at least up until the time they dropped out.

Classroom Interactions

While in its structure and content the classes we observed were similar to elementary and secondary education, norms governing classroom interaction differed in some respects from what one might expect in an elementary or secondary education classroom. In most classes there were learners who arrived up to 45 minutes late. They were rarely sanctioned negatively and usually fit into class with minimal acknowledgement or class disruption. In many classes there were students who tuned out for periods by leaving class for self-determined breaks, by staring out into space, by putting their heads down on the desk or table, by engaging in personal conversations not related to class and even by sleeping. This behavior was seldom sanctioned negatively by the teacher or other students. After tuning-out, learners usually re-engaged and it was rare that a class was disrupted because of learners' tuning out behavior. Teachers tended to attribute tuning out to learner fatigue, although observers' comments suggested that boredom was sometimes a factor. Learners usually chose where they would sit and cliques based on age, gender or ethnicity were evident in most seating selections.

Norms regarding helping and correcting varied among classes. In an extreme case, a class that was highly individualized, the teacher believed that only she should correct and help. She moved from student to student, usually in the order that students arrived, correcting their individualized work and delivering a mini-lesson based on their errors. Each of these sessions lasted about 20 minutes, and learners who had completed their work had to wait for the teacher's attention before they were permitted to move on. In many cases teachers directed learners to work in pairs or small groups where they corrected each others' work and helped each other. This was most common in math, in which case learners worked on math problems together, and in writing where learners sometimes edited each others work. In some classes students helping students was very common and natural. A student would write a sentence on the board, for example, and another student would correct it before the teacher had the opportunity, or a learner would ask another learner for help on a math problem because the teacher was busy elsewhere.

In nearly every case, teachers indicated that they were striving to create a nurturing, trusting classroom atmosphere and this was evident in observation. Teachers verbally rewarded learners when they were correct and virtually never took a punishing stance when learners made mistakes. Teachers attempted to reduce the social distance between themselves and learners through humor and by brief personal accounts of their likes and dislikes and personal out-of-class activities. In classrooms that were used exclusively for adult education, there was typically a bulletin board with student work displayed and other adult symbols. In such classrooms, students usually sat at tables or u-shaped arrangements rather than in rows.

Shaping Factors

Just as the structure and content of instruction and classroom interaction shaped what and how learners learn, classroom behavior was in turn shaped by factors internal and external to the classroom. Because teachers controlled instruction, their perspectives and backgrounds had a powerful influence on the classroom. When teachers were asked about what they intended to achieve in classes we observed, "to meet learners' needs" was the most common response followed by such things as to teach life skills, create a positive learning atmosphere and to engage and interest learners. These commonly expressed goals all focused on helping learners in ways that went considerably beyond the mere teaching of reading, writing and mathematics. Teachers said they were concerned with helping– helping learners to grow and develop, helping learners to become successful. In this respect, teachers clearly intended to act in learner centered ways. Yet an analysis of instructional structure and content leads to the conclusion that adult literacy education is primarily teacher directed. Teachers selected materials, created and delivered lessons, and directed learners to engage in activities. Learners almost always complied. There seems to be a contradiction here. If teachers intend to be learner centered, and if they control the classroom, how can a teacher-directed rather than a learner-centered classroom result?

We conclude that there are two intersecting meaning structures at work among teachers. On one hand, teachers are socialized to be teacher directed. That is what they know how to do. That is how they believe teachers are supposed to act. That is what their learners expect. That is what the system at large expects. For adult literacy education teachers, part of the very meaning of being a teacher has to do with being teacher-directed and that meaning is so deeply instilled that many teachers may not be cognizant of it. On the other hand, the meaning of being a teacher has a duality to it; in their attitudes, beliefs and aspirations for their teaching, teachers are decidedly learner centered. What results is a hybrid. While the conduct of the adult literacy class is primarily teacher-directed for all the reasons we have outlined, in their personal, affective relationships and interactions with learners, teachers behave in caring, supportive "learner centered" ways. In this sense, being learner centered is not a teaching technology or teaching methodology; it is a set of values that guide teacher-learner interactions.

A very powerful shaping factor is program configuration, defined as how the program is organized in respect to such factors and the number of hours per week classes meet, continuous or closed enrollment, and mixed or homogeneous learner skill levels. Hours of instruction per week varied from six to over 30. In some cases learners who were essentially illiterate were assigned to the same class as learners who were ready to pass the GED, while in others learners were at approximately at the same skill level. In continuous enrollment classes, students could enroll at any time and there was a constant flow of new learners, while in closed enrollment classes learners entered as a cohort and remained a cohort.

Together, these three components of program configuration influenced the ability of the class to function as an effective social system. When classes met only several hours a week, it was more difficult for shared meanings to develop regarding the purpose of activities and for rapport to develop between teachers and students and among students. More importantly, when the same learners were not present each week due to attrition and continuous enrollment, learners were less able to learn classroom routine and the meanings associated with classroom exercises and social interactions. Comparing stable classes that met 20 or more hours a week or more and had stable enrollments to less stable classes, in stable classes teachers seemed to attempt activities that were more complex and to conduct them more successfully. Learners were adept at helping each other and there was a smoother transition from activity to activity. More importantly, much more was accomplished in a given hour of instruction.

Mixed levels caused problems for teachers, especially if the ranges in skill level were substantial. Faced with this situation, teachers had three choices. They could teach to the entire class, in which case the activities were either too difficult or too easy for some learners. Indeed, some tuning out behavior was due to the boredom and/or frustration this sometimes caused for learners. Alternatively, they could use highly individualized instruction in which learners worked on their own with materials selected at their skill level. These materials were usually kept in portfolios of folders. Although learners worked at an appropriate skill level in individualized classes, there was minimal social interaction among learners. Finally, teachers could group learners according to level, have them work individually or collaboratively on activities, and rotate from group to group to help and correct. This alternative was only possible when there a sufficient number of learners to establish groups and it presented difficult classroom management problems for teachers. Some teachers adopted an eclectic approach in which learners worked individually part of the time but were taught as a group when the material warranted.

Major changes in enrollment, student flow, and skill levels reeked havoc in two of the 20 sites. One class was a family literacy class originally comprised of welfare mothers whose children were in the early childhood component. Welfare reform had decimated the population of welfare learners, and to maintain class numbers, community members were invited to enroll. Previously, the commonality associated with gender and parenthood, and well as participation in child-parent activities, had caused the class to bond, but when the commonality disappeared, the class ceased to function well as a social system and the teacher never adapted. In a GED preparation class, a small class of learners who paid a fee to enroll was changed the next semester to a large open-enrollment, mixed level class into which the small class was merged. Although the teacher was reluctant to short-change her the original group of learners by starting at the beginning, she was faced with many new students with low skills. At the time of the second observation, the teacher used the same activities that had previously worked successfully with the small class, but these activities were now either too difficult or misunderstood by many new learners. The teacher, who sensed this from new learners' non-responses to her questioning and answering, became exasperated and responded with sarcasm directed towards learners.

Student characteristics such as age, ethnicity and gender were another shaping factor. In regard to age, in two classes there were a number of teenage dropouts who disrupted the class with joking behavior and loud personal conversations. In two classes of mixed racial composition there were mild inter-racial confrontations. In another class of primarily foreign-born, activities failed because the learners did not understand the teacher's directions. On the positive side, in a class of female welfare recipients, learners were able to discuss gender issues a personal level, something that probably would have been impossible had men been present, and a class of mixed ethnicity used immigration as a unifying theme for reading and writing.

Conclusions and Implications

When learners and teachers share meanings regarding classroom activities and the goals of instruction, and when classes are stable in respect to enrollment so that these shared meanings can develop, adult literacy education classes function as an effective social system directed toward learning. This finding suggests that policy makers should consider classroom stability to be a major factor contributing to instructional success. Continuous enrollment, classes that meet but several hours a week and mixed enrollments are practices that should be discouraged.

Although teachers strive to create a trustful, non-threatening learning environment, and to make the content of instruction relevant to learners, they control the process and content of instruction. The centrality of the teacher suggests that teacher competence is critical for instructional success. Accordingly, staff development should be expanded in both quantity and quality and access to it should be improved.

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Action Research on Documenting Learner Outcomes: Can We Move Beyond the Workforce Investment Act?

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Abstract: *An action research project with three adult basic education programs focused on ways to document the invisible outcomes in learners' lives. It has led to increased understanding of how programs might identify and measure those outcomes not captured by traditional assessments.*

Introduction

Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs across the United States are confronting new demands to document the outcomes of their work. The Workforce Investment Act (1998), which funds ABE, mandates the development of performance accountability systems with a few core indicators. Many states had already developed data collection systems that are now being adapted to meet the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) mandates. At the local program level teachers faced with increased data collection requirements feel that much of what their students accomplish is not captured by any of the measures now in use. This paper discusses the findings of an action research project conducted by the Center for Literacy Studies (CLS) to increase understanding of how programs might identify and document the outcomes of adult education participation in learners' lives, both for local program needs and for purposes of program accountability at every level. The project created new documentation methods, and perhaps more importantly, has given the researchers (ABE teachers and university-based facilitators) new insights into the processes at work in ABE programs.

Studies of ABE outcomes have rarely provided the information hoped for and have often been "seriously flawed" (Beder, 1999, p. 116). Current efforts to build a National Reporting System (NRS) for Adult Education by the U.S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy should help remedy this situation, but the data collected in many states will be limited to that mandated by WIA. The NRS will collect data on employment, learning gains measured by standardized instruments, and continuing education and training. What one teacher referred to as the "invisible" outcomes in learners' lives (for examples, see Bingman and Ebert, 2000) will not be documented. These outcomes include changes in what people are able to do in their lives as a result of new skills or credentials as well as changes in their sense of self. This project attempted to develop ways to document these outcomes.

The Research Processes

Action research, described by Kuhne and Quigley (1997) as "a form of inductive, practical research that focuses on gaining a better understanding of a practice problem or achieving a real change or improvement in the practice context" (p. 23), was chosen as a way to look for new approaches to developing outcomes documentation processes for ABE. This method of inquiry allows refinement as the project progresses over time. As this project evolved the teams moved from taking part in activities that were designed by the facilitators to designing and implementing their own documentation strategies.

The project was conducted by three teams of three to six teachers and administrators from adult education programs working with staff from a university-based literacy center. The three project sites are state-funded programs located in the southern Appalachian region of the United States, in the states of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. They offer instruction in basic skills and prepare students for the General Educational Development (GED) examination.

Introductory Processes

Teams from each program met regularly with facilitators and took part in activities designed to analyze their current documentation processes and to develop new ones. The facilitators began by asking the teams to identify the various outcomes that they had seen in students and the outcomes they hoped to achieve. Examples included: *arranged child care, filled out a job application, organized class notes, reading level improved, writing letters to children, built his self-*

esteem. The outcomes the team members named were rarely being documented by the programs.

Each team completed a "documentation matrix." They gathered the various forms and assessments used for documentation in their programs and analyzed each by answering the questions: *Who does it? For whom? How often? How is it used? Key items reported?* Completing the matrix enabled the teams to identify how they were collecting and using information and instances in which they were not. For example there was often duplication of student demographic information, but no program had an effective way of documenting the outcomes in learners' lives outside the program.

An *Inputs to Impacts Grid* was developed, first with the Tennessee team, to help the team (and facilitators) clarify what was meant by the terms "input, output, outcomes, impact." The team determined that these applied somewhat differently to students and programs and developed a list for each. This activity clarified the processes programs used to achieve their goals – the hoped for outcomes. The Kentucky and Virginia programs added their examples to the model and used the model as they developed their documentation processes.

Developing Documentation Processes

After several meetings doing orientation activities, the teams began to experiment with outcomes documentation. They began with activities suggested by the facilitators. These documentation processes were intended to combine instructional activities with outcomes documentation. For example, students were given a series of stem sentences such as "I used a computer to...." or "I learned to....." Another suggested activity was to hold "story circles" during which students talked about how their lives were changing as a result of participation in adult education. The teacher recorded these stories on newsprint or notes. For the most part, the teams did not find these activities effective, and they reported that their students did not want to spend the time on activities that they did not see as relevant to their learning. The teams began to work with their students to develop, test, and revise their own documentation processes.

The research of each team was impacted by various factors. The Workforce Investment Act requirements as implemented under various state plans was a factor for all three programs. However, because Virginia was in the process of putting into place a process called Quality Works that implements the WIA requirements, that team addressed government reporting requirements most directly in their work. The Kentucky and Tennessee teams were aware of the coming changes, but did not deal with them as directly as Virginia. The Tennessee team viewed the action research project as part of their ongoing process of program planning and improvement based on the Malcolm Baldrige Education Criteria for Performance Excellence, a business performance quality/program improvement framework adapted for use in educational organizations.

All three teams utilized the Equipped for the Future (EFF) framework to some extent. EFF is a national standards-based system reform initiative sponsored by the National Institute for Literacy and provides a common framework for defining, tracking, and reporting results to policymakers, as well as to students and their local programs. Developed through a multi-year field-based research process, the EFF framework consists of:

- four purposes for learning, defined originally by adult learners and validated by a wide range of adults
- three "maps" that define successful performance of the roles of worker, citizen, and family member
- thirteen activities that are common across these three roles
- sixteen skill standards, derived from the role maps, which provide specific and measurable statements of what adults need to know and be able to do, clustered in four categories: communications skills, interpersonal skills, decision-making skills, and lifelong learning skills.

The Tennessee team had been an EFF development site and had adopted EFF as the "centerpiece" of their program. EFF now structures their instructional work and frames documentation processes. The Virginia team reviewed the EFF framework and used the roles as they developed their outcomes list. The Kentucky team used the framework to identify the Common Activity that

– The five Kentucky team members worked together in one community adult learning center. Their students included many women who were part of a welfare-to-work project. The team was intrigued by the EFF framework and saw it as a way to integrate some of the life issues their students were facing with the academic skills that were the focus of the program. They discussed the EFF role maps with learners and eventually the group (staff and learners) determined

that the parent role was the one they all shared. The learners listed areas of concern and parenting issues that were of interest. The action research team sorted this list and identified an overall goal to be a better parent and a subgoal that matched one of the EFF Common Activities: "supports and encourages child's education." They used the Inputs to Impacts grid to analyze the activity and determined that they would focus on reading to children as an activity to support children's education and that they would have parents document this on a weekly calendar.

Throughout the summer a group of parents read to their children and recorded what they read and the amount of time on a calendar. Ten students participated, and six advanced to another reading level on a standardized test. The Kentucky team found that adult learners' self-confidence increased, family relationships improved, and learners' desire for their children to be readers has increased.

After the summer reading program ended, the team met with the parents and found the parents were enthusiastic about focusing on their children's education. They wanted to continue to encourage their children's reading and had ideas about how to do so. The staff designed a new form on which parents were asked to record instances of reading to their children, helping with homework, school attendance, children's use of the public library, and meeting with their children's teachers. The staff planned to collect these forms monthly and record the data in a computer database. This effort was not as successful as the summer reading program. The staff thought that the form was too complicated and not relevant to everyone. They revised the form, scheduled more parent meetings, and loaned parents cameras to use as another way to document educational activities at home. The team plans to continue the documentation effort for the rest of the school year. With parents' cooperation, they hope to have access to children's school records and use the data to document impacts for children as well as parents' activities.

– From the beginning of the project, the Virginia team, whose program covered a seven-county area, focused on connecting their action research work with their efforts to develop a process for reporting required data to the state. They reviewed Virginia state documentation requirements and the forms they had been using locally and then developed a form to be used at student intake to collect the information required by the state. This included demographic information, the source of the student's information about the program, reasons for enrolling, the student's goals, test scores, and other information. They also added a list of "learner achievements," based on a short (5 item) checklist of personal, social, and academic learning skills. These were chosen as a way to begin to document more than test scores. Some were outcomes (e.g., "helped child with homework") and some were classroom activities (e.g., "worked on assigned tasks"). After discussion and several revisions, the team decided to move their outcomes list to a separate document.

The team had decided that using activity-based documentation, such as story circles and stem sentences was too time intensive. Instead they developed a checklist using some of the items from their "learner achievement" list. They first conceived of the checklist as an exit instrument, a kind of supplement to the other reporting form. It was organized around the three EFF roles, plus the category of "self." The original draft had a space to check when something was accomplished and space for comments. Examples were: use library, ask for directions, read help-wanted ads, use a computer, volunteer in child's school, and pay bills. The team decided to add a column to use at intake (for goal-setting). The learner could note which items she or he already did and those which would be indicators of progress toward one's goals. The focus would be on items relevant to the student's goals, but other accomplished items could be checked as well. As these are written, they are decontextualized competencies or activities, but could be contextualized by the learner's goals. The team talked about having a space for the goals on the form and also about giving the student a copy of the form as well, both to facilitate documentation and as motivation.

The team took this new form and tried it with several students. They noted student reactions, how long it took, and whether students could give evidence of their accomplishments. They found that most students liked the form even though it took some time to complete and that they were able to describe their accomplishments. The students added items and suggested language changes. The team found that using the list helped both the teacher and the students think about goals and outcomes. The form was revised to include student suggestions. In its current iteration the form lists forty-one items with three possible responses to each item: currently do (DO); would like to do (SET), and now can do (MET). The form has been used by several teachers who were not part of the team and they have found it useful, and it has been requested for use by the Virginia Department of Human Services office as part of their intake procedure for new clients.

– *The Tennessee program is an urban program operating literacy classes in an adult learning center.* The program began to use the EFF as a tool for identifying learner goals and learners' plans for achieving goals. The action research team teachers tried various ways of documenting student performance on specific standards: *Listen Actively, Take Responsibility for Learning, Use Math Concepts, and Plan.* One teacher conducted regular interviews with a few students; another used a teacher log. While the teachers were able to get useful information using these processes, they found the documentation to be too time intensive to be implemented program-wide. They decided to focus on one EFF standard, *Take Responsibility for Learning*, and to develop and test processes to document performance on this standard in the program and outcomes in learners' lives outside program.

The process that the team developed to document Take Responsibility for Learning (TRL) involved both instruction and documentation of performance. Teachers gave students a pre-survey on TRL, asking them to write briefly on the meaning of the words, why it is important, and how they might use it. A post-survey asked similar questions. For the month between the survey, teachers talked about TRL using a model story and asking students to read, write about, and discuss the story. Students then were asked to keep a journal of events in their daily lives that indicated they were taking responsibility for learning and report to the teacher. The teachers also kept logs of their observation of TRL in the classroom. The team found that while the student journals were useful as a writing activity, and the teacher log helped with planning, it was the pre-and post-surveys that were most useful in identifying and documenting instances of students taking responsibility for learning both in class and in their everyday lives.

Results and New Understandings and Implications

This action research project made progress toward its original objective: to develop new measures of impact of participation in adult basic education on the lives of students. The project also yielded important understandings about the possibilities for action research in adult education and the context in which the performance accountability mandated by the Workforce Investment Act is to be implemented. What was learned by the participants in this project has implications for practitioners and policy makers in adult basic education.

Processes for Documenting Outcomes

Each team developed processes that have enabled their programs to more closely examine and document certain areas of impact. They have focused on particular parts of students' lives that were identified by the program and/or the students as areas in which they hoped to find change, and they have developed ways to document changes reported by students and observed by teachers. The teams, their programs, and their students have found these documentation efforts useful as a tool for instructional planning and for learner and project assessment. The programs plan to continue to use these documentation tools and to develop others.

Action Research as Professional Development

The work of understanding and developing outcomes documentation also created opportunities for improvement in classroom practice. As they participated in this action research, the team members changed their understanding about aspects of their practice. Developing processes to document changes in learners' lives meant talking to learners about topics and at a depth that was new to many team members. They found that they gained in their understanding of their students' lives. The process of identifying desired outcomes lead to increased instructional focus on meeting learners' goals and achieving the desired outcomes. Thinking through program processes led to increased appreciation of how different program aspects – goal setting, instruction, outcomes documentation – can be aligned. The university-based researchers, who had approached this problem as primarily one of measurement, gained new appreciation of the importance of having this alignment clearly explicated.

Practitioner research in which the teacher identifies a question of concern is used for professional development in several states. This project indicates that action research in which the question and methodologies are determined by others can also serve as a valuable professional development experience.

Where is the System?

This action research project has led to increased understanding of how programs might identify and document the outcomes of adult education participation in learners' lives for local program needs. It has not developed processes that are acceptable for purposes of program accountability. While some of what the Virginia team developed will serve as documentation for meeting learner goals (a program performance indicator in Virginia) most of what the teams are documenting will not be reported beyond the program level, at least not at present. The federal National Reporting System and most state systems require standardized measures of only a few outcomes. Increased flexibility on the part of state and federal policy makers in needed so that locally-developed processes of a wide variety of outcomes can count as measures for program accountability. And more complex and nuanced information reporting systems must be used to report the kinds of data collected by the teams who took part in this project. While the national legislation focuses on the economic outcomes of adult education, learners have a variety of goals. Programs need to have the ability to focus on these goals as well as national mandates.

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Voices from the Deep: What the *Pacific Charmer* Tragedy Means for Preventing Fishing Accidents

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Abstract: *The CFV Pacific Charmer capsized, sank and two men died. Using interviews with survivors, associates of the deceased and rescuers, the author theorizes the incident and charts what needs to be done to prevent fishboat "accidents."*

Dying to Fish

Despite the collapse of commercial fishing on both coasts, 300 Canadian fishboats come to grief each year. Commercial fishing is a dangerous occupation – one of the worst. As part of the effort to ameliorate the situation, the *Workers' Compensation Board* (WCB) now has a major responsibility for prevention education. However, their operations are excessively anchored in Functionalist discourse. Although fishing operations are important, more is involved in "accidents" and their prevention. Unlike the continuing fascination with the *Swissair* disaster or publicity generated by the loss of five recreational boaters after *Sunny Boy* ran over a towline in Vancouver harbour, a dead fisherman hardly merits public attention. Dying is "part of the game." Hence, according to popular wisdom, particularly in fishing families, "fishing is dangerous" and accidents "just happen." There is considerable fatalism and many consider death to be "part of the job."

Roxy Stove, a 25 year old female cook died when *Scotia Cape* went missing. But, almost without exception, it is men that die. Why? One reason is that prevention efforts are almost entirely nested in techno-rational discourse. Numerous manuals are preoccupied with equipment and exhort fishermen to check flares and liferafts. They also try to foster awareness about flotation equipment. Yet almost no commercial fishermen wear Personal Flotation Devices (PFD's). Most have elaborate "explanations" for their obduracy. Another problem is the top-down nature of prevention education. During studies at the local marine training institute, the author was told to "stop asking questions." "Just write down what I say … it will be on the exam." Lectures dominate. Many lecturers have never worked a fishing vessel. Fishermen are largely silent. Their experience is rendered irrelevant.

It is a pity dead fishermen can't talk. Their report of what went wrong, or how it might have been prevented, could improve the content and processes of prevention education provided by marine institutes, the WCB, proprietary schools, fishing unions, owner and gear-type associations, trade organizations and insurers. Those who narrowly escaped have valuable perspectives. As well, the meticulous researcher can arrive at informed judgments about what happened and, by so doing, shape the content and process of prevention education. This is among the reasons that explained the widespread interest in Sebastian Junger's rendering of *The Perfect Storm.*

CFV Pacific Charmer

The *Pacific Charmer* was a large steel fishboat normally moored at McMillan Fisheries – under Vancouver's Second Narrows bridge. The vessel was licensed to pack, but not to fish herring. Yet, the *Charmer* was entered into a Department of Fisheries lottery to fish food herring. On December 1, 1997 there were five men aboard as the *Charmer* dragged nets in Pylades Channel – just behind Valdes Island. The skipper was Len Trent,[2] a Newfoundlander with 44 years experience. In 1958 he had witnessed the death of his brother aboard the *Sheila Patricia* which caught on fire off Nova Scotia. Also aboard were deckhand Len Bravos (from Vancouver), Jack Edwards, engineer (from Prince Edward Island), Max Rock (from Newfoundland) and a fisheries inspector, Lawrence West (from Vancouver).

At about 1.15 a.m. on a frosty morning, December 2, 1997, the crew had 80 tonne of herring aboard and were making a last set. The plan was to get another nine or ten tonne aboard, anchor for the night and return to Vancouver in daylight. It was three weeks to Christmas and everyone looked forward to the money. Compared to other trips into high seas and mayhem off the west coast of Vancouver Island, this was easy. Flat seas, plenty of fish and only twenty miles from Vancouver. The net was being hauled up the stern ramp at 1.29 a.m. when the *Charmer* listed to port. It paused then, as the net was hauled higher, rolled to starboard and didn't come back. Water poured through manholes open to receive fish. It also cascaded through other openings on starboard and, entering below-deck spaces, downflooded the lazarette through a door into the engine room that had been tied open. Openings normally secured in heavy seas were open because of calm weather.

From the wheelhouse Trent yelled "we're going over," Edwards rushed forward to rescue him and to wrestle (unsuccessfully) with a liferaft on the wheelhouse roof. Neither Rock or Bravos could swim but, fearing entanglement, held hands and jumped into the 5-degree water. Edwards and Trent followed. The only man wearing flotation was West who remained on the now upturned hull for as long as possible and, by so doing, gave himself a "five minute bonus." Later, rescuers would find West clinically dead but cajole him back to life with "heat-treatment" gear. Rock found West's sample pail. Using it as flotation, he made it to shore on Valdes Island. Edwards grabbed a fish tote and held on for 1.5 hours and was retrieved by the hovercraft. After he hit the water Bravos was not seen again. Trent also made it into the water alive. Although no mayday had been transmitted an *Electronic Position Indicator Radio Beacon* (EPIRB) floated free, alerted satellites and triggered a large search. The Coast Guard hovercraft from Vancouver airport found three survivors – West clinically dead in the water, Edwards severely hypothermic in the water and Rock very cold on the shore at Valdes Island. As daylight illuminated the scene two bodies (Bravos and Trent) were found.

Going Ahead

Data

In many respects, the *Charmer* was typical of other fishing accidents. For the purpose of this and related projects (including a television documentary) the author interviewed survivors, friends and family in Lawn, Newfoundland (Trent's home port), fishermen at Macmillan's, the hovercraft crew involved in the rescue,[3] salvors who retrieved the *Charmer* from the seabed, *Transportation Safety Board* investigators and others with relevant knowledge. We interviewed the wives of Len Bravos and Max Rock. We have 20 hours of videotape, numerous documents, photographs (e.g. video footage of the wreck shot from a submarine), the coroners report, notes from the inquest and Rescue Centre logs.

Purpose

The purpose was to inform prevention education. This was achieved by building a social cartography of the *Charmer* incident. A secondary purpose was to listen to those rarely consulted —wives and families of dead fishermen and, in a modest manner, invert "normal" power relations that shape prevention education.

Theoretical Perspective

Social cartography is the process of mapping theory and then deploying the map to analyze social phenomena (Paulston, 1996). The *Transportation Safety Board* concluded the *Charmer* rolled over and two men died because of downflooding and free surface effect (liquids slopping around in half full/half empty tanks). But, in our view, these were the results of the "accident." The multiple causes of this accident were in place long before the vessel left the dock. Some reside in habits, attitudes and frames of reference (or meaning schemes) Trent acquired as a boy fishing cod traps in Newfoundland. Others concern predatory capitalism. The virtue of social cartography is that it forces the accident investigator or, in this case, the prevention educator, to consider multiple (not just easy "technical") possibilities. A Functionalist analysis constructs the problem "scientifically" – e.g. fluids below deck. Supplementing Functionalist analysis with a Humanist, Radical Humanist and Radical Functionalist (Marxian) analysis, produces different "explanations" and, as such, troubling implications for the content and processes of prevention education.

Fig. 1 (available at AERC) shows Paulston's (1996) mapping of social theory. In this map the horizontal axis concerns ontology – the essence of phenomena. People vary in the extent to which they think there is an objective "reality" external to the individual. For some, there is a world inhabited by lawfully interrelated variables. They have a *Realist-Objectivist Orientation* and practice *scientism* (right side of Fig. 1). For others, reality is a subjective phenomenon that exists within consciousness. It exists "in the mind." Some people thus have an *Idealist-Subjectivist Orientation*. In extreme forms, they practice solipsism (left side of Fig. 1). The women's movement has been a significant contributor to the popularity of *Idealist-Subjectivist Orientations.*

The vertical axis concerns power and self-interest. Somebody's interests are served when prevention programs are mounted. At the bottom are theories that pose no challenge to prevailing interests. These regard education as benign – a process of "giving information" or "creating awareness." These theories are nested in *Equilibrium Orientations.* At the top are theories that challenge power relations. Hence, Radical Functionalism, in the context of the *Charmer,* would be less interested in individual errors made by Trent than in the political economy of the fishery, the behaviour of corporate owners, the role of government and unions. In the same way Radical Humanists are interested in oppressive power relations but more from the viewpoint of learner subjectivity. Theories at the top of the vertical axis represent *Transformation Orientations.*

Prevention

Fishing families, fish companies, unions, WCB, insurers and rescuers derived no joy from the loss of Trent and Bravos. Edwards was traumatized and West gave up fishing. Rock still goes out on large draggers but has disturbed sleep and suffers. What can be learned from the *Charmer* that might help prevent a reoccurrence? Families want an "explanation." There is more than one story and each depends on the theoretical proclivities of the person telling it. As such, there is more than one prevention strategy. In the remainder of the paper, the task is to theorize the *Charmer* from four perspectives and, at the end, point to implications for prevention.

Functionalist Story

This dwells on the material (and observable) "facts" and deploys "science" to reach conclusions. It focuses on what happened aboard the vessel and is not likely to involve analysis that invokes politics or digs behind "observable facts." Fluids in fresh water, fuel and other tanks had not been moved around properly and hence there was free surface. After the first inclining test, new (and heavy) equipment had been welded in place. Nets and gear were stored on the wheelhouse roof. Doors were open below decks. The vessel was vulnerable and, as the last net of fish was hauled up, the relationship between the centre of buoyancy and centre of gravity became unstable. Of the five men aboard only one was wearing flotation equipment. None carried emergency lights. Several could not swim. The water was a chilly 5-degrees. A man with normal build could last a maximum of 1.5 hours in such water. Several crew were obese and the skipper had heart disease and diabetes. Two died.

Humanist Story

Humanists are subjectivists in that reality is what it is construed to be. They are concerned with how the world appears. Trent, Rock and Edwards all hailed from eastern Canada where fisheries are characterized by a boozy fatalism and disdain for flotation devices. Like Lawn, the place of his childhood, Trent lived "on the edge" in significant ways. The relationship with his wife had been overwhelmed by alcohol, two brothers had perished in marine accidents and, after 44 years fishing, he'd "seen it all." Having previously packed more than 100 tonne of hake, bringing in 90 to 100 tonne of herring on calm seas would not be a problem. But herring have a different density than hake and, because of added weights and gear up top, and below-deck openings, the vessel was vulnerable. Trent was only a few trips away from retirement and had a partner who expected marriage. He was a notorious but charming flirt and occupied a lot of space when he entered a room or fisherman's pub. Like his boat, he was the Pacific "charmer."

In this story, tying back blow deck doors open, or "forgetting" to have a pre-trip safety meeting (when liferaft and other procedures are discussed) was not a functional matter. Within Trent's frame of reference, tying doors back or skipping the safety meeting was normal – part of the culture of the vessel and an extension of life ashore. What was Trent thinking or what did he mean by forgetting the safety meeting or not securing the doors? After having two brothers die why did he go into freezing water without flotation or a light?

Trent had a major case of the "experienced skipper syndrome." He knew everything. But didn't know what he didn't know. In the end, not understanding free surface or the difference between hake and herring cost him and Bravos their lives. It was an on-the-water representation of his life on land. On the surface, he was knowledgeable, bombastic and confident. But, underneath barely literate and in constant fear of being unmasked. Even after the *Charmer* was launched he couldn't admit he hated it.

Courses taught in marine training institutes would have almost no impact on Trent and, it would be dangerous and difficult (but not impossible) to design a process wherein it would be safe for him to share his experience, vulnerabilities and, worst of all, admit he didn't "know everything." In this story two men died because of the way Trent interpreted the world.

Radical Humanist Story

Radical humanists are also interested in human subjectivity but want to upset extant power relationships. Many employ ideas from Marx to describe how people carry ideological superstructures that limit cognition or create "false consciousness" which inhibits the ability to "see" what's happening. Although Edwards had worked on the *Charmer* for several years, Trent was the undisputed master. Bravos had previously skippered his own boat but was now deckhanding. Rock had come from Newfoundland and, when the boat rolled, did not know where he was. West – the fisheries inspector – had landed on the *Charmer* only two hours earlier, felt "uneasy" about the boat but didn't say anything. Like Rock and the rest, he had no power. Everyone aboard was familiar with fishing superstitions but, after the *Charmer* rolled, there was no time to invoke protective rituals of avoidance. Rather, as West said, it was "every man for himself."

In this story the following were important. First, unequal power relations between those aboard. Secondly, the "flotation devices are for wimps" (or "you can't work in them") discourse promoted by Trent and widely endorsed by Newfoundland and many B.C. fishermen. Despite Trent's skillfulness, obsession with machinery and affection for new gadgets, there was a culture of neglect on the vessel (as represented by doors tied open, nets on the roof). As well, an embrace of superstitious ritual (and rationalization when things went wrong). Because of vastly unequal power relations between skipper and crew, deckhands had few options.

Radical Functionalist Story

Radical Functionalists share assumptions that buttress Functionalism but are committed to the overthrow of oppressive and disempowering social structures. If Radical Humanists focus on consciousness and meaning, Radical Functionalists dwell on structures, modes of domination, deprivation and contradictions within an objective social world. The political economy of the fishing industry – its corporations, unions and other parties – are at the front of this story. Trent owned half the *Charmer,* McMillan Fisheries the rest. At the time of the sinking, Macmillan's were in receivership and there was pressure to catch fish. As well, Trent had inherited the fish-quota of the *Arctic Ocean* (also a McMillan boat) which had snagged its net and returned home early. The *Charmer* was not licensed to fish herring yet was entered into a ballot to do so. In the days leading up to this tragedy did corporate owners – safely home in bed while Trent and the rest were fishing – consider it their duty to challenge cultural traditions on this vessel?

After the *Charmer* was built, Trent considered it unstable. Hence, steel was welded to the keel to make it stiffer. As well, extensions were put on net drums. As half-owner of the vessel Macmillan's apparently did not consider it their duty to subject it to a new inclining test. Did anyone look at the liferafts and wonder if they'd deploy when the vessel was upside down? In much the same way *B.C. Packers* sent out *Scotia Cape* without an EPIRB and several people perished. In the Radical Functionalist story, predatory capitalism caused the *Charmer* "accident." However, survivors and, in significant ways, the fishermen's union, didn't see it this way. To them it was mostly a "mystery."

Safe Harbour

This accident quickly faded from public consciousness but continues to aggravate survivors and families of the deceased. The theoretical approach deployed here, which puts socio-cultural and psychological issues on the table, has vital implications for other occupations and settings – such as logging, farming, construction and aviation. It also demonstrates the power of social cartography and its tendency to embrace pluralistic perspectives and challenge hegemonic (usually techno-rational) discourses. It reminds prevention educators that, in fishing, as in other industrial accidents, there's usually more involved than equipment and operations. Regrettably, there is little evidence of material that lays outside Functionalism and its techno-rational discourse in the curriculum and processes of marine training institutes or the WCB. Prevention practitioners are often afraid to step beyond "facts" associated with chartwork, electronic devices, collision regulations and other "technical" matters. The

Charmer points to the following. Prevention programs entirely nested in techno-rational discourse will have a minimal impact on safety. A more holistic program that embraces issues arising from Humanist, Radical Humanist and Radical Functionalist perspectives will have a greater impact. Incidents like the *Charmer*, only one of many, demand a broad program content.

What about prevention-education processes? Most fishermen hear stories of who did what to whom. Almost all have had "close calls" and some read TSB casualty reports. Hence, prevention educators should rely less on notes in ring binders and more on the experience of fishermen (particularly survivors like West, Rock and Edwards). They should deploy principles of adult education which place the experience of fishermen in the foreground. Rather than lecturing from raised platforms, prevention educators should come down to deck level and use participatory techniques where fishermen learn from dead comrades and those (like Edwards, West and Rock) that got away.

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[2] We've changed the names of survivors and deceased fishermen.

[3] Captain Tim Theilman, First Officer Susan Neale (now Pickrell) and Rescue Specialist Tim MacFarlane. The survivors owe their lives to the professionalism of these three as well as the efforts of Dennis Kimoto and Mike Stacey at the Rescue Coordination Centre in Victoria.

Contesting Criticality: Epistemological and Practical Contradictions in Critical Reflection

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Abstract: *Being critical is not an unequivocal concept. It is, rather, a contested idea. How the terms critical or criticality are used reflects the ideologies of the users.*

Consider the different ways people define what it means to learn in a critical way at the workplace. For some, critical learning, thinking and reflection are represented by executives' use of lateral, divergent thinking strategies and double loop learning methods. Here adult workers learn criticality when they examine the assumptions that govern business decisions by checking whether or not these decisions were grounded in an accurately assessed view of market realities. Inferential ladders are scrutinized for the false rungs that lead business teams into, for example, a disastrous choice regarding the way in which a brand image upsets a certain group of potential customers. The consequence of this exercise in criticality is an increase in profits and productivity, and a decrease in industrial sabotage and worker alienation. Capitalism is unchallenged as more creative or humanistic ways are found to organize production or sell services. The free market is infused with a social democratic warmth that curtails its worst excesses. The ideological and structural premises of the capitalist workplace remain intact.

For others, critical learning in a business setting cannot occur without an explicit critique of capitalism. This kind of learning at the workplace involves workers' questioning the morality of relocating plants to Mexico or Honduras where pollution controls are much looser and labor is much cheaper. It challenges the demonizing of union members as corrupt Stalinist obstructionists engaged in a consistent misuse of power. It investigates the ways in which profits are distributed, and the conditions under which those profits are generated. It points out and queries the legitimation of capitalist ideology through changes in language; for example, the creeping and ever more widespread use of phrases such as "buying into" or "creating ownership" of an idea, the description of students as "customers," or the use of euphemisms such as "downsizing" or worse, "rightsizing" (with its implication that firing people restores some sort of natural balance to the market) to soften and make palatable the reality of people losing their livelihoods, homes, marriages, self-respect and hope. In terms of critical theory the workplace is transformed when cooperative democracy and worker control replace the distribution of profits among shareholders. The factory councils in Turin, the Clydeside Shipbuilding (Scotland) sit-in, the 1968 occupation of the Renault factory outside Paris – these would be examples of workplace learning in this perspective.

How is it that the same term can be used to refer to such different activities? To understand the concept of criticality properly we need to disentangle the different, and often conflicting, intellectual traditions informing its use. Some predominant traditions informing criticality are: ideology critique as seen in Neo-Marxism and the work of the Frankfurt School of critical social theory, psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, and pragmatist constructivism.

Traditions of Criticality

Ideology critique, the first tradition to be examined, is a term associated with Marxism and thinkers from the Frankfurt School of Critical Social Theory, particularly Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse. As a learning process ideology critique describes the ways in which people learn to recognize how uncritically accepted and unjust dominant ideologies are embedded in everyday situations and practices. As an educational activity ideology critique focuses on helping people come to an awareness of how capitalism shapes social relations and imposes – often without our knowledge – belief systems and assumptions (i.e. ideologies) that justify and maintain economic and political inequity. To the contemporary educational critic Henry Giroux, "the ideological dimension that underlies all critical reflection is that it lays bare the historically and socially sedimented values at work in the construction of knowledge, social relations, and material practices …. It situates critique within a radical notion of interest and social transformation" (1983, p. 154, 155). An important element in this tradition is the thought of Antonio Gramsci whose concept of hegemony explains the way in which people are convinced to embrace dominant ideologies as always being in their own best interests. Gramsci points out that because people have to learn hegemonic values, ideas and practices, and because schools play a major role in presenting these ideas as the natural order of things, hegemony must always be understood as an educational phenomenon. For Jack Mezirow–probably the most influential contemporary theorist of adult learning-doing ideology critique is equivalent to what he calls 'systemic' critical reflection that focuses on probing sociocultural distortions. Ideology critique contains within it the promise of social transformation and it frames the work of influential activist adult educators such as Freire, Tawney, Williams, Horton, Coady and Tomkins.

A second more psychoanalytically and psychotherapeutically inclined tradition emphasizes criticality in adulthood as the identification and reappraisal of inhibitions acquired in childhood as a result of various traumas. Mezirow (1981) writes of "the emancipatory process of becoming critically aware of how and why the structure of psychocultural assumptions has come to constrain the way we see ourselves and our relationships" (p. 6). Using the framework of transformative learning, theorists like Gould emphasize the process whereby adults come to realize how childhood inhibitions serve to frustrate them from realizing their full development as persons. This realization is the first step to slaying these demons, laying them to rest, and living in a more integrated, authentic manner. Different theorists emphasize differently the extent to which the development of new social structures is a precondition of a newly constituted, integrated personality. Carl Rogers, for example, sees significant personal learning and personal development as occurring through individual and group therapy, and he does not address wider political factors–an omission he regretted in his last book *A Way of Being*. Others, such as Erich Fromm and Ronald Laing argue that personality is socially and politically sculpted. Schizophrenia and madness are socially produced phenomena representing the internal contradictions of capitalism. The rise of totalitarian and fascist regimes are made possible by the way ideologies structure personality types that yearn for order, predictability and externally imposed controls. To radical psychologists such as Laing and neo-Marxists like Fromm, individual and social transformation cannot be separated. For the personality to be reconstituted, insane and inhumane social forms need to be replaced by congenial structures and the contradictions of capitalism reconciled. In *Marx's Concept of Man* (1961) Fromm argues that the young Marx was convinced that the chief benefit of socialist revolution would be the transformation of the personality, the creation of a new kind of humanitarian citizen.

A third tradition invoked when defining criticality is that of pragmatist constructivism. This tradition emphasizes the way people learn how to construct, and deconstruct, their own experiences and meanings. Constructivism rejects universals and generalizable truths, and focuses instead on the variability of how people make interpretations of their experience. This strand of thought maintains that events happen to us but that experiences are constructed by us. Pragmatism emphasizes the importance of continuous experimentation to bring about better (in pragmatist terms, more beautiful) social forms. It argues that in building a democratic society we experiment, change, and discover our own, and others', fallibility. Democracy is the political form embraced by pragmatism since it fosters experimentation with diversity. Cherryholmes (1999) writes that "pragmatism requires democracy" since "social openness, inclusiveness, tolerance and experimentation generate more outcomes than closed, exclusive, and intolerant deliberations" (p. 39). Elements of these two traditions are evident in parts of John Dewey's work and they have filtered, via the work of Eduard Lindeman into adult education's concern with helping people understand their experience, and with the field's preference for experiential methods. In Myles Horton's renowned work at Highlander a largely constructivist approach was allied with a tradition of ideology critique to help activists realize that their own experience – properly analyzed in a collaborative but critical way – could be an invaluable resource in their fight for social justice.

Epistemological Contradictions

The intellectual traditions that surface in the discourse surrounding critical reflection generate some epistemological contradictions centering on the way we believe we come to accurate knowledge of reality. Two of the traditions–ideology critique and psychoanalysis/psychotherapy–work with largely objectivist conceptions of knowledge. An objectivist conception holds that there are truths 'out there' waiting to be revealed and that if people study the world long and hard enough they will stumble on these. Such truths will be verified according to intellectual standards based on the production of verifiable evidence. Research purporting to build a universal theory of adult learning, or to establish best practices in adult education, springs from this objectivist conception. This conception is firmly modernist and representational. Ideology critique, for example, holds that the oppressive nature of social reality is discoverable. Doing this is beset with difficulties created by false consciousness and by entrenched power structures working to mask their existence; but, after long and sometimes bloody struggle, ideology critique contends that false consciousness and hegemony can be penetrated to reveal the world as economically determined. Knowing, in ideology critique, is coterminous with realizing how ideology springs from, and supports, the material conditions of capitalism. The more one understands how social and economic inequities continue to reproduce themselves, the closer one comes to full knowledge. The better we understand the nature of hegemony and the way oppression manifests (and seeks to cloak) itself, the nearer we are to truth. Psychoanalysis and psychotherapy also hold out the possibility of coming to truth through the acquisition of self-knowledge. Some argue that clinical disturbance must be understood as a manifestation of wider social psychosis caused particularly by the contradictory logic and momentum of capitalism. Others see adult self-actualization as the removal of inhibitions, distortions and anxieties learned through earlier family and interpersonal relationships. Both schools of thought, however, subscribe to the view that moving towards a state of being that is more integrated and authentic is possible. In this state we have greater self-knowledge. We know better why we are the way we are and we know what forces are impeding us from reaching our fullest potential. If we could just remove or control these forces (so the argument goes) we could ascend to a state of grace in which our inner desires and dispositions matched more congenially the outer features of our existence.

The subjectivist conception of knowledge, by way of contrast, rejects the idea of any commonly understood notion of reality. Its epistemology views knowledge as malleable, as individually, socially and culturally framed. There is no universal truth waiting to be uncovered through diligent analysis. Experience is open to multiple interpretations and the exact meaning of any event will often be contested by participants who perceive it in wildly divergent ways. Each interpretation will, of course, appear internally coherent, all of a piece. These days this view is usually articulated via postmodernism, as if postmodernism represented a qualitatively new way of understanding. Yet subjectivism has found expression in many earlier intellectual traditions such as constructivism and pragmatism. Constructivism's emphasis on people as the authors of their own experiences, the creators of their own meanings, stands steadfastly against any idea of their being one way of apprehending reality or interpreting meaning. In its place it argues for a multiplicity of meanings, a plethora of perceptual possibilities. Constructivism does not deny the importance of social and cultural forces in shaping the interpretive filters we apply to experience, but it does argue that since social contexts are so diverse, the possible ways of interpreting experiences will be similarly boundless. A constructivist understanding of oppression emphasizes the role of humans as constructors of their own oppression, and in this sense intersects with theorists of hegemony. But constructivism does not immediately assume that a person's sense of oppression is necessarily matched by any objective, material reality; that is, by a clearly discernible state of political and economic inequity forced on unwilling subjects. Constructivism also views oppression as contextual, so that one person can easily and continuously switch between being oppressor and oppressed, or inhabit both states at the same moment. Constructivism, too, takes everyday experience seriously, not immediately assuming it to be a manifestation of false consciousness. Pragmatism's emphasis on experimentation and contingency also leans away from objectivism. Although pragmatism argues for the pursuit of beautiful consequences, these do not assume any fixed form. Beauty is seen as truly in the eye of the beholder and open to multiple definitions. Pragmatism holds that all theory, indeed all practice, is provisional and open to reformulation. It anticipates postmodernism in encouraging an ironic skepticism regarding claims to universal explanations and in delighting in playing with unpredictable possibilities .

Practical Contradictions

The foregoing epistemological contradictions have numerous practical consequences for adult education. Adult educators who interpret critical reflection from within the objectivist traditions of ideology critique and psychotherapy will be likely to have a more fixed idea of what critically reflective adult education, properly practiced, looks like. There may well be a tendency to seek ideologically correct templates of practice such as democratic discussion, problem-posing education and culture circles, all of which will be taken to signify a commitment to justice and equity. For those working within the subjectivist traditions of constructivism and pragmatism a more flexible methodology with an emphasis on experimentation will probably be apparent. There will be a preference for learner-centered approaches and an openness to practices that are invented on the spot, contextually responsive.

One set of tensions arises from the commonly espoused commitment to a negotiated curriculum. Those working within the ideology critique tradition are much concerned with the problem of false consciousness and warn of the dangers of taking students' definitions of needs at face value. The false consciousness position holds that since students are caught within hegemony and have had no exposure to anti-capitalistic or anti-totalitarian possibilities, any negotiation that transpires will merely sustain what Newman (1999) calls liberal hegemony. Since students are comfortable with what they already know they will request more of that, meaning that liberalism and capitalism will go unchallenged. According to this view the process of negotiation merely serves to imprison learners even deeper within the dungeons of castle hegemony. Further, the process of negotiation can only be undertaken authentically after students have been initiated into the ideology critique tradition and been exposed to a variety of alternative philosophical positions. Then, so the argument goes, students can participate in negotiation in an informed way. Hence, a period of instruction in, say, Marcuse or Foucault should precede any negotiation of curriculum. This position finds support in Gramsci's emphasis on the importance of exposing working class students to a body of theoretical work, through didactic means if necessary. Adult educators holding this position will fight against introducing any negotiation of curriculum too early, arguing that doing this only perpetuates the status quo by allowing students to make uninformed choices that reflect their uncritical acceptance of prevailing ideology. By way of contrast, adult educators working within the constructivist or pragmatist traditions will be much more inclined to move straight to negotiating curriculum and to assume that students' knowledge and teachers' knowledge should be treated with equal seriousness. The emphasis will be on trusting people to decide what's best for them, on privileging people's everyday knowledge and experience. This position views the false consciousness argument as one that proves the arrogance of academics and the unjustified valorization of theory, demonstrating as it does that ideologues always believe that they know what's best for other people.

A second set of related tensions arises from the commitment to democratic, participatory approaches usually associated with criticality. As faculty and students in an adult education doctoral program that espouses negotiation observe, participatory graduate education is often an oxymoron (Avila et. al., 2000). The most democratically well meaning faculty end up requiring rewriting and attendance and, at least initially, retaining curricular control. Two democratic communities emerge – one composed of students and one of faculty–who then engage each other along the lines of a labor-management negotiation. There are also the questions of race, class and gender relations amongst faculty teams. White faculty and males can abandon the trappings of power without losing authority. This is much more difficult for faculty of color and women for whom the struggle to be taken seriously as an authority is not easily forgotten. It has often been pointed out to me by colleagues of color that as a white male I can easily give up power without foregoing privilege. Finally, as Mayo (1999, p. 140) observes, teachers who experiment with democratic approaches are often perceived as less credible by their students who often equate intellectual authority with traditional didactic approaches.

So where does this leave us? An awareness of the epistemological and practical contradictions arising from the contestation of criticality should help people stay longer with the struggle to work in a critically reflective way. A naïve eclecticism which draws a pinch of criticality from ideology critique here and a soupcon of criticality from constructivism there, and which then combines these unreflectively, will sooner or later lead to a breakdown in communication and goodwill among those involved. It will also result in a loss of hope regarding the possibility of change. Surfacing and acknowledging the contradictions discernible among different traditions of criticality helps us make an informed commitment to working critically without being demoralized when things don't go as planned.

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Making Mathematics Come Alive: The Effect of Implementing Recommended Teaching Strategies in the College Classroom.

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Abstract: *This study examines the experiences of adult students during the implementation of recommended adult education practices in a mathematics methods course. The purpose of the study was to discover what effect utilizing adult education teaching strategies had on graduate students who perceived themselves as uncomfortable or inadequate in mathematics.*

Purpose

Student learning is the goal of education. For this learning to be optimized, teachers need to utilize effective teaching practices. In light of this knowledge, the question "Which practices should we use as educators?" arises. Mainstream adult education literature contains an abundance of material on strategies for teaching adults. In the discussion of recommended teaching practices, there is support for the belief that adult educators should engage in the following practices: 1) offer variety in format and technique; 2) assist learners in their search for meaning; 3) attend to affective and cognitive objectives; 4) help learners make past and future connections to their current learning; and 5) respond to the needs and the purposes of the learners (Draves, 1984; Galbraith, 1990; Knox, 1986; Rogers 1986; and Seaman & Fellenz, 1989).

Throughout the literature on adult education many researchers stress the necessity of creating the right climate for learning (Brown, 1997; Galbraith, 1990; Knowles, 1980; Knox 1986; Rogers 1986; and Seaman and Fellenz, 1989). For instance, Knowles (1980) asserts that the quality and amount of interaction between learners and their environment influence learning. According to Knowles, a 'climate' conducive to learning should be one "which causes adults to feel accepted, respected, and supported; in which there exists a spirit of mutuality between teachers and students as joint inquirers; in which there is freedom of expression without fear of punishment or ridicule" (p. 47). He proposes that "it is the critical function of the teacher, therefore to create a rich environment from which students can extract learning and then guide their interactions with it so as to optimize their learning" (p. 56). Brown (1997) reports that adult educators must actively create the classroom climate conducive to learning and to do this there must be open dialogue between the adult educator and the students. Galbraith proclaimed that adult educators need to establish an educational climate in which "an active, challenging, collaborative, critically reflective, and transformative" atmosphere exists (1990, p. 1). He outlined several principles that adult educators should follow to establish such a climate. The adult educator should do the following: 1) recognize and understand the diversity of adult learners; 2) create a conducive psychological climate for learning; and 3) create a challenging teaching and learning environment that must include "the people involved and how their personal characteristics, that is needs, background experiences, competencies, goals, learning styles, and attitudes" affect the environment (Galbraith, 1990, p. 7).

Literature more specifically related to recommended practices in the mathematics classroom setting has been forthcoming from such researchers as Fiore (1999), Handler (1990), and Tobias (1991). Adult educators must actively seek ways to recognize and alleviate math anxiety and math abuse, especially when it becomes chronic (Fiore, 1999; Handler, 1990). Handler defines math anxiety as "an anxious state induced by fear of failing when attempting to learn or demonstrate one's learning of mathematics" (1990, p.20). Math abuse is a term used to describe "any negative experience related to an individual's doing math"(Fiore, 1999, p.403). Both Handler and Fiore describe the environment necessary for conducive learning of mathematics as being one which is nurturing and supportive, where students are encouraged to express themselves and find their own personal power and knowledge. Therefore, math-abused students need a safe place to relearn how to deal with mathematics.

A third component of recommended adult learning practices is the context in which teaching occurs. Brown found that course outcomes are directly affected by the context in which the implementation of recommended adult education teaching strategies occurs (1997). Similarly, Apps proposes that adult educators must "engage their entire personality, how they think, what they know, and how they know it, and how they feel and why they feel that way" in the teaching process (1991, p. 1). Apps further argues that "teaching characteristics such as enthusiasm, caring for others, ability to listen, and knowledge of the subject matter would seem to transcend most teaching situations" (p. 10). He advocates helping adult students relate theory to practice.

Building on this adult education research and their experiences as learners and teachers of mathematics, two adult educators co-designed a course to address those concerns. They planned, implemented, and evaluated a mathematics methods course for graduate early childhood education majors built on the recommended adult education practices presented above. Inherent in its design and implementation were the following cornerstones: 1) Modeling meaningful mathematical instructional techniques; 2) Helping graduate students deal with their math anxiety by gaining a better conceptual understanding of mathematics; 3) Encouraging students' participation in mathematical discourse by focusing on the process of mathematics; 4) Emphasizing resourcefulness in planning and implementing instruction; and 5) Providing opportunities to develop and implement new techniques.

The methods and focus of instruction, which included both student and teacher led activities, were determined from students' reported data, classroom observations, and student questions to address needs based on the diversity of the learning styles and background experiences of the class participants. These strategies resulted in the utilization of a wide variety of activities including teacher conceptual modeling, labs, demonstrations, discourse, field experiences, group work, reflections, problem solving and skill practices. Teachable moments were embraced and connections were made between students' real life experiences and the mathematics content as well as methods of instruction. Student assessment techniques encompassed Socratic questioning, student reflection, student demonstration, and paper-and-pencil tests. Within each class, the adult educators interacted with class members both individually and as a group providing necessary scaffolding and emotional support to create a classroom environment that not only helped to strengthen skills but also attended to students' math anxieties or fears.

The purpose of this study was to discover what effect utilizing recommended adult education teaching strategies had on adult students who perceived themselves as uncomfortable or inadequate in mathematics. The specific research question guiding the study was: How does active implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of recommended adult education teaching strategies, 1) change graduate students' level of math anxiety and development of confidence in teaching mathematics, 2) change attitude toward mathematics by the development of a conceptual knowledge base and 3) enhance the students' ability to "think mathematically."

Research Design

The purposeful sample consisted of 42 graduate students in three mathematics methods courses. The aggregate of the sample contained 38 females. A qualitative design involving multiple data collection strategies was used. The specific design for this research was the case study method, which involves the exploration of three math methods courses taught during the summer of 1998 by two adult educators who collaboratively planned, implemented, and evaluated the courses. Merriam (1988) advocated the use of documentary data for case studies because "they ground an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated" (p. 109). According to Creswell (1994), typical data for a case study includes documents, observations, interviews, student records, and other such artifacts. A variety of such data was collected throughout the class. Initial data consisted of an autobiography of students' personal experiences and confidence in learning and using mathematics, a student data sheet, and a pre-test of basic mathematical concepts. Students' philosophy of teaching mathematics served as a source of data as well. Additionally, the course syllabi, teachers' lesson plans, formal student evaluations and any other written correspondence from the students served as data sources. Data was collected from students' reflective papers at the beginning and end of classes. Additional data was also derived from the instructor evaluations.

Creswell's (1994) principles for analyzing case studies were utilized to analyze the data in this case study. First, a detail description of the case and its context was created. Next, classifying the data included using categorical aggregation and establishing patterns of categories by looking at the data and comparing it to the predictions from the literature. Then direct interpretations were used to develop naturalistic generalizations.

Findings and Discussion

The evaluation of implementing recommended adult education teaching strategies to graduate students who perceived themselves as uncomfortable or inadequate in mathematics revealed five major themes. First, the students experienced a removal of fear so that they could engage in meaningful mathematical discourse. Second, the students gained the ability to competently do mathematics. Third, the students acquired a deeper understanding of mathematical processes. Fourth, students developed the ability to foster learning in both themselves and their students. Fifth, through the development of competence in these four areas, students gained a higher confidence level in both doing and teaching mathematics. Finally, the students acknowledged that the techniques modeled by the two adult educators had a positive impact on their learning.

Many students noted their fear of mathematics in the beginning questionnaire and their mathematics autobiographies. The adult educators witnessed many incidents of fear which arose throughout the course as students struggled with concept development which impacted their learning. As these fears were confronted by the implementation of recommended adult educational strategies, students began to overcome their math anxieties. At the end of the course students shared many anecdotes and reflected upon their feelings regarding mathematics. For instance, students repeatedly reported that they did not realize that math could be fun. Another example can be seen by the teacher, who was teaching Language Arts in fifth grade because she was afraid of math, that person now plans to integrate math into her Language Arts class. Similarly, a student who was very fearful of math proclaimed, "Through this course I have discovered I would love to teach math." One student captured the essence of the students' repeated feedback which pertains to this theme by stating:

> *This course has greatly improved my opinion of mathematics. I have grown as a math student as well a math teacher and no longer cringe at the thought of teaching mathematics. Before, I did not even want to think about teaching mathematics. My personal experience in math had been negative. I had never thought of myself as being good in math and would not choose to take a math class for fun. But now I have very specific ideas about mathematics instruction and the teaching of mathematics.*

It was evident that utilizing the adult education strategies allowed students to let go of their fear of mathematics.

As students' fear of mathematics was reduced, their ability to perform mathematical processes increased. The data revealed that 59.9% of the participants discovered that they perceived a gain in their mathematical ability. Two student remarks capture the essence of this occurrence. One exclaimed, "I have developed skills that I didn't have before. I had no skills. I know that it's ok to use a deck of cards or a puppy to teach math. Do what works!" While the other student expressed the following feeling, "I feel that I have knowledge and valuable resources that will provide my students with instruction for knowledge and understanding."

The data revealed that as mathematical ability improved, so did mathematical understanding. Moreover, 57.1 % indicated that not only were they more competent in their mathematical abilities, but they had a better understanding of the "hows" and "whys" of mathematics. Students made comments like, "For once in my life I can understand math. There are ways to help me see the concepts that I never got as a child," and "I have a better grasp of why certain mathematical algorithms work." As seen by these statements, and the student comment, "I can now understand why things in math are the way they are…When I was in school it was never explained," the utilization of recommended adult education teaching strategies had a positive impact on the development of students' mathematical understanding.

Using recommended adult education teaching strategies that provided students with opportunities to explore mathematical concepts and examine their own learning, the students were afforded a means for reflection and a method for modifying their learning approach. Throughout this process, they were able to apply this ability to foster learning in others. Comments such as "I have a better understanding of how to teach higher level concepts using manipulates/concrete approach," and " I am able to apply the use of manipulatives in my classroom," illustrate the students' ability to apply mathematical theory in their teaching strategies. Drawing upon their experiences in the mathematics class, students articulated the fact that they had more ideas and strategies to help a child grasp a concept and motivate that child to learn." The reflection feedback from the students was rich in documentation of evidence to support how the use of the adult educational teaching strategies helped them to achieve the desire and ability to foster learning.

Increased confidence in students' abilities in mastering both the content and methodology presented in the course was enumerated by both the dialog that occurred among the adult educators and their students and in student documents. Data from student documents indicated that 64.2% of them felt that they were more confident in their mathematical abilities by the end of the course. Both adult educators heard comments from students regarding the "new-found" desire to teach math and the confidence to do so effectively. For instance, one female voiced the following sentiments; "This course has directly affected my confidence. I now have the confidence in myself to know that I could teach math in an interesting way." Similarly, students repeatedly expressed remarks such as, "I'm very comfortable with math now because I have more confidence in myself." Confidence changes in some of the students were very powerful as characterized in the following declaration given by a student who was frightened of math at the beginning of the course, "I actually have some confidence in mathematics."

The effect of the adult educators' modeling of recommended methods of instruction on students' learning was the final practice examined. Current adult education literature supports the premise that if adult educators follow recommended teaching strategies, the adult learners will be successful in the classroom. Both adult educators established supportive classrooms, which responded to the needs of the learners and assisted learners in their search for meaning as the framework in which meaningful mathematics were discussed and modeled. Data from this study demonstrates that the students realized that the adult education practices modeled by the two teacher educators had a positive influence on their learning. "You are a terrific teacher of teachers. Thank you for all of your careful planning this semester. It was very apparent that you always did your best to give us what you felt we were telling you we needed." Other data emphasizes the helpfulness of the adult education strategies by reporting, "The instructor went to great lengths and put forth a great amount of effort to show numerous ways of modeling and methods of instruction. These examples were most helpful." More specifically, the two adult educators' philosophy in teaching mathematics affected students' attitudes. The data indicated 57.1% of the students reported that the attitudes of the adult educators were extremely important in helping them be successful in their learning. Furthermore, the data indicated that 59.5% of the adult students perceived that the adult educators' methods of instruction positively influenced their learning. One student aptly summarized support of the effectiveness of the environment by stating, "The instructor's philosophy changed my whole view of the teaching of mathematics."

In summation, the data revealed several themes that emerged when adult educators employed recommended adult education teaching strategies in college classes that consist of students who perceive themselves as uncomfortable or inadequate with the course content. The students experienced the types of teaching strategies, which they should use as teachers. Accordingly, their own confidence in mathematics increased as they gained more understanding of mathematical concepts, ability to learn and do mathematics. As these students developed their repertoire of appropriate instructional strategies to use in their own classrooms, they also realized the importance of providing an atmosphere where students can take risks safely.

Implications

This study accounts for the experiences of a group of graduate students in a mathematics methods course. The visibility of their experiences raises strong affirmation regarding the validity of using the recommended adult education teaching strategies in the mathematics classroom. Major conclusions from these findings are that the recommended adult education teaching techniques can and do enhance students' development of self-confidence and understanding of mathematical concepts, especially those that have math anxiety or been math-abused. The findings support the importance of allowing students who have had difficulty learning mathematics the opportunity to experience mathematics in a "riskable" classroom. This research has implications for how to help adults become numerate. Although this study specifically examines mathematics content knowledge, these findings have implications for providing instruction to adults who have previously been unsuccessful in learning other content. Attention to students' perceptions of their inadequacies and creating a classroom environment which have multifaceted instructional pieces encourages conceptual understanding of the content and the ability to apply the subject matter.

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Telling Stories and Creating Participatory Audience: Deep Listening in a Feminist Popular Theatre Project

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Abstract: *Combining the understandings of popular theatre as praxis, with feminist scholarship on the struggles and power within the various women's movements, this paper reports on a community-based project which has created new opportunities for story telling and listening. Through this initiative, different understandings about creating coalitions for social justice have developed.*

Prologue

This paper presents the story of an ongoing, interdisciplinary and community-based popular theatre project located in the lower mainland area of British Columbia. The purpose of this project is to explore and document how popular theatre can be used as a tool to work with the challenges of creating inclusive organizations and activities within the women's movement. Another focus of this project is to re-imagine popular theatre in ways that both embrace its "roots" in social movements of the developing world and reshape key aspects to suit very different social and cultural conditions in North America. The project, entitled *Transforming Dangerous Spaces*, has proven to be a rich source for deepening understanding about feminist politics, theatre processes, and the creation of trust. In this particular paper we explore insights gleaned when we discovered theatre techniques that created new opportunities for high risk story telling and deep listening and how those practices relate to notions of "audience" in theatre and educational settings.

Conceptual Approach: Embracing Dangerous Spaces Through Popular Theatre

We argue that by reconceptualizing and reimagining feminist organizing and theatre processes, the collaborating, the telling and listening to our stories, and the taking action that are at the heart of both activities can be more fully realized. We draw on feminist scholarship that has examined some of the struggles encountered within feminist organizations and coalitions, particularly in regards to practicing inclusivity and acknowledging and respecting our differences. Scholars like Young (1990) suggest that the desire for unity "…generates borders, dichotomies and exclusions" (p. 301). Groups that seek mutual identification have left many women feeling excluded because of different racial, class, age and sexuality locations (to name only a few). Groups and coalitions have become dangerous territories and feminist activists and scholars have called for ways of creating equitable participation and pedagogies that recognize the inequalities of risk-taking (Razack, 1993). Familiar ways of working/conceptualizing are no longer effective when facing conflict in our struggles to create inclusive communities and organizations. Theatre, and in particular popular theatre processes, have something to offer those who are poorly skilled in the art of conflict. It offers, we argue, a useful model for practicing conflict constructively and creatively. This project hopes to contribute to the desire of many feminist activists to work more constructively, affiliatively and pleasurably with conflict and tension. "We need more written work and oral testimony documenting ways barriers are broken down, coalitions formed and solidarity shared" (hooks, 1994, p. 110).

We chose to use popular theatre as we pursued questions about coalition and community in women's action movements because of its potential for reaching depths of human experience, because of its holistic nature: it allows us to express and integrate our passions, insights, knowledge and ideas. We aimed to engage these human qualities in the most flexible and responsive way. We wondered if the quality of conflict that is imbedded in many theatre forms, that is a source of creation in the process of theatre making, might assist in the goal to work pleasurably with conflict and tension. Popular theatre encompasses community education, community organizing and theatre making. It is chosen by people involved with education and development because of its participatory processes that recognize cultural forms, which engage body and mind, and which use specific stories to illuminate communal situations. It is a *process* of theatre making which involves specific communities in identifying issues of concern, analyzing current conditions and causes of a situation, identifying potential points of change, and analyzing how change could happen and/or contribute to the actions implied. A space is created where groups and individuals can afford to work on dangerous issues. This project explores theatre's potential to create a radical kind of empathy, one that recognizes the danger of story telling and the inequality of risk in the story telling process, one that creates spaces and relationships where stories are told *and* heard.

The Players

The idea of this project was originally conceived by Jan and Shauna who came together from theatre and adult education with a desire to learn from each other and work with community. The project facilitation and coordination was greatly enhanced when we were joined by two graduate students, Sheila James and Caroline White, who came with substantial knowledge, skills and experience in popular theatre and popular education processes. This group of four women became the "planning team". We were then joined by 10 other women all working in various aspects of the feminist movement. In the end, we created a microcosm of many feminist coalitions, varying in age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and class.

In the Beginning....

The project began in the fall of 1998 and has, to date, involved three phases. We began with an outreach phase, the focus of which was contacting women working in equality-seeking women's organizations and groups. Flyers were posted at key points and mailed out, and notices which advertised the project were placed in the local feminist newspaper. We experienced some resistance to a university-generated project, a "dangerous space" for some women. Interested participants were then invited to attend an introductory workshop where more detailed information was given and the participants were introduced to popular theatre activities. A total of six introductory workshops were held in a variety of community centres, with over 50 people attending. Out of this initial phase, ten women indicated an interest in participating in a series of weekly workshops. This intensive phase continued for twelve weeks. During this time we used popular theatre exercises to group build and to explore some of the politics of the women's movement. At the end of this phase, we presented some of this work at an Interactive Performance Workshop to which we invited women who had attended earlier workshops or who were friends and colleagues of the core group. Rather than following the now familiar forum theatre format[1], the group sought forms which, though also performance and participatory theatre based, invited participation throughout the workshop. This proved to be a very powerful approach that opened up a space for deep and varied explorations of issues.

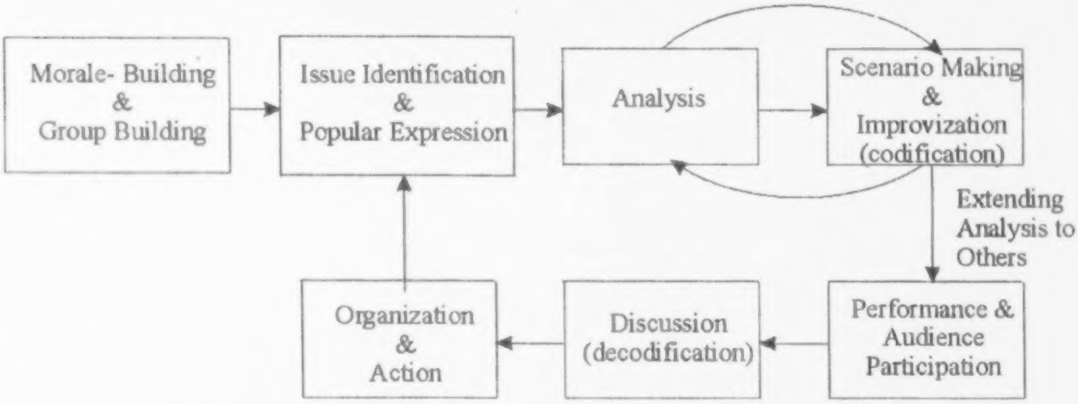
After a summer break, the group reconnected for an intensive weekend workshop where we considered what we'd learned so far and how to further develop the work and share it with a wider community. Several members of the original group were unable to continue which left a smaller group of six participants. This group then met for another intensive workshop period, meeting several times a month, with the goal of creating a play or performance that would be shown to an invited public sometime in the spring of 2000. This play built on some themes which emerged from our explorations of our experiences of the women's movement, on scenes and exercises developed for the earlier performative workshop and new processes encountered during the more recent intensive phase.

Throughout the project we used various methods to document the process and our reflections, including video and audiotaping, written feedback, photographs, and drawings. As the two coordinators, we conducted more traditional interviews early on with the ten women who joined the project. As a group we have also "interviewed" each other using a variety of character and plot development techniques. A feature of this project was the detailed evaluation and planning which we pursued between every session.

Reconsidering Performance and Audience

There is much to report on, but in this paper we highlight insights we had into notions of performance and audience that we believe have much to teach us about strategies for moving into dangerous territory, by creating conditions for deep listening through participatory audience- making.

Although there is certainly debate in the field, the popular theatre process is often thought of as following particular stages (Kidd, 1989, p. 21):



During the first intensive workshop series the majority of our time was spent on group building and issue identification. Participants frequently expressed a desire to "go deeper" and, as time went on, we facilitators wanted to move into more dangerous territory, territory which exposed our differences, our assumptions, our resistances to "coalition." Although the group did verbally debrief following most exercises, we came to understand that the potential to "go deeper" was missed at times when we silently observed others in action, keeping our responses, emotional and intellectual, to ourselves. It seems that despite the group's intentions to enter the dangerous space of collaboration and investigation of our differences, we often chose *the prerogative of the audience to shield our reactions from one another.*

We came to believe that at least two factors were key in this choice. On one hand, the ideas, emotions and potential for conflict evoked by some performances made overt reaction seem more dangerous and more risky than we were always willing to take on. On the other, as individuals offered "dangerous views" via the safety of character and the impulsiveness created by theatre processes, there was a desire to support the risk of performance that individual group members were taking. There was risk in the form of expression (theatrical performance, which involves exposure, physical and emotional revelation, as well as intellectual courage) and in the content. Our desire to support and recognize these risks at times led us away from fully confronting the meanings, opinions and divisions among us that were also revealed. We had spent much energy on creating a space that was "safe enough to be dangerous"; now we had to make the most of it.

By this time the group had worked with action/reaction and offer/yield exercises, in abstract, metaphoric and situational scenes. We had built skills in playing objectives and structuring playable improvised realistic scenes. We had worked with various forms of dramatic sculpturing and with a variety of fabrics within sculptures. Seizing on the desire to go deeper, the "planning team" decided to create a new exercise which directly addressed what was happening within the group, moving closer to the centre of our experiences within the women's movement. We asked the group to reflect on our own group process. "Think back to a dangerous moment during our work together, a moment where you believe we could have "gone deeper," but didn't. Write a phrase that someone said or could have said, or thought but did not say, in that moment. Put the paper in the hat." Following this request, we set up a performance exercise similar to one pursued in an earlier meeting: a person picks a line from the hat, says it, a second person responds, a short scene ensues: offer/yield. Replay, trying alternative responses. This time the lines were selected from "dangerous moments," moments that evoked strong emotion, contradictory views, challenges, expressions of varying status, etc. However, there was more to it. We designed a further element to this exercise because, in evaluation/planning sessions between our workshops we came to believe that, although theatre was enabling us at times to risk expressing dangerous views, to say the unsayable, the dramatic exercises' very structure was inhibiting us from going yet another layer deeper. The element of performance, even within this process-oriented and highly participatory project, made room for *silent observers. As observers, we were not culpable for our silence.* When forming audience for one another, we could hide, even though we said we wanted to "go deeper."

This time we asked the rest of the group, the "audience," to stand in a circle, all holding on to a long piece of fabric, around the two "performers." After the first exchange – the "dangerous moment" line and the response–the rest of us responded by physicalizing, "instant sculpturing" our response to the exchange. Externalizing our reactions, in relation to one another and in relation to the central exchange, linked by a circle of fabric. Suddenly we expressed the multiple reactions to moments of confrontation–challenges, appeasements, expressions of self in the midst of "dangerous territory": moments of privilege, moments of anger, moments of racism. Suddenly even our silences were recorded, the meanings of our silences, our withdrawals as well as our enthusiasms. We were certainly "deeper."

The process was invented out of a combination of known theatrical forms and application of theatre style and symbol to the immediate circumstance. We would never evade one another at this level again. We went deeper and faced the consequences. We had spoken the unspeakable *and* responded. Together. Overtly. There is more work to do.

This fusion of exercises was built out of deep investigation of group feedback, facilitator observation, passing comments, personal and group analysis of what's working and what's not, and the opportunity to wonder aloud, in depth, about what was helping/hindering us. These new theatrical approaches raise important questions about the need for reconsidering *performance and audience*, within every phase of the process of popular theatre, and within the process of popular education. By capturing these silences and refusals, by inviting them to be performed through improvisation, we engaged in a quality of deep listening where we observed and heard not only other players, but also ourselves.

Listening to Others and to Ourselves...

In this project, we have argued that popular theatre offers a way to work with and acknowledge the creative aspects of the dangerous spaces within women's movements. We have also explored the contradictions within some popular theatre processes. There is a deep analysis that can go on when observers, the audience, watch rather than live through the experience. Observers are able to objectify the problems and in so doing, think about possible solutions or alternative actions. However, within traditional popular theatre processes, particularly as practiced within northern countries, the audience response, within both intensive participatory workshops and performance settings, has not yet been fully tapped as another place to "go deeper." In this project we are experimenting with this relatively untapped resource.

> Working across and with differences requires that we create and support the conditions in which we can express our understandings and hear each other. Deep listening is a practice of radical empathy where we offer up our own experiences for critical and compassionate analysis *by ourselves and others*. This practice is crucial to creating communities of differences and strong coalitions that stand for social justice. The women's movement is a place where new forms of citizenship are struggling to develop. Can popular theatre and its engagement with communities whose stories have not been heard, bring some insight into both listening and speaking which is central to citizenship and to movements for social justice, such as feminism?
>
> Communication is an effort that acknowledges a more-than-one, a separateness, a difference that may be the source of conflict, and at the same

> time foregrounds the possibility of bridging that gap by devising a means of relatedness . . . but it also means ceding the possibility of control and the certain achievement of one's current goals . . . we are sometimes overwhelmed by a passion for control simply because of our passion of the world, because we care about things. This difficulty presents one of the central challenges of politics: addressing a conflict through political interaction demands that we resist the desire for complete control, but what is behind that desire (a particular commitment) is what prompts us to political interaction in the first place. (Beckford, 1996, p. 4-5)

Perhaps through theatre and its power to express our conflicts, desires and passions we can find clues for listening across our differences. Perhaps we can find ways to recognize that our desire for social justice is based on an inherent contradiction: the need for sustained commitment and the desire for control. Our work suggests that creating a radical empathy may require a reconceptualization of the performance/audience relationship and a re-imagining of what commitment to social justice means. This project, we hope, helps us to reconsider our responsibility and accountability as "players" who must listen deeply to each other for our cues, and who must acknowledge, overtly, our responses to those cues. Perhaps the conflict which seems inherent to our social justice efforts means that we are working "in the crack" of the contradiction, a contradiction that is not something to be transcended, but rather embraced.

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[1] Forum Theatre, developed and practiced by Augusto Boal (1979) and his followers, typically offers an audience a 15-20 minute play which has been developed around an issue or community story. It is performed without interruption, then when replayed, the audience is invited to intervene when they see a moment of oppression. Members of the audience who stop the action make an intervention by replacing a character who they believe is oppressed; they take a new action, something different, with the purpose of stopping the oppression. In the *Transforming Dangerous Spaces* group, it was decided that we wanted to create a workshop experience where the audience was, from the beginning, invited to become participants, rather than spectators, or even, to use Boal's term, 'spectators'.

Motivation in Adult Education: From Engagement to Performance

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Abstract: *This paper will focus on recent developments on the theme of adult motivation for education and training. It is based on the results of a large empirical research project conducted in France between 1997-99*

Introduction

The rationale for research into adult motivation for education and training in France rests firstly on the phenomenon of ever-growing demand for competence development (both for the workforce and the unemployed), faced with stagnating, sometimes dwindling public and private funding of training. Caught in this double bind, trainers, HRD specialists, managers and workers themselves have to find new ways of developing corporate knowledge and skills without necessarily banking on formal, subsidized training programs. Hence the success of such concepts as informal learning, learning organizations, self-directed learning, work-based learning, etc. Hence also the increase in pressure on people's involvement in work performance and, consequently, in to the self-management of their qualifications. Social and economic pressure on organizations thus "naturally" bring about questions of individual motivation to work and to learn in a more acute manner.

Secondly, over the last 25 years, most of the new practical developments in adult education have taken for granted the fact that adults are necessarily "volunteers for learning".. What might have been obvious in a different social and historical context appears today as somewhat less sure, to say the least. Moreover, as new approaches to learning develop, more and more commitment is expected from learners themselves if any result is to be hoped for. Thus, adults are more and more "mobilized" to engage in training, but not necessarily "motivated" to learn.

A "new educational deal" is this taking shape right before our eyes, which engages both researchers, experts and practitioners to have a second look at the field of motivation and action within the realm of adult education and learning.

The present research was designed to face these issues in a theoretical and empirical mode. This paper will focus on two main aspects of the research: presentation of the theoretical model of motivation in adult education and summary of the main results of the survey.

Presentation of the Theoretical Model

Research Paradigms and Adult Motivation to Learn

On the theoretical side, this research project was grounded in an interactive view of human motivation, considered as a "hypothetical construct used to describe external and internal forces that explain the start, strength, direction and persistence of action" (Vallerand & Thill, 1993). According to this view, human motivation assessment must be regarded as a "snapshot" of the relations that establish themselves, in a given context, at a given time, between a person and her/his environment, or a part thereof. This concept of motivation drives us away from other theories that stress, in human action, the role of unique processes, whether they be an located within the individual or within her/his environment. For instance, conventional behavioral and sociological theories on the one hand, psychoanalytic and strictly cognitive theories on the other, draw a firm line between the effects of external or internal processes, to the point of understating the other side of the equation.

The first phase of the research led us to examine research production around the themes of adult motivation to learn, participation in adult education, and adult learning. This led us to discard the longstanding paradigms of human motivation and action mentioned above, and to concentrate on sociocognitive psychology as the one research paradigm in tune with our interactive view of the problem.

Educational psychology has taught us for long that motivation is an indispensable ingredient of learning. But motivation theories, until fairly recently, were of little help to understand and facilitate adult learning especially in French research (Carré, 1997), with few, albeit noticeable exceptions (Nuttin, 1987). Today, with the development of socio-cognitive theories of learning and motivation, mostly in Anglo-American-oriented literature (Bandura, 1997, Deci 1995, Weiner 1992, Vallerand et Thill, 1993), adult educators may draw upon a large, consistent, theoretically sound body of research. A new vision of adult motivation for education and its impact on learning is thus slowly emerging.

In this research, with the theoretical backing mentioned above, a model of adult motivation to engage in training was developed around two main components: a renewed pattern of motives, and a threefold vision of motivational processes.

The Pattern of Motives

As regards motives, a combination of literature review and empirical observation led us to the following construct:. Adults motives for participating in adult education seem to follow four major orientations, derived from Houle's (1961) initial vision and organized on two axes.

- Along a first axis, motives are orientated towards intrinsic versus extrinsic orientations (Deci, 1985)
- On a second axis, motives are orientated towards learning versus participating (in the first case, a motive is geared towards the acquisition of knowledge or skill; in the second case, a motive is geared towards other objectives, such as having a good time, making money, or escaping some boring activity ...)

The combination of these orientations and axes, combined with empirical analysis of adult motives to engage in training, produces 10 specific motives which were labeled as follows. One is both intrinsic and learning-oriented ("epistemic"); two are both intrinsic and participation-oriented ("social-affective" and "hedonic"). Three are extrinsic and participation-oriented ("economic", "derivative," "prescribed"); two are extrinsic and learning-oriented ("personal-operational", "professional-operational"). Two are extrinsic and either participation – or learning-oriented ("vocational", "identity-based").

It is worth underlining the fact that, within this framework, motives form temporary patterns of motivation that cannot be assimilated to either permanent dimensions of the self, or to lasting indexes of an individual's "rapport" to training, or even to a stable characteristic of the person's motivation for a given learning content. Motives have three major characteristics here : they are plural, changeable and contingent upon the individual's life context.

Motivational Processes

The second aspect of the theoretical model was directly drawn from our analysis of educational psychology productions and their applicability to both our field and paradigm of research. Three concepts have thus been identified to complete our model. Our theoretical construct of adult motivation to engage in training was established upon the combination of motives and the three following intertwined processes :

- Perceived competence (or self-efficacy), based on Bandura's sociocognitive view of human action (1997)
- Self-determination, based on Deci's (1995) conceptualization of motivation
- Project-formulation, as formalized in Nuttin's (1987) theory of human motivation, including perceived instrumentality of action.

In order to put this model to the test, to produce comparative results among a variety of adults about to engage in training, and to analyze the relations between motivation and performance in adult training, an empirical research was carried out in three phases:

- Qualitative survey: 61 adults who were about to start a training program were interviewed about the nature of their engagement in the project. After a pre-test series of interviews, a panel was built, drawing on 7 different training situations. Content analysis was carried out using a "double-blind" approach. The initial model was slightly modified and validated.
- Instrument design: a 143-item, Lickert-type instrument was designed, field tested and completed by 400 adults in two different training contexts, leading to a significantly reduced second version (69 items) with satisfactory internal validity (Carré et al., 2000).
- Quantitative survey: the second version of the instrument was then proposed to 2,500 adults in 9 different contexts (completed in 99). Statistical analyses were carried out and results were

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obtained in the following areas :

- Descriptive data: variations of various aspects of motivation according to sociodemographic variables (age, gender, SPC, activity status, etc.)
- Correlational analyses among different motivational variables (motives, perception of competence, self-determination, project formation)
- Relation of initial motivation and final performance in training.

Summary of the Main Results: Quantitative Survey

We shall briefly summarize the results of the research under 5 headings: population profile, motive analyses, motivation processes, performance, conclusions and implications for pedagogical practice and adult education research.

Population Profile

The final version of the instrument was sent to 2500 adults who had just enrolled (and not yet began) training programs of various lengths, on different topics, in various settings (public, semi-public, private), organizations (companies and training centers). 1548 questionnaires were returned, out of which 1139 were fully completed and used for the more refined statistical analyses.

The research population (n = 1548) was either fully employed or unemployed, in one of the six following organizations : 2 large industrial companies (car-making and electrical production), a large public transport authority, the largest training center in France, a university permanent education department, and a voluntary organization. The respondents were mostly male (62,7%), globally younger than the French workforce as a whole (64,6% were 40 or under), lived in various family conditions, with or without children, and had a slightly lower level of education than the reference group in France. Professional status was distributed as follows : 21,7% were manual workers, 28,5% white collar employees, 35,6% technicians / engineers, 11,4% executives. Two thirds of this research population were working at the time (35,1% were unemployed). The courses the respondents were about to take varied in length from three to more than 100 days, and were dedicated to one of the following 7 areas : vocational orientation, using computers, secretarial work, personal development, technical training, cultural issues, management and HRD.

All in all, this panel of respondents presents a marked closeness to the adult education population as a whole, representing a reasonable (albeit not strictly speaking representative) sample.

Motive Analyses

Comparative analyses (ranks 1 and 2) led to the following conclusions: Declared motives were stronger for women than men almost everywhere, especially in companies. Age had little effect on motives, when organization was held constant. Family status played a discrete, but interesting part in motive declaration, with respondents living alone, without and even with children, declaring significantly higher motives than people living in a couple.

Activity status (working / unemployed), level of qualification, professional status, type of training, course duration and organization had noticeable and combined effects on motives, resulting in a rather clear cut distinction between two groups, as revealed by factor analysis.

A first cluster grouped together older, mostly working, more highly qualified respondents located in companies, with higher professional statuses. The most prevailing motive for this first category was operational-professional, with all of the other motives ranking significantly lower. In strong contrast, the second cluster grouped together a younger, less well qualified, mostly unemployed category of people enjoying lower professional status. This second group showed markedly superior motives for engaging training in all areas expect "operational professional".

Motivational Processes

Available data at this time seem to point towards the following conclusions: [i]

Perceived competence regarding training appears to be slightly superior in females than males, (and largely so when in interaction with the organization) and to decrease gradually with age, with a slight recovery after age 50. Perceived competence increases steadily with educational level and professional status, but only in interaction with the organization. Neither family status nor activity status (working/unemployed) reveal any significant correlation with perceived competence.

Self-determination varies significantly according to organization, gender (with women slightly more self-determined in all organizations but one). Neither age, family situation or educational level have any effect on self-determination, whereas it varies with activity status and professional status but only when in interaction with the organization. Last, but not least, self-determination grows with course duration, as a simple or combined effect with the organization.

The importance and instrumentality of training within the framework of a personal project appear linked with several variables: the organization (with companies ranking lower than training centers), gender (with women more project-oriented than men in 5 out of the 6 settings), age (although statistically significant, the effect of age on project formation seems discrete and irregular), activity status and family status, and course duration (very significantly so, as one could have guessed). Analyses for educational level, professional status and course duration do not show marked simple effects on project formation.

Motivation and Performance

Very few significant results have been found regarding the link between adult motivation to engage in training and final course results. 345 persons who had filled in the motivation questionnaire were evaluated at the end of the training and their results correlated with initial motivation measurements. Apart from one significant correlation between project formation and results in one organization, the very few links established were mostly … negative, as if the more motivated one was at the onset of training, the worse training results tended to be! On top of these rather disappointing results, and even more surprisingly so, precious little significant influence of any of the socio-demographic variables was found on training results. Consequently, the research team re-analyzed the conditions, criteria and marking systems that were used in the evaluation procedures of the field survey and concluded that beyond the classical vagueness of French evaluation procedures in most adult education situations, three more sources of bias had to be taken into account. First, the evaluation criteria and marking procedures were considered generally invalid; second, in one of the organizations, the most successful learners left in the middle of the course to start a new job and were left out of the measurements; third, in one of the organizations, the span of the marks was so reduced that no significant difference could be established between the trainees in terms of performance.

All in all, further research into the link between engagement motivation and learning outcomes is clearly needed, the present research having failed to demonstrate either the presence or the absence of such a link.

Conclusion and Implications

Apart from the disappointing lack of results concerning the supposed link between initial motivation and final performance, which clearly calls for further research using standardized evaluation conditions and instruments, this research has supplemented our knowledge of motivational phenomena in adults who engage in training on several grounds.

- A complete, validated list of motives, organized according to two double orientations, has clarified our vision of the reasons adults have for enrolling into adult education courses ;
- A theoretical model of adult motivation for education has been constructed on the basis of a renewed, sociocognitive vision, and validated through a series of 61 interviews ;
- The model has been operationalized and a valid, internally consistent instrument of motivational assessment was produced ;
- The instrument was used in a large scale survey of 1548 adults who were about to start a training course, which allowed a series of analyses to be carried out ;
- As a result of those, numerous differences have been established between groups of adults as to the dynamics of engagement into training. Apart from the effect of such sociodemographic variables as gender, age, professional status, etc., a striking difference was shown between two categories of adults in terms of their specific motivational set-ups.

Results obtained in the present research as to differences in motive combination and motivational processes between adults who engage in training courses could be duplicated and extended in different settings, using the present methodology and instrument with three possible different goals:

- Research: adult educational theory could benefit from wider analyses of the reasons why adults go into training. Comparison of results obtained with similar procedures in a variety of settings could enlarge our vision of adult motivation to learn and develop.
- Pedagogical practice: with the help of a simple key, trainers could offer the instrument at the onset of new training programs and thus get a more precise, more conceptually sound vision of their groups, than with conventional needs analysis approaches. Course preparation time, trainer anxiety and new materials development needs are likely to be reduced with such an approach.
- Lastly, this instrument and its interpretation key could be used in self-diagnosis procedures to help adults decide on which training courses to join and to reflect on their dispositions to learn or … not to learn!

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[i] Complementary analyses were being carried out at the time this document was being written. Definitive results on this section will be available by the time of the AERC Conference.

Re/searchers as Co-learners:
Life Narratives on Collaborative Re/search in Aboriginal Communities

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Abstract: *Our goal is to share our lived experience of the unanticipated learning that occurred during our inquiry into educational issues in Aboriginal communities. What stems from this inquiry is recognition that re/searchers are co-learners rather than experts. Consequently, we are endeavouring to increase awareness of ethical considerations regarding re/search.*

Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge the direct and indirect participation of faculty, graduate students, and community participants during our inward and collaborative inquiry. Without their involvement, this experience and our reflections on it, would not have been possible. The work that went into producing this paper has been a tentative process of crossing cultural boundaries and successfully building our relationship based on cooperation and collaboration and mutual respect.

Definition

For the purpose of this paper, "Aboriginal" is intended to include Indian, Inuit, and Metis.

Objectives

As collaborators for this presentation we first came into contact with one another during a course on Aboriginal research methodologies. Midway through this course, we began collaborating on a joint venture to critically reflect on our experiences regarding re/search from two cultural perspectives, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, while conducting re/search in Aboriginal communities. Our reflections, particularly on ethical issues, evolved over several months of dialogue during which we conducted research in four Aboriginal communities regarding issues in Aboriginal education. Our goal is to share our experiences in terms of learning how to cross cultural boundaries in order to conduct re/search in these Aboriginal communities. Consequently, we have endeavoured to increase awareness of ethical and cultural issues that arise for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal adult educators intending to conduct re/search in Aboriginal communities.

Denise: I am an Aboriginal woman from the Northwest Territories. My background is Gwich'in and Metis-Cree. My grounding is in the MacKenzie Delta where I was born in Aklavik and raised in Inuvik, Northwest Territories. I have raised a family in the South Slave region of the Northwest Territories where I had been a teacher and an administrator for several years. I am currently completing a Master of Education Degree in the First Nations Education Program, Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta.

Heather: I am a Euro-Canadian woman of Scottish and English heritage. I was born in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, but I spent most of my early years in Manitoba. My background is in Cultural Anthropology and cross-cultural inquiry mainly in Native Studies and the culture of the Deaf. I am currently completing a Master of Education Degree in the Adult and Higher Education Program, Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta. I have been teaching adults for a number of years in formal, non-formal, and informal settings.

Heather: Before submitting this paper, Denise shared an invaluable insight regarding permission from outside the conventional framework of academia in terms of publishing this paper. *Denise:* We needed to receive authorization from outside academia, someone who could determine that this paper was acceptable. What I mean by "acceptable" is that the paper needed to be validated by a recognized authority in the area of re/search with Aboriginal communities to confirm that our words were truthful. I do not mean "truthful" from a legal aspect, I mean that we needed to take responsibility for our words. I have to be aware of the ramifications for taking this kind of action. *Heather*: It had not occurred to me that this measure should be taken until Denise expressed her concern. As a result of our discourse, I have become more fully aware of the ethical considerations regarding publication. Being a neophyte in terms of publishing in academia, I began to fully grasp the weight of responsibility attached to allowing this paper to be published.

Theoretical Framework

Conducting research in Aboriginal communities has been a largely negative experience for those who are being "researched". In many cases, Aboriginal people have been involuntary subjects for investigation by members of the dominant society (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996, Hermes, 1998; La Fromboise & Plake, 1983). "The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonization…. [Research] is implicated in the worst excesses of colonization [and] remains a powerful remembered history" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 1) for many Aboriginal people. This disturbing fact is becoming more widely recognized and is slowly being confronted from within the Aboriginal population and by the dominant society.

Argument for an Alternative Model

The Aboriginal research methodologies course, where we began this inquiry, provided a forum to begin looking at research from outside the mainstream perspective. The class explored the possibilities of what research could mean from an Aboriginal perspective and how that meaning might differ from a non-Indigenous perspective. The class identified that the positivist approach to research has traditionally been an attempt to confirm that which is already believed to be true. However, other methods have taken radically different approaches. For example heuristics, phenomenology, grounded theory, situated response, life narrative, and lived experience are alternative methods that pursue a search for knowledge. The class also examined traditional forms of inquiry in Aboriginal communities including oral traditions and storytelling. From the class discussions emerged the concept of "re/search", which to us symbolized a departure from the traditional way of perceiving research and moving towards an alternate definition. We began to examine our positions as insider/outsider within the re/search process rather than as researchers from the colonized/colonizer perspective. From this vantage point, we conducted our re/search in Aboriginal communities and explored our experiences through collaborative cross-cultural inquiry.

Discussion

In selecting our communities, we considered the broad definition of community to include either people living in a specific locality or a group of people sharing common interests and experiences. *Denise*: Both of the communities I selected were communities that I was familiar with, one was based on a geographical location and the other was based on a group of individuals sharing a common experience. *Heather*: I was not familiar with either of the communities I selected for conducting research. I decided to approach two communities in close proximity to one another with distinctly different lived experiences.

Denise: As an inside re/searcher, that is, knowing the participants in the study, having been raised in the same geographical location, and sharing a similar lived experience puts me, an Aboriginal re/searcher, in a unique position. Evered and Louis (1981) note that "insiders…are those whose personally relevant social world is under study….We may characterize the insider's actions as pursuing "inquiry from the inside" (cited in Bartunek & Louis, 1996, p. 12).

Heather: In contrast, as an outside (non-Aboriginal) re/searcher, I am in an alternatively unique position because I have experienced a very different social (and political, economic, cultural) reality. According to Evered and Louis (1981) "the outside re/searcher's actions may be characterized as "pursuing inquiry from the outside" (cited in Bartunek & Louis, 1996, p. 12). "By capturing, conveying, and otherwise linking the perspectives and products of inquiry of both insider and outsider, a more robust picture can be produced of any particular phenomenon under study" (Bartunek & Louis, 1996, p. 13). Through cross-cultural collaborative inquiry during the various stages of our re/search, we have endeavoured to employ this alternative method for critically reflecting on and interpreting our own experience and moving beyond, by introducing a critical examination of each other's experience in terms of learning what it means to conduct re/search.

The narrative inquiry approach, developed by Clandinin and Connelly (1994), involves the informant, who is also an insider, critiquing and advancing the outsider's interpretation of data (Bartunek & Louis, 1996). We went one step further with the concept of collaborating lived experience by not only critiquing and advancing each other's data but also by critically dialoguing about each other's lived experience. We are working towards framing such re/search by paying particular attention to ethics and culture for conducting re/search in Aboriginal communities. We are attempting to provide not only a basis for a deeper understanding of the experience of working as a re/searcher in Aboriginal communities so that other adult educators may be able to act more thoughtfully and more tactfully in similar situations (van Manen, 1997; Frank, 1995) but also so that re/searchers behave in a less oppressive or exploitive manner. It is important to recognize that this paper is not about the findings of our inquiry into issues in Aboriginal education. This paper is concerned with critically reflecting on the ethical considerations for conducting re/search in Aboriginal communities.

Heather: Through ongoing discussion and reflection I came to realize the extent of the ramifications embedded in attempts by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal re/searchers to do research within Aboriginal communities. For example, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal re/searchers may or may not be accepted into an Aboriginal community depending on the nature of the inquiry, the methodology, the implications, and how or who the re/search will be of benefit. Through further discussion and reflection, I was able to appreciate the internalized colonization that could be present in Aboriginal communities. I also became aware that there would be certain aspects of community dynamics and issues that would remain hidden from me as an outsider. Conversely, there would be other aspects that I would be able to observe that others would not see because of their closeness to the issues. Inside and outside re/searchers are able to view a phenomenon differently and ask questions the other has not considered. With ongoing discourse, each re/searcher is provided with a more holistic understanding of the issues under investigation.

Denise: One misconception held by the general public about Aboriginal people is that we are all the same in terms of our culture, language, practices, beliefs, and values. The cultural groups found within the Aboriginal population are diverse. As Aboriginal people, we need to recognize the differences and honour them when entering a new community. If you are not among your own people, you could be considered an outsider.

Heather: One of the considerations I have found myself struggling with is whether or not a white re/searcher should carry out research on a topic that involves Aboriginal people. Tuhiwai Smith (no date) notes that some argue that a white re/searcher can be involved in Aboriginal re/search but not on his or her own. Others argue that no re/search is exclusively owned by one particular group. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) suggests there are ways of negotiating relationships between non-Aboriginal re/searchers and Aboriginal communities. Rigney (1997) adds that critical re/search by non-Aboriginal re/searchers should continue if it assists with the struggles Aboriginal people have for self-determination (p. 12). I continue to explore the acceptability of my involvement in any re/search study through discussions with potential participants as well as with academic and non-academic advisors. Negotiating permission from the Chief and Council to enter a community is fundamental to the success of a re/search project.

Denise: The motive behind conducting re/search is important. I want my re/search and related work to be useful to northern Aboriginal people. In fact, I choose to pursue re/search that has been guided by discussions with northern Aboriginal people. I choose topics for projects based on relevant issues. Completing course requirements or writing for publication are not the main driving forces behind my decisions. The finished project has to be of some use to my people.

Heather: As a non-Aboriginal person, I had concerns in regards to conducting re/search in both communities. I wanted to behave in a respectful and ethical manner particularly as I was negotiating entry into the community. I was concerned that I would not be accepted by the people that I wanted to work with based on previous negative experiences that they may have had with other non-Aboriginal re/searchers. My hope was that people would become comfortable with me and accept me in their communities. Reflecting on this experience, I have come to realize that the more meaningful inquiry occurred when I became an active part of the second community before I begin active re/search. Visiting with community members and establishing a real relationship is an important part of the re/search experience because it is through this interaction that people come to know my reasons for being there. By visiting, a genuine interest in each other and the issues under inquiry are promoted (Colorado, 1988).

Denise: I would hesitate to refer to myself as a re/searcher although this is the work I am doing. As noted above, negative connotations of the past are still strongly rooted in the label "researcher". Integrity is an important value in obtaining information from an Aboriginal community. I have to give something back to the community in terms of reciprocation for the teaching they have given me. If information is taken from an individual or community, it needs to clear what the motive is and how the results will be used and whom it will benefit. It seems to me that there is often too much emphasis on data collection, I believe the emphasis should be on *how* the data is analyzed.

Heather: The role of re/searcher is analogous to that of a learner, storyteller, or explorer. Re/search itself is a means for sharing knowledge. It has been said that the topic, the method, the methodology, and the re/searcher change over the course of a study. Kvale (1996) presents a metaphor of the re/searcher as a traveler and suggests that "the journey may not only lead to new knowledge; the traveler might change as well....The journey might instigate a process of reflection that leads the [researcher] to new ways of self-understanding" (p. 4). I believe this to be true. I have acknowledged that I may not always achieve the expected outcomes outlined in my future re/search proposals, particularly if I employ collaborative or participatory action research. However, I will be able to draw conclusions from the unanticipated tangential learning and subsequent outcomes that surface during the re/search process.

Findings

In positioning ourselves through life narratives we get a sense of ourselves, but with the understanding that this sense of self is dynamic (Usher et al., 1997). Only a fraction of any experience can be storied and expressed at any one time. Inevitably, a great deal of the lived experience falls outside the dominant stories about lives and relationships (White & Epston, 1990 cited in Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1997). According to White and Epston (1990) "those aspects of lived experience that fall outside of the dominant story provide a rich and fertile source for the generation, or re-generation on alternative stories" (cited in Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1997, p. 15). In this particular forum, the primary goal then, is not to share an analysis or conclusions of our fieldwork, but rather to share part of our lived experience, which falls outside the dominant story. We are sharing our reflections as adult learners with insider/outsider re/search roles in Aboriginal communities with the principal focus relating to culture and ethics. The approach we have taken in terms of our experience is to triangulate personal meanings with the meanings shared with each other and the presence and influence of our different contexts and different discourses (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997; Brookfield, 1995; Erlandson et al., 1993). This approach to knowledge is an engagement in the process of re-viewing ways of knowing (Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1997; Brookfield, 1995).

Implications

In sharing our critical reflections about our experiences conducting re/search in Aboriginal communities, we have endeavoured to bring about awareness of an alternative method for examining the auxiliary learning that takes place while conducting re/search in Aboriginal communities. The implications of sharing our critical reflections in terms of adult education theory and practice are becoming increasingly more compelling. Aboriginal people are no longer tolerating the fact that they have been exploited and oppressed by the dominant society. As re/searchers, we need to discontinue the previous pattern of misappropriation of knowledge and wisdom. As adult educators, we need to be prepared to address and adopt alternative re/search practices and recognize the auxiliary learning that occurs when re/searchers conduct re/search in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities.

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Women's Development at the Margins: Incarcerated Women's Search for Self

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Abstract: *This study examines how one group of marginalized women, the incarcerated, construct their sense of self. Using the notion of nonunitary subjectivity to analyze life history narratives, I demonstrate how multiple positionings within available discourses serve to disadvantage these women.*

The notion of development usually implies fundamental change (e.g., cognitive, moral, epistemic) that occurs in human beings over time and that is theorized in linear ways and according to unquestioned social norms. Alternative approaches have been offered more recently by feminists working from postmodern and poststructural perspectives who focus on the notion of subjectivity and seek to understand how it is constructed within the complexities of social interaction and discourse. This approach is particularly salient for the study of identity. Weedon (1997, p. 32) defines subjectivity as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world." Also implicit in this concept is the belief that the self is nonunitary, that it is "dynamic and multiple, always positioned in relation to particular discourses and practices and produced by these" (Henriques, et al., p. 3). While distinctions can, and usually should, be drawn between the terms *subjectivity* and *self*, for the purposes of this discussion I follow Griffiths (1995) and use them interchangeably and connect them to the concept of identity.

Riessman (1993), among many others, argues that subjectivity is best understood through the analysis of narrative, and Bloom (1998) has been particularly successful in using the concept of nonunitary subjectivity as an analytic tool, demonstrating how narrative makes visible the complexities and contradictions of the self. In this study I follow a similar approach. My purpose is to understand how women at the margins of society, in this case incarcerated women, construct their subjectivity or sense of self. I conducted extensive and unstructured life history interviews with 24 women inmates, then analyzed their narratives using a modification of the holistic-content approach outlined by Lieblich et al. (1998). For each woman I identified the overarching themes in her life narrative, then examined closely one or more portions of the narrative in which she appeared to be in dialogue with herself, usually within the context of one of the major themes. I then used that segment as a lens through which to view the theme more closely, paying particular attention to how her multiple subjectivities were made visible in this process and how she positioned herself within the various social discourses available to her. In this paper I demonstrate this approach in some detail with the story of one of the women, and then suggest how the complex subjectivity of these particular marginalized women can be conceptualized.

Sabine

When I first met Sabine she told me that her life was about "hurt and pain." She wasn't wrong. A black woman in her early forties, she had served four years of her 20-year sentence for the death of a child in her care. She was adamant in her claim that she was not responsible for the child's death, and I believed her. She and her siblings grew up in a dysfunctional family, with an alcoholic father and an emotionally distant mother, in conditions of poverty that presented a significant burden for her. Her unhappy childhood moved quickly into a hurtful adulthood, with the horror of a gang rape at a friend's house when she was 16, a serious suicide attempt after that, a series of disappointing and sometimes abusive relationships with men, and a continuous struggle with poverty. While she earned the distrust of those around her by a few minor acts of thievery, she had only spent a brief time in jail on a theft charge before her current conviction and imprisonment. Unlike all the other women I interviewed, she always seemed out of place in prison, and she clearly struggled to make sense of this experience. Her family had retained a lawyer who continued to plead her case, and several months after we met, her conviction was overturned and she was released.

Several overarching themes mark Sabine's life narrative, the largest of which is her identity as victim. She has been actively hurt by others (being molested by her uncle, the rape, the abuse and infidelity by men with whom she's been in relationship), and she been hurt by circumstances (ongoing poverty, the absence of adequate emotional support and approval by her mother, her current conviction). And as we will see shortly, she is also hurt in significant ways by her own actions. The second major theme is the breaking of trust. She has been consistently disappointed by those she trusted and in her narrative she often gives voice to her own mistrust of herself. Perhaps even more hurtful to her is being distrusted by others, a dimension of this theme that appears again and again. Finally there is the theme of isolation. This gets expressed in terms of critical secrecy–she hides the story of the rape, and she tells no one in prison the nature of her charge (for their own protection, women who responsible for the death of a child are counseled to make up another crime). Her unfulfilled longing for love and acceptance from significant others isolates her emotionally, and she actively blocks painful memories and feelings, thus creating isolation within. When I asked her to give me an image of herself, she spoke of being wrapped in a hard shell, alone but protected from harm. I thought it was a particularly apt image.

It was in my initial attempts to analyze Sabine's narrative that I saw the possibilities inherent in examining moments when the self seemed to be in dialogue with itself. About two-thirds of the way into the first interview, Sabine tells me three stories on top of one another, essentially unprompted by me. It was unusual for her to volunteer stories; initially she asked me to ask her questions about her life because she couldn't freely talk about it, and I often had to ask for specific instances of certain things, like the impact of poverty on her as a child. But here she narrates freely. What I believe she is doing in these stories is trying to make sense of her identity as a criminal. Just before this section she was telling me about when she moved in with her older sister after she recovered from her suicide attempt. When she said they started not getting along anymore, I asked what led to that, and she told me the story of meeting her first husband and being jealous of her sister because she was flirting with him. She goes on to tell me that after she married this man, she discovered that he was a drug addict and that he was conducting a longstanding affair with another woman. She tries to hurt him by taking up with another man, only to be hurt herself when her husband finds out because from then on he was bitter towards her. On the heels of that, she tells the following three stories:

> *And then me and my ex-husband, we had started staying with his mom, and his mom, I don't think she cared for me too much. I don't think so. But I tried so hard for her to understand me. It's because I've got real moody ways, and I try to get her to understand me, and try to like me, and stuff like that. And then, too, it probably just was me, I don't know. I don't know if she really started liking me or what. I don't know. I never just came out and asked her so I really don't know.*
>
> *And then I did something to her that was really hurtful. One time we was behind on our bills, and she had some money and I took some money from her. Today, I don't know if she knows I'm the one that took the money from her but after that, oh, it hurted me more than it probably hurted her, because it stayed on my mind, it really bugged me for a long time.*
>
> *And I had went to my sister and I told my sister, and she said, "Well, why don't you talk to her about it?" I said, "I can't" because I was really embarrassed and that really got next to me. I knew it wasn't mine, but I took it and I don't know if I took it to hurt her…I could have called the people that we owed this bill for, I could have called them and asked for an extension, but I didn't, I took her money, and I went and I paid this bill, and I felt real bad about it. If you could ask me to do it now, I wouldn't do it for nobody. That's just how I feel about it. That's probably the reason she didn't too much care for me. I don't know but that's probably the reason.*

I really sit back, and I've thought about it, maybe she did know, and maybe that's the reason she don't too much care for me. Because if somebody come and takes something that belongs to me, and I know it was them, because me and you is the only one there, so it had to be you, I'd probably dislike you too. I'd probably have some vibes about you, too. That's the kind of way that was.

And I did everything I could to sit up here, to try to make it up, and stuff like that, you know? I just didn't feel it no more. Then I felt like when I'd go around her family, I felt like everybody in the family knew about it. That bothered me, that was really an experience right there.

I: Was that the first time you stole anything?

Uh huh. I started when I was a kid, when I went in Neiman-Marcus (laugh). Me and my cousin (laugh) went in there, me and my cousin and a friend went into Neiman-Marcus and we was gonna go to this concert and we wanted an outfit, and like I told you, my mom and my dad didn't have the money to pay for it, and so we went in there and we was gonna go take an outfit, and we walking through the store, we went and put on the clothes, we turned around and put the same clothes we had on over the clothes we was gonna take. We walking out through the store, trying to find stuff to go with the outfit (laugh). And my tag is sticking out (laugh), my tag is sticking out the back. So when we get ready to leave out the store, there was two men that at the front, and they told us we wasn't going anywhere, we was going upstairs with them. And we kept on asking them what was the problem, and he said, "next time you try to take something, at least put the tags on the inside." (laugh)

Ooh, we laughed about it. My mom and my aunt wasn't thinking it was too funny when they came to pick us up, because we was, at the time, I think we were 12 or 13, something in there. And they didn't think it was too funny, so we got a whupping behind that. That was the only time that I took something from somebody, and then when it came to something being taken, it made my mom not trust us anymore. When something come up missing, the first person they look at was us. They didn't trust us anymore.

And so then I was in an incident, I was at somebody's house and their dad had took the money. I had went to somebody's house, my husband, the husband I have now, it was his cousin, I went to her house and she was telling me about some money she had. And she turned around and she asked me would I hold it for her. And I told her "no" because I didn't want to be responsible for it, and she had left it in her purse or something. I don't know how it went down. Okay, next thing you know, I was at the motel because my husband, he's a truck driver, and I was at the motel. Next thing you know there was banging at the door. And so they turned around and they asked me was I that person. And they said, "you under arrest for (how did they put that?) some kind of theft" because it was $500 or something. And I was asking them, "Officer, what are you talking about?" I went to jail. And I stayed in jail for like almost 2 weeks. I got out on probation, they let me out on probation, six-month probation. So I had to pay that $500 and something dollars back. So after I paid it back, and she got her money back, I told her, I said, "That was very unfair for you to sit up here and tell the people that I took your money, and I did not take your money." I said, "I could understand if I had took your money." She turned around and said, "Well, you was the only person there." And I let it go on because I paid the money back. And it hurted me because I knew I didn't do it, and yet I got accused of it. Like I said, it started from the time I actually took the money from my mother-in-law, and when we got caught in Neiman-Marcus, it got started from there. And from there on, it was like, whatever I did, I hope nothing come up missing because I didn't want to be accused of it.

I: So you were beginning to be identified by others and by yourself as a thief.

Yeah. I didn't like that feeling, I didn't like that feeling at all. Then after that, it was like, I don't know, I started being angry with myself.

I: After you got out of jail?

> *Yeah, I started being angry with myself, because I felt like I went to jail for nothing, and I started being angry with myself. I said "Well, I wouldn't have never been there if I wouldn't have never been accused."*

Making Sense of the Story

This passage is made up of three stories, the first of which centers around her mother-in-law. Wanting this woman's approval – and not getting it – parallels her experience with her own mother, so this is a shadow story of that relationship. While she can't explain to herself why her mother doesn't give her the approval she craves, she can locate the rejection by her mother-in-law in her own behavior. Interestingly, though, the reasons why she stole the money from her are somewhat unclear to her–to pay the bills or perhaps to hurt her mother-in-law – which suggests that she remains somewhat of a mystery to herself here. Of even greater significance is the way she takes on the perspective of the disapproving mother-in-law and passes that harsh judgment on an objectified self: "If somebody comes and takes something that belongs to *me*...I probably would dislike you, too." In effect she's saying that the woman is right to dislike her and that she dislikes herself. This is one of several places where she defines herself as unlovable. This is an underlying thread in the victim story she constructs–it's as if she's saying "I *deserve* to be a victim!" We don't get a sense of the impact this act had on the mother-in-law, but we do hear Sabine's pain very clearly. Things backfire on her–she is both the criminal and the victim.

The second story, shoplifting from Nieman-Marcus as a child, is in marked contrast to the first story; this is a lighthearted account of a childish prank, and we're both enjoying it. It's a comedic plot: three poor Black girls in an upscale store doing an inept job of shoplifting that must have amused the store detective ("Next time...at least put the tags on the inside."), enough so that no charges were filed. But then the story goes dark when her mother and aunt appear and the girls have to deal with their anger. The consequences were greater than a whipping; from then on they were marked as untrustworthy, and this hurt Sabine more than anything else could. Once again her actions backfired and she is the one who is hurt. A childish prank results in a permanent scar on her character.

The third story, the theft of the $500 from her husband's cousin, has more detail but less coherence, which suggests that she doesn't yet have a meaningful explanation for this experience in her life. This also foreshadows the story of her current conviction–and I think that's its primary significance. Both stories are filled with ambiguity and present an unclear plot line. Here there's uncertainty about her guilt. She says she didn't steal the money, but she says three times "I had to pay it back," suggesting that she took it in the first place. Also, she confronts the cousin after she gets out of jail, then backs down quickly – "I just left it alone because...I paid the 500-some dollars" – so she's split on this. There is a similar set of contradictions and uncertainties in the story about the death of the child, and in fact it is the absence of a coherent story from her that contributed to her conviction. More important from Sabine's perspective is the fact that in both instances she pays dearly for something she didn't do. Once again *she* is the victim.

The final part of this excerpt is an evaluation of the three stories. Here she concludes that the distrust others have for her stems from the two thefts she actually did do–from her mother-in-law and from Nieman-Marcus (it's interesting here that she keeps the order of the narrative version rather than the chronological version). It's as if these actions marked her as untrustworthy more generally and made her vulnerable to charges for things others did. The focus is on understanding her own victimization in life. Characteristically, she blames herself for this, a kind of self-flagellation: "Well...I wouldn't have never been there...I wouldn't have never been accused of it...." I believe she's saying that her earlier misdeeds have now made her a target, and that by placing herself in certain situations she's vulnerable to victimization. But she blames herself for this, and not those who take advantage of her (they are largely invisible). It's a significant inversion.

In the thematic analysis of the entire narrative, Sabine's identity as a victim is clear. The closer analysis of this segment of the interview gives us new insight into the nature of her victimization. We see several splits in her subjectivity, in how she understands herself and her relation to the world. She inverts the usual victim structure–blame of others is reduced (and often is totally absent), and self-blame predominates. Her victimization has two dimensions. First, she actively positions herself within the dominant discourse of judgment, thereby aligning herself with hegemonic power, but does so in order to condemn her objectified self. She does this with her mother-in-law ("If somebody comes and takes something that belongs to *me*...I probably would dislike you, too.") and later with those who prosecuted her for the child's death ("I don't blame them because if somebody would have came to me and was telling me something and then turn around it was two or three stories about it, I would've had doubts, too."). This involves a split subjectivity between judge and accused. It's especially interesting that this positioning of herself within the dominant discourse of judgment gives her a perceived advantage, as Hollway (1984) claims, by uniting her with those who have power, but that very act serves to disadvantage her because through it she shares in the condemnation of herself. It's a powerful double bind.

The second dimension of her victimization is what I call the backfire effect. Her actions against others end up hurting her more than hurting them, so she becomes her own enemy. We see this in the mother-in-law story, in her infidelity to her first husband, even in the Nieman-Marcus story. Here subjectivity is split between enemy and victim. She is doubly victimized, both from without and from within. This is quite different from the victim stories told by other women in the group who follow the more common pattern of outward blaming.

Subjectivity and Marginalization

The contours of Sabine's story are uniquely her own, as is true for each of the women in this study. However, one element that is identifiable in all the life narratives is a subjectivity that is split in multiple ways, but those always include splits in subjectivity that ultimately serve to disadvantage them. It may in fact be this seemingly inevitable negative positioning within dominant discourses that binds them to their marginal status.

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Is There Madness in the Method? Researching Flexibility in the Education of Adults

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Abstract: *This paper explores the process of formulating research questions for an ongoing empirical study of conceptions of flexibility and lifelong learning in the context of further education in the UK. The process is represented in three parallel versions: an algorithmic tale, a tale of improvisations and a reflexive tale.*

Introduction

In the study of education, and the education of adults more specifically, both the focus for research and the approaches to it have been the subject of much debate in recent times. In particular, the perspectives associated with post-structuralism and postmodernism have raised issues of language, discourse and text, which impact upon the object of research, data collection and analysis. Associated with this has emerged the questioning of universal reason (Pinar, 1997) and the identification of the values and desires embedded and embodied in research practices. This has both opened up different research terrains and put in question certain traditions of study.

It is not our intention in this paper to chart these debates, nor to articulate a definitive stance on them. In a sense, the very diversification of research practices points to the difficulty of attempts at tidy resolution - there is no single right quest (goal) or way to quest (process) or question. What we attempt in this paper is to explore the methodological issues in relation to a specific research project, an ongoing empirical research project examining questions of flexibility and lifelong learning in the context of further education in the United Kingdom.

Polkinghorne (1997, p.12) argues that "instead of a performance choreographed according to logically ordered algorithmic methodical steps, the research process consists of often tacit strategic improvisations in the service of a guiding purpose." The positioning of method and methodology as in some way guarantors of "truth" is already powerful in its shaping of what "counts" as research. Our algorithmic tale thus represents a series of logical steps in the development of research questions, framed within a methodology that attempts a reconciliation between conceptual and strategic research. Similarly powerful are those narrative accounts which, in foregrounding the inherent untidiness of research practices, suggest a closer proximity to lived experience. There is an implicit claim to authenticity in our "tale of improvisations," although a post-structuralist perspective identifies this as yet another kind of textual practice.

In our "reflexive tale" we consider the ways in which we construct the world we write about in the process of writing and reading this text. The outcome of reflexive research is reflexive knowledge; statements that provide some insight into the workings of the social world *and* insight into how that knowledge came into existence. "By bringing subject and object back into the same space (indeed, even the same sentence), authors give their audiences the opportunity to evaluate them as "situated actors" (i.e., active participants in the process of meaning creation)" (Hertz, 1997, p viii).

Yet we cannot stop there, for the story of this research does not have a single narrator. The three writers of this text are part of an inter-disciplinary "team" working on this project, each with their own histories, embeddedness and embodiments – what Usher (1996) refers to as the "con-text" of research. Each of us has a different story to tell, a framing for this research project, a tapestry of tales, each with biases that cannot "be eliminated by first admitting them and then placing ourselves under methodological control" (Usher, 1996, p.45). This text is performance in two senses. It performs through providing insights into the methodological issues within one particular study of lifelong learning. It also performs through being a particular form of text and in the use of a certain range of textual strategies. In the process we put in question any claim to authority by pointing away from the factuality of our claims, even as authority returns to haunt us in our claim not to authoritatively claim. It is also about method, while having a method of its own – with all its pre-texts, sub-texts, con-texts and inter-textual traces (Usher, 1996) – and a set or representational practices – in part laid down by the conference organisers, the "invisible voyeurs" of this text (Lincoln, 1997).

An Algorithmic Tale

Background

The research project in question examines the different meanings given to notions of flexibility in the context of further education in the UK. Flexibility has become a key metaphor in a wide range of contemporary discourses around life, work and learning. Nation states, organisations, individual workers, learners and citizens are urged to respond flexibly in order to achieve economic, social or personal goals. Posing questions about the assumptions on which policy goals are based, and about the nature of those goals, Edwards (1997, pp. 108-9) concludes that flexibility "has become central to the governance of changes in the provision of learning opportunities for adults, almost a unifying principle in the restructuring of practices… discourses of flexibility establish flexibility as central to their regime of truth."

Lifelong learning is closely implicated within discourses of flexibility, both as a condition of, and a contributor to, changes in the wider social and economic context. The role of further education, operating at the interface between education and the world of work, is critical to the current policy agendas of flexibility and lifelong learning. Thus, in a review of strategic research in further education Raffe (1996, p. 24) suggests that "the pursuit of flexibility may provide a focus for research in the 1990s and beyond as much as the pursuit of equality provided a focus in the 1960s"

Aims

The aims of the research are to:

- pilot a research methodology;
- develop a conceptual analysis of flexibility grounded in an empirical study of the institutional practices within a further education setting.

Methodology

A conceptual framework was generated from a literature review in which notions of flexibility are located in the socio-economic context of global labour markets. This review also examined the impact of these notions of flexibility on educational organisation and pedagogy. A case study approach was designed to investigate concepts like "quality assurance," "the multi-skilled worker," "the enterprising self," and the "learning organisation" in the context of two Further Education Colleges, one in a rural setting and the other located in the inner city. These concepts are often associated with futuristic constructions of a "new work order" for which there is little empirical evidence (Gee, et al, 1996). The purpose of the case study is therefore to ask how these concepts are given meaning in, and shape understanding of, the "real world" practices of further education as these are represented in strategic plans, mission statements, college prospectuses and records of student progress, as well as in the self understandings of workers and learners.

Drawing on the conceptual framework, the following questions have been organised under four headings, and are to be addressed through documentary analysis:

- *social/economic*: Which schools of thought underpin discourses of flexibility in policy documents?
- *political/ideological*: How are these concepts constructed in the texts of policy documents, mission statements, prospectuses…?
- *organisational*: In what ways do memos, job descriptions, minutes of management meetings etc suggest practices that support flexibility in learning? Who is involved in the planning process and who might be excluded?
- *pedagogical*: What kinds of flexible learning opportunities are evident in prospectuses, timetables and monitoring and assessment documentation?

For a series of interviews with individual employees and students at all levels throughout the two colleges, the questions are organised within a framework that divides discourses of flexibility into three areas of interest:

1) *Context:* The wider context is defined in terms of work, and questions focus on personal experiences of work, perceptions of change in work-

ing lives and the relationship between work and lifelong learning.

2) *Organisation*: Questions about the college organisation focus on flexibility in relation to location, time, funding and institutional change.
3) *Processes:* Posing questions about the processes of flexible learning, the focus is on experiences and perceptions of different modes of learning including the uses of technology.

Central to all three areas of interest are the people who position themselves and are positioned in relation to discourses of flexibility. Analysis of interview transcripts therefore includes an engagement with the ways in which meanings are constructed by both interviewer and interviewee in the research process.

Outcomes

Participants in the early stages of this research have welcomed an opportunity to talk about their work and learning in terms that are not constrained by the generally prescriptive or mechanistic criteria employed for the purposes of appraisal, assessment or quality control. Building on this foundation, the research will be used to inform an ongoing debate about concepts of flexibility and the ways in which these are invoked to support particular institutional strategies and educational goals. As part of the research design, seminars are being organised within the pilot institutions for feeding back, and pushing further, the issues raised by the research. This will contribute towards a more critical and reflexive stance among managers, staff and students, raising awareness of the multiple meanings, possibilities and challenges raised by the notion of flexibility.

A Tale of Strategic Improvisations

The *background* section of the foregoing account represents a compromise between the author's (RE's) particular interest in conceptual enquiry and the funding body's orientation towards strategic and policy research. Funding was eventually agreed "to pilot a research methodology" in which features of both conceptual and strategic research are retained. Successive drafts of the research proposal record a process in which RE's original focus on the production of meanings becomes embedded in a more conventional discourse of sociological research. References to "the problematic nature of meaning" and to the production of "symbolic rather than representational texts" are displaced by references to quantitative data, triangulation and validity.

Daniel (1993) argues that the questions asked in strategic research should go beyond the immediate concerns of the sponsor's brief, and be more widely disseminated than are either the outputs of basic, (disciplinary, scientific) research published for an academic audience, or the client-customer report of applied (problem-solving) research. This argument supports an approach to strategic questions that begins with an exploration of their underpinning theoretical concepts and generates texts that are useful, not because they point to better ways of doing things, but because they offer alternative ways of conceptualising and understanding what is already being done. This in turn opens up the possibility of finding more creative ways of imagining what might be done. The methodology that I (JC) presented to colleagues when I began work on this project included quantitative data collection, qualitative interviews and documentary research. Rather than posing any explicit challenge to the discourse of social scientific method, I confined my suggestions for quantitative research to a list of the kinds of data that might be collected, such as management information, records of enrolment and so on. I did not address the question of why such data might be useful or relevant to the study but chose instead to expand on those aspects of the research that were closer to my own prior interest in language and the construction of meaning.

In the algorithmic account of our methodology, the "conceptual framework" is represented as a product which was completed before we began to design the case studies. In fact, the drafting and redrafting of this framework, or background paper, (Clarke et al, 2000) has been going on throughout the first year, alongside the development of the methodology. In the early drafts, our conceptual framework was organised under the four headings identified above in relation to documentary analysis. As our writing and thinking progressed, however, it became clear that the category of "political/ideological" would not serve as a separate heading since politics and ideology underpin all the theoretical debates as well as the practices and articulations we wished to explore in the interviews. In our written texts we have located further education in a context in which the economy and the labour market are privileged above other aspects of personal and social life. Our interview questions are framed by this context but can be interrogated for the silences and repressions that might be surfaced through a feminist and/or deconstructive reading.

We have conducted tape-recorded interviews with students, managers, and support staff (both manual and professional) in the two "case study" colleges. The transcripts from these interviews provides us with a wealth of data to which we address the broad question: what does this contribute to articulations of flexibility? To this end we are approaching data analysis from different epistemological perspectives, asking what people are talking about and also asking how they both construct and are positioned by the things they say. The transcripts provide us with referential accounts from which the "content" can be extracted and organised into topics and themes. But we are also treating them as texts, which can be examined for the work they do in constructing subjects and objects and positioning these in particular relationships within a discourse.

A Reflexive Tale

By reflexivity we refer to the self-consciousness of our stance towards the research we engage with. It requires a continuous and intensive interrogation of "what I know" and "how I know it"; an awareness of the slipperiness of language, knowledge and authority, and of the role of researchers in constructing the objects of their research. The text in which we have described this research project offers two narratives which both suggest some semblance of unity. The reflexive tale introduces the possibility of critique and incredulity towards both, posing the questions: "Whose voice?" "Which audience?" and "What authority?"

In looking at our algorithmic tale we see a decontextualised account, purporting to exist in a world detached from the exigencies of funding bodies, institutional and departmental priorities, or the histories and dispositions of the research team members. Its claim to authority derives from an appeal to the conventions of academic research proposals, including a description of background, aims, methodology and outcomes. This may be sufficient (and indeed this was the case) to convince an academic institution to fund a pilot study, but is unlikely to "cut any ice" at a conference of academic researchers. Hence the improvisations included in our second tale begin to lift a veil on this idealised account, revealing some of the compromises and contingencies which accompanied the working up of the project proposal and methodology. We learn that the smooth progression from conceptual framework to methodology was far from linear; represented here as an iterative process involving frequent backtracking and revising. It is also here that we learn more about the contribution and the academic location of two of the project team, and a hint of the negotiations which accompanied the collegial working through of ideas on the shape and direction of the project. We may find this tale of improvisations more "persuasive" or "credible" than the algorithmic tale. It is an insider's story, similar to those you might hear recounted by academic researchers in the bar after this session. It is pitched towards a particular audience; it speaks to our experience as a group of academic researchers; it acknowledges the messiness of research practice. The tone of the first account may sound more "authoritative," whilst in this particular context the second may sound more "plausible," and hence achieve greater authority. Each might be described as a pragmatically designed discourse, employing specific textual strategies in attempting to achieve particular goals.

This process of unpicking the ways in which we represent our own practices is used to indicate some of the moves which become necessary in adopting a reflexive stance towards the texts we collect and the texts we create. However, reflexivity is more than critique, since it also requires the appearance of the authors themselves as participants in the process of meaning making. We are not detached observers, but caught up in relationships and the effects of power; governed by the structures and conventions of this conference; by professional and social codes; by the norms of research activities patrolled by funding bodies. As we study the effects of discourses of flexibility on colleges of Further Education in the UK, we are ourselves subject to these same discourses within our own institution. As we improvise our research proposal in the quest for funding, we demonstrate our own flexibility and reveal our identities as enterprising professionals. Positioned within a post-structuralist theoretical stance we must come to terms with our own roles as researchers; not as authoritative generators of knowledge, but as tentatively suggesting the possibility for more contingent and insecure ways of knowing. In doing this we take some comfort in the claim that "... a postmodernist perspective does allow us to know "something" without claiming to know everything. Having a partial, local, historical (situated) knowledge is still knowing" (Richardson, 1994, 518).

Ending a Story?

"There's method in the madness," represents an attempt to locate rational control in apparently irrational acts. We have reversed this maxim for the title of this paper to underline the problematic role of rationality within methodological practices. We are probably "mad" to do so. But the representational practices which constitute research – the research proposal, the texts we collect and analyse, the texts we write – demand closer attention, as they point to those aspects of research that erase its epistemological authority in the very act of claiming it, a position that is doubled in the very act of denial in which we are engaged here. "This way lies madness," "some might say" (Oasis, 1995).

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Road Map or Mosaic: Relationships among Learning, Context and Professional Practice

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Abstract: *This qualitative interpretivist study analyzed the interrelationships among professional practice, the knowledge gained in continuing professional education programs, and the context of employment. Social workers, lawyers, adult educators and nurses participated in this study.*

The intricate and dynamic relationship among learning, context, and professional work is one that has recently begun to be explored from a new perspective. Research in the transfer of knowledge (Broad & Newstrom, 1992), adoption of innovation (Hall & Loucks, 1981; Lockyer, 1991), and diffusion of innovation (Rogers, 1995) has laid the groundwork for the study of learning and context. Recently, researchers and program planners (Black & Schell, 1995; Eraut, 1994; Grzyb, 1997; Kozlowski, 1995) have begun to understand that professionals engage in an interactive process with the context of their practice and tend to combine elements of the context, information from continuing education, and experience in practice to construct their own individual knowledge base. The purpose of this paper is to describe a research study designed to further explore the connections professionals make between educational programs and the context of their practice.

Theoretical Framework

The interrelationships of three major concepts; knowledge, context, and professional practice were explored in this study. Knowledge, for the purpose of this study, was viewed as a social construction of information that occurred through a process of constructivist learning and perspective transformation.

Constructivists (Ausubel, 1986, Brunner, 1990; Novak, 1998; Novak & Gowin, 1984) believe that individuals create knowledge by linking new information with past experiences. Within a constructivist framework, the learner progressively differentiates concepts into more and more complex understandings and also reconciles abstract understanding with concepts garnered from previous experience. New knowledge is made meaningful by the ways in which the learner establishes connections among knowledge learned, previous experiences, and the context in which the learner finds themselves. Thus, constructivists believe that learning is a process of probing deeply the meaning of experiences in our lives and developing an understanding of how these experience shape understanding. Learning activities, then, are designed to foster an integration of thinking, feeling and acting while helping participants to learn how to learn (Novak & Gowin, 1984).

Learning in the context of professional practice is also informed by the growing body of work in the area of situated cognition (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wilson, 1993). Situated cognition can be conceptualized as having four interrelated learning aspects: (1) learning that is situated in the context of authentic practice, (2) transfer limited to similar situations, (3) learning as a social phenomenon, and (4) learning that relies on use of prior knowledge (Black & Schell, 1995). In this view, the authentic "activity in which knowledge is developed and deployed ... is not separable from, or ancillary to, learning and cognition. Nor is it neutral. Rather, it is an integral part of what is learned" (Brown et al., 1989, p. 32).

Transformative learning (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1997) expands our understanding of constructing knowledge by defining learning as a critically reflective process where the learner ultimately reflects on assumptions that frame previous understandings and determines whether those assumptions are still valid in the learner's present situation. Adults learn within this framework by adding to old meaning schemes, acquiring new meaning schemes, transforming meaning schemes, or transforming perspectives. According to Mezirow (1997), "a significant personal transformation involving subjective reframing, that is, transforming one's own frame of reference, often occurs in response to a disorienting dilemma through a three-part process:

critical reflection on one's own assumption, discourse to validate the critically reflective insight, and action" (p. 60).

The issues in the relationship of context to professional practice are particularly important in today's environment because professionals are often considered employees of organizations rather than free, autonomous decision-makers (McGuire, 1993). Grzybk et al. (1997) point out that these changing conditions necessitate a deeper understanding of organizational professions, the impact of bureaucracy, and changing organizational dynamics on professional work.

To provide a framework for examining the context of professional practice, Bolman and Deal's (1997) framework was selected. Bolman and Deal (1997) demonstrated that organizations can be viewed through four different lenses or frames, including the structural, human resources, political, and symbolic frame. The structural frame draws on concepts from sociology and emphasizes formal roles, defined relationships, and structures that fit the organizational environment and technology. Within the human resources frame it is believed that organizations have individuals with needs and feelings that must be taken into account so that individuals can learn, grow, and change. The political frame analyzes the organization as groups competing for power and resources. Finally, the symbolic frame (similar to organizational culture) abandons rationality and sees organizations as tribes with cultures propelled by ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths. This framework was selected for the research reported here, because it provides different lens by which the researchers can examine and analyze the context in which professionals conduct their practice.

Research Questions

The following research questions were advanced to guide this inquiry.

1. What makes knowledge meaningful in the context of professional practice?

2. How is the construction of knowledge affected by the different frames (structural, political, human relations, symbolic) of the context in which professionals practice?

Methodology

To analyze these research questions, individuals from four different professions were interviewed 9-24 months following their attendance at a CPE program. A purposive sample (Patton, 1990) of 20 social workers, 20 lawyers, 20 adult educators and 20 nurses was recruited.

Data Collection

Data in this study were collected through semi-structured interviews and document analysis. Data were collected from participants who had attended a one or two day CPE program on topics that were pertinent to their particular profession. Following a document review of the CPE planning information, participants were then interviewed to determine what they had learned or not learned, how they incorporated or did not incorporate that information into their practice, and what aspects of their practice they determined to be significant in fostering their learning. Participants were also questioned about the context of their practice, including its organizational structure, human resources, politics, and culture.

Data Analysis

Verbatim transcripts were created from the tape-recorded interviews. Subsequently, three data analysis strategies were employed. First, the researchers created a concept map (Novak, 1998) that depicted the connections the study participant described among learning, context, and professional practice. The maps were returned to study participants for their review. Study participants were asked to determine if the maps accurately represented the meaning they portrayed in the interview. Second, a category system was created and all data were coded within categories. The categories were used to identify thematic areas articulated by participants. Third, a system of matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was created to examine what different groups of participants expressed about each of the research questions under study. The combination of these three data analysis strategies allowed the researchers to examine connections between concepts under study, to compare and contrast different groups in the sample, and to examine both individual and group findings related to the different research questions.

Results

Knowledge and Professional Practice

Study results indicate that professionals who attended CPE programs used this new information to continually construct and reconstruct their knowledge base. Yet, each profession described the process used to construct knowledge differently. Social workers framed their understanding and construction of knowledge from CPE programs through their advocacy role. Social workers described themselves as "stewards" of the information and explained how they actively sought out ways they could help their clients by using information learned in CPE.

> *I went to that session thinking about the future more and wanting to know what was going to be happening with the social work profession in the near future especially . . . with the W2. I guess it was a broader thing, a more political interest that I had, how could I use what I learned to help defend my clients needs in the system.*

Lawyers, on the other hand, saw CPE as providing a "road map" for their practice. During attendance at a CPE program, lawyers would often create their own individual ways to link new legal information to the cases on which they were currently working by developing note taking or filing systems. For example, one lawyer indicated:

> *I had represented a guy who had custody of his children but he owed support from 16 years ago ...I heard something in the seminar that made me think there is some ammunition here that I could use in a motion for the court to reconsider. So I jotted that down and made sure to include it in his file and used it when I filed the motion.*

Adult educators, provided yet another view on knowledge development for professional practice. Adult educators indicated that from attendance at CPE programs they would often get one idea that was the "spark for a creative process". This spark initiated a process of connecting the new information to other ideas and experiences. Yet, adult educators were different from other professions, in that they felt sharing this creative process was part of their knowledge construction. Adult educators described how they often took on the role of "hummingbird" in that they felt obligated to take this new information and "drop a little bit here and there" with different groups. Adult educators indicated that this sharing process was vital to their knowledge construction.

Finally, nurses described how they linked client needs with new information from CPE so that the entire knowledge base became integrated. This knowledge base functioned more like a web of information that nurses would draw on when presented with new clients. Consider the nurse who described this process as follows.

> *I think of it more like creating mosaics. I mean, you have all these little pieces that come from all over and in and of themselves they don't mean much . . . but, I take little pieces of what I learn from many places and put them together until I have my own picture.*

In summary, each profession indicated that knowledge became meaningful through a process they used to link the information with their practice. Because of their advocacy role social workers saw themselves as stewards of information, conversely, lawyers described the CPE process as a road map for their practice, adult educators explained how they shared new ideas as part of the knowledge construction process, and nurses saw themselves as creating mosaics.

As indicated previously, constructivist learning theory can help us understand how professionals acquire knowledge, how they make use of their experiences and how they learn through their practice. But the results of this study indicated that there is another level of learning that goes beyond what we can understand from constructivist frameworks. Professionals described how they learned topics in educational programs only to have their ideas on those topics changed in the context of practice. In other words, these encounters were as important in transforming professionals' perspectives as was the knowledge acquired in CPE courses. For example, a social worker in this study described how her understanding of resistance in working with involuntary clients changed her views on the connections between social work and politics. She indicated that her basic education "labeled people as resistant." She explained the impact of her practice on this perspective:

> *When somebody comes to you with a problem, I learned that you don't have to spend as much time fixing that person as you do fixing the things around them in the environment. If you listen, you know it is not so much resistance; but it's racism,*

it's poverty. I learned to reconceptualize resistance and focus not so much on the individual in a therapeutic sense, but to focus on the system, and to be an advocate at the system level.

In another example, a lawyer in this study indicated how his views on dealing with divorce cases had changed. He indicated that during his initial education process he had learned to be very aggressive in assuring financial security for his clients. He explained that after dealing with many divorce cases his perspective changed.

When I first started practicing, I would become very aggressive in divorce cases about dividing up assets. That was what I learned, I made sure that I evaluated assets to maximize my clients side of the ledger. . . When I look at things now. . . there are other more important things such as preserving relationships with the former spouse and children, such as peace of mind, such as not spending so much money on attorney fees. . .

This lawyer indicated that he had constructed a new understanding of divorce outcomes and shifted his practice from a focus on the financial aspects, to a focus on the human aspects of the process.

Adult educators also changed their perspective following significant interactions with clients. This adult educator explained how she had learned to do instructional planning in her graduate school experience, only to have those ideas changed in her practice.

I went into that experience with some preconceived notions about people who can't read as being uneducated and unable to do many things. But this man was so interesting, we would have wonderful discussions. . . He had a job, and was able to negotiate his world and nobody at work knew he was illiterate. He wanted to learn to read so he could drive a car, so he could find a better job, so he could read the newspaper. He loved knowing what was going on in the world. When we talked I learned many lessons from him. I was teaching him how to read, but he was teaching me about life.

This adult educator changed her practice based on a new understanding and respect for the learner, indicating that to her education was more than instructional plans and program, it was about the two-way relationship established with the learner.

Finally, a nurse in this study described how she saw herself as a relatively good communicator. She had learned communication theory in her basic preparatory program, reviewed it in CPE programs and practiced the skill with her clients while doing assessments, interviews and treatments. When she worked with a client who was dying, however, this client taught her what it meant to communicate. Her understanding of communication shifted from saying the right thing, to being available on the client's terms.

My assumption was that if I said the right words, I was communicating well. After this experience I recognized that I was basing my actions on a view of communication that was not really accurate in my practice. I now believe that communication is about presence, caring and time, not just words.

In this example, the professional learned by constructing an understanding of the concept of communication and by changing her perspective and assumptions about what communication meant following a significant practice experience. Thus, a major component of how knowledge becomes meaningful in professional practice is determined by how the professionals' perspectives change following client interactions.

Context

The complex process of knowledge construction and transformation described above occurred in a particular practice context as well. So not only did the content of the CPE program, and the professional practice shape the construction of knowledge but the context in which professionals worked added another level of complexity to the process.

Structural frame. Each of the four professions, lawyers, nurses, adult educators and social workers described the impact of the structural frame in a unique way. Lawyers, for the most part, indicated that the structural frame had little impact on their use of knowledge. Lawyers indicated that because of the autonomous nature of their practice, if they learned new information that they wanted to use with a client ,they did so with very little concern about the structure of the firm. Nurses, on the other hand described the structure of their organizations as a "hurdle", and indicated that to use new information in their practice they often had to find creative ways to go around the organizational structure. Social workers seemed to feel that the use of new information that would benefit their client was an individual responsibility and they felt obligated not to let the structure of the organization get in the way. Adult educators expressed two different views on the structure of their organizations. When an adult educator was in the role of direct teaching, the structure of the organization did not impact how they used knowledge from CPE programs. However, if an adult educator was in an administrative role in their organization, then they described how they had to be much more aware of the organizational structure.

Human resources frame. All four professions indicated that other people in the organization were for the most part encouraging and supportive to using new information in their practice. Nurses, social workers, and adult educators indicated that their "bosses and colleagues" were usually open to new ideas and willing to try new things, as long as "the ideas weren't too far out". Lawyers, however, were often in individual and solo practices, as a result, the human resources issues affected them differently. Lawyers indicated that they often had to seek out other people so that they had a colleague to talk with about new ideas. Lawyers indicated that people they worked with did not get in the way of using new information, but rather the issue was not having enough easily accessible colleagues with whom to talk. Many lawyers in this study developed informal colleague networks of individuals with whom they could interact. Sometimes these were infrequent lunch or breakfast groups that met when an issue arose and other times they were structured groups that met on a routine basis. The interesting finding here was that these were groups created for the express purpose of sharing ideas in practice, but these groups were created outside of a CPE mechanism.

Political frame. In each of the professions interviewed, the political frame was used in a different manner. Lawyers seemed to ignore the political frame and incorporated whatever information they needed in their practice. Social workers were well aware of the political frame and used information from CPE programs in what they saw as their advocacy role. Social workers expressed that their role as an advocate was political and as such, they felt it imperative that they not only understand the politics of the contexts in which they worked, but that they be able to work in the political realm to help meet their clients' needs. In contrast, nurses would literally screen out information from CPE programs if they believed the political context would prevent its use. Nurses indicated that they would not even share information from CPE programs if they felt they did not have the power, money or time to use the information. Adult educators seemed to describe the political issues of the organization as mostly time and resources. Adult educators would describe how lack of time, staffing and people would often hinder their using new information from CPE programs.

Symbolic frame. For nurses, adult educators and social workers it appeared that the political issues of their practice seemed to define the symbolic frame in many ways. The issues of gender, power, change, money and time all initially arose from the political frame but became imbedded in the organization as part of the symbolic frame. So for nurses, adult educators and social workers there did not seem to be a clear distinction between these frames. Lawyers described one element of the symbolic frame that did have an impact on their use of knowledge. Lawyers described how their work was set within an adversarial system and that their use of knowledge was often done as a mechanism to "defeat the other side" or to "win the case".

Implications for Practice and Research in Adult Education

This study raises a number of questions and implications for adult education specifically, in the area of continuing professional education. First, it suggests a major research question in the field of continuing professional education: Is application of knowledge an outcome of continuing education or part of the knowledge construction process?

Second, this study suggests implications for the practice of CPE. It is clear in the study results that knowledge, context and professional practice interact to foster a process of constructing knowledge and using information. Yet, most CPE programs are created on the premise that simply providing information in an educational context will impact practice. What this implies is that CPE providers need to be much more creative in employing teaching and learning strategies that foster this complicated knowledge construction process. In other words, "the unheralded importance of activity and enculturation to learning suggests that much common educational practice is the victim of an inadequate epistemology" (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989, p. 41). As professionals continue to be integrated into organizations the linkages between context and practice need to understood, defined and analyzed so that learning and professional practice can continue to grow in these new contexts.

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One Year After Enrollment in Literacy Programs: A Study of Changes in Learners' Lives

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Abstract: *The study examined changes in the lives of 450 Tennessee adults one year after they enrolled in literacy programs. Among the findings were: increase in rate of employment, in participants' self-esteem, in their involvement in community organizations, and in some literacy practices.*

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to identify if and how participation in literacy programs impacted the lives of adults. The study focused on changes in lives of 450 participants after they enrolled in literacy programs. It aimed at expanding understanding of how program participation changes adults' quality of life in the domains of work, family, and community.

Typically, the outcomes of participation in literacy programs for adults have been measured in terms of gains on standardized tests and/or passing the General Educational Development (GED) exam. Some studies have found that participation in adult basic education can lead to increased employment, self-esteem, and social participation (Beder, 1991). Fingeret and her colleagues (1994) found that literacy programs produced outcomes on students' confidence and cultural awareness as well as on literacy practices. The changes that occur in students' lives, especially changes outside the classroom, may be the most significant outcomes, although they are generally not assessed. Such real life outcomes are the main focus of this study.

The Study

Research Design

Adult learners from nine adult basic education (ABE) Level-1 programs from across the state of Tennessee were interviewed for this study. Participants in three cohorts (1992, 1993, 1994) were given a baseline interview as they enrolled in ABE programs. All had scored below the sixth grade level on the ABLE (Adult Basic Learning Exam) reading test. Those who had indicated they were willing, participated in follow-up interviews at approximately one-year intervals. The study was designed to continue for five years and include qualitative (individual, program, and community case studies), as well as quantitative data. However, funding was interrupted, and the study was not completed. A total of 450 baseline interviews were completed in the nine sites participating in the study in Years One, Two, and Three.

Although data collection and analysis was suspended in 1995, researchers from the Center for Literacy Studies returned to it later (Bingman, Ebert, & Smith, 2000). The analysis for this report includes data from Follow-up One interviews from the combined three cohorts (N=199). The table below presents the number of interviews for each year of the study (the numbers analyzed for this paper are italicized).

The questionnaire used in this study included 116 questions. To examine socio-economic well-being, respondents were asked about their employment and sources of income, as well as about other activities used to make ends meet. Social well-being was examined through questions relating to family and community involvement. The personal well-being of respondents was examined with questions pertaining to self-esteem and lifestyle. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), to which an "Undecided" mid-point was added, was selected because it has been widely used with different populations and because it is one of the shorter self-esteem instruments. To examine physical well-being, students were asked about their health and access to health care. In addition to these major areas, respondents were asked general demographic questions. The follow-up questionnaires included many of the same questions as the baseline questionnaire, as well as some new ones that asked people to reflect on changes in their lives. For the present study, the 56 questions common to baseline and follow-up questionnaires were analyzed. Readers should be aware of the limitations of this research. The sample size was small, and learner attrition over time resulted in further decrease in sample sizes. All the data in the study were self reported.

There was no comparison group in this study. It was beyond the means of the research team to obtain a representative sample of adults who would be eligible for the study but did not enroll in ABE. Within these limitations, the study provides learners' responses to a wide variety of potential outcomes and contributes to our understanding of the impacts of ABE participation in learners' lives.

Table 1

Tennessee Longitudinal Study Interviews

	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	Total
Baseline	133	149	168	450
Follow-up 1	*70*	*64*	*65*	*199*
Follow-up 2	45	39		84
Follow-up 3	35			35

Research Questions
The two main research questions of the study were:
1. What aspects of life change one year after enrollment in an ABE program?

Two different statistical tests were used to answer this research question. A chi-square analysis was used in situations where variables at both baseline and follow-up were measured at the nominal level. And for interval level variables, a t-test analysis was performed.
2. Will substantial participation in an ABE program produce more change in various aspects of life than limited participation?

To help answer this question, the participants were divided into two groups: those with substantial participation (80 or more instructional hours), and those with limited participation (less than 80 hours). A repeated measures mixed design analysis of variance was conducted to determine whether there were interaction effects where the change of means from baseline to follow-up was dependent on the participation group (substantial or limited).

All statistical tests utilized an error rate of 5% ($p<.05$) for testing research questions.

Findings
In the analysis of the follow-up interviews of the combined cohorts, a number of important changes were found. Approximately one year after enrollment in adult literacy classes these adults reported changes in various aspects of their lives. These include:

- An increase in rate of employment from 32% of participants to 48%

- An overall increase in self-esteem as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale from 3.52 to 3.66

- Increased involvement in community organizations (religious, PTA/PTO, and social sports); changes in the number of registered voters also approached significance ($p<.06$).

- Positive changes in three of eight literacy practices examined (paying bills, working with numbers on the job, and needing to memorize because of limited reading ability)

- Increase in number of people who thought a book was a good gift for a child

- An increased overall satisfaction with their financial situation in Cohorts 2 and 3.

In summary, there was positive change on at least one item in each category examined by this study – employment, self-esteem, community, and children's education. It should be noted that there was not a control group in this study, and so one cannot say that these changes were a result of the enrollment of the participants in an adult literacy class. But the changes were greater than would be expected by chance, and the common variable among the participants (in addition to being Tennessee adults) was enrolling approximately one year earlier in an adult literacy program.

However, there were no significant changes in some areas. No significant changes were found in community awareness or in how people felt about their community. People were not more likely to attend community meetings or talk politics. There was not a significant increase in reading reported, nor a significant increase in involvement in children's education. There were few significant changes in life satisfaction.

The analysis for this report also compared the 32% of the group (N=60) with substantial participation (at least 80 hours of class since enrollment) with the 68% (N=129) with limited participation (fewer than 80 hours.) There were few significant differences between those with limited hours of classroom time and those who had substantial participation:

- Those with *substantial* participation reported significantly more satisfaction with their family life than those with fewer than 80 hours
- Those with *substantial* participation were more likely to say that a book is a good gift for a child
- Those with *limited* participation were more likely to report a decrease in need to memorize because they could not read well enough than those with substantial participation
- For those with *limited* participation, 18.5% people more were employed one year after enrollment than at the baseline, while for those with substantial participation the difference between employment rate at baseline and at follow-up was 12%.

Implications

The findings reported here support the conclusion that participation in adult basic education is a positive factor in regard to employment and learners' self-esteem. There are multiple factors impacting both these variables, but enrolling in an adult education program, even one without a specific workforce focus, may have led to increased self-esteem and employment. This suggests that while focus on work-force preparedness might strengthen employment outcomes, programs that focus more on basic skills development also support employment outcomes. This study also suggests that information about the curricula and instructional approaches of the programs in which adult literacy students participate are needed to really understand what factors contribute to outcomes in learners' lives. This study also indicates the need for increased support for the outcomes beyond basic skill acquisition, if stakeholders in the adult basic education system have expectations for outcomes beyond basic skill acquisition. An increased focus on community issues, family literacy, and everyday literacy uses in ABE classes are indicated if goals for ABE include changes in these areas of students' lives.

To understand what these findings mean for adult basic education beyond the reassurance that even limited participation seems to lead to some positive changes in participants' lives, detailed program information is needed. What were the curricula, the instructional processes, the goals of the ABE programs that participants attended? Qualitative interviews with ten of the participants of the Longitudinal Study who were in seven of the programs (Bingman and Ebert, 2000) provide a picture of what these programs offered. Those ten participants and a case study of one of the nine programs (Crosse, 1994) described programs where the teachers were very supportive and the curriculum was primarily structured around basic skills acquisition and practice. These were not family literacy programs. Nor were they community-based programs with a focus on civic involvement. So it is not surprising that this study found little change in community awareness and involvement. Likewise, the small changes in involvement of participants with their children's education are not surprising.

But there was a significant increase in employment even though the programs did not emphasize workforce development. Perhaps taking the step to enroll in an adult education program and improving reading and math skills, at least to some extent, led people to take the additional step of seeking employment. Another possibility is that people enrolled in the programs with a goal of getting a job.

The analysis reported here supports the conclusion that participation in adult basic education is a positive factor in regard to employment. And it supports the often-reported (Beder, 1991; Beder, 1999) conclusion that participation in adult basic education leads to increased self-esteem. Although positive changes found in self-esteem, literacy practices, and community involvement were not large, it should be noted that small changes after a short period of association with an ABE program could lead over time to much greater impacts. For example, increased frequency of paying bills reported by some participants provides them with additional practice of basic skills that, combined with other new activities, can eventually lead to more confidence in one's ability to read and write.

Other questions that could be addressed from additional analysis of the data from the Tennessee Longitudinal Study of Adult Literacy Participants (see Merrifield, Smith, Rea, & Shriver, 1993; Merrifield, Smith, Rea, & Crosse, 1994; Bingman, Ebert, & Smith, 2000). Analysis of the follow-up interviews conducted two and three years after enrollment, while of many fewer subjects, might yield new understandings of longer-term changes. A more detailed analysis of the descriptive baseline data could be compared to data on current adult education populations, populations affected by welfare reform. Questions that were discarded for this report (mainly because of the inconsistencies in questionnaires from year to year), for instance on health status, might yield interesting findings. We hope that other researchers will use the data sets generated by this study.

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Lifelong Learning: The Postmodern Condition of Education?

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Abstract: *In this paper, we argue that moves to reconfigure the education of adults as a dimension of lifelong learning signify a postmodern condition of education. In particular, we suggest that lifelong learning contributes to performativity and a loss of mastery, while at the same time opening up different possibilities for adult learners. This poses complex challenges to adult educators.*

Postmodern Framings and the Education of Adults

During the last ten years there has been much debate about the significance of postmodern framings for the study of and practices in the education of adults. This has taken a variety of forms across a spectrum ranging from enthusiastic support to outright hostility. For some, the postmodern is part of the globalisation of capitalist economic relations and the growth of post-industrial and consumer-oriented social formations within an information-rich environment enabled by new technologies. For others, it is a form of analysis associated with post-structuralism and deconstruction that brings to the fore the place of language and discourse and challenges foundational certainties in thought and action. Some view it as promoting individualism and lifestyle practices, linked to a revitalised neo-liberalism, marketised structures and a consumer society. Others argue that it provides a space for forms of radical and liberatory politics associated with new social movements and issues of gender, "race," ethnicity and sexuality, which provide the space for a resistance free from the totalising discourse of the traditional left. We ourselves have played a role in these debates, suggesting some of the ways in which postmodern framings in general and specific post-structuralist analyses can open different spaces of investigation and suggest alternative, if less certain, perspectives to those embedded in neo-liberal, humanistic or radical theories of education. We would argue that at the very least the postmodern has provided a space for the development of social imaginaries, productive of a multiplicity and diversity of meanings and possibilities through which to make sense of and engage with contemporary trends and processes, including that of lifelong learning.

Over the same period – and not coincidentally - "lifelong learning" has emerged as a powerful framing of policy and practice in many countries around the globe – indeed it may be thought of as one of many contemporary "policy epidemics" (Levin, 1998; Edwards & Usher, 2000). These policies and practices have been diverse and in most countries are still in the process of development. However, there would be considerable agreement with the argument that lifelong learning is providing a strategy (Griffin, 1999) through which post-school education and training, including the education of adults, is being, and is likely to continue to be, reshaped.

The location of adult education within a postmodern space has been, and continues to be a troubled one. For many, the postmodern in all its various manifestations is viewed as undermining adult education's traditional commitment to social action and historical alignment with working class organisations and other marginalised groups. For others, it undermines the commitment to liberal education, of learning for its own sake. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the postmodern provides a space for understanding and engaging with a fuller range of adult learning practices without the privileging of certain goals and purposes or bodies of knowledge as inherently worthwhile; providing possibilities therefore for recognising adult education as encompassing the multiplicity and diversity of practices of adult learning that are such a striking characteristic of the contemporary scene.

Institutionalised education at all levels is itself becoming increasingly more diverse in terms of goals, processes, organisational structures, curricula and pedagogy. This both reflects, and contributes to, a breakdown of clear and settled demarcations between different sectors of education and between education and the lifeworld – with lifelong learning itself a manifestation of this dedifferentiation. The spread of lifelong learning has meant that institutionalised education can no longer claim a monopoly over learning on the grounds that it is a formally constituted field or through its epistemological policing. Once learning is recognised as located in a variety and diversity of social practices outside the institutional, a multiplicity of activities can involve learning and hence be deemed "educational."

Thus, as well as designating a set of policies and practices, the term "lifelong learning" can also be understood as a metaphor that brings to the fore the simultaneous boundlessness of learning i.e. it is not confined by pre-determined outcomes, formal institutions and epistemological control, and its postmodern quality (i.e., its inherent discursivity, significatory power, and socio-cultural contextuality). The various phenomena subsumable under the heading "lifelong learning," located in different discourses and played out through different social practices, signifies learning that could be inside or outside educational institutions, not necessarily within the modernist educational project, and not necessarily bounded by what educators would traditionally define as the transmission of "appropriate" and/or "worthwhile" knowledge.

The paper is in three sections. First, we locate lifelong learning within the framing of the postmodern condition, in particular the analysis offered by Lyotard (1984), and its consequences for knowledge and education. Second, drawing on recent work influenced by Nietzsche (Rikowski, 1999), a philosopher whose presence lives in the construction of post-structuralist framings, we wish to locate lifelong learning as a contemporary challenge to the notion of "mastery" embedded in modernist views of education. The final section will point forward towards our overall project, one that is subject to the processes outlined in this paper, and therefore performative – albeit in complex ways – mediated through new technologies – but hopefully without mastery.

Performativity and Decentredness

The "postmodern" is at one and the same time an aspect of a changed and changing contemporary world and a way of understanding it. Reflexively, there is the attempt to provide a discourse for the world it seeks to explain, a discourse that highlights notions of decentring, ambivalence and contingency, a discourse that interlinks with the thrust of postmodernity in a socio-cultural and economic sense.

Lyotard (1984) argued that the grand narratives of modernity – the narratives of emancipation through scientific truth and social progress - now no longer have the ability to compel consensus. Whilst not rejected, they are increasingly greeted with incredulity and understood as masterful narratives and narratives of mastery. Their relative decline in influence and power has also thrown into doubt the subaltern narratives they have helped to shape, including the narratives that frame the educational project. Master signifiers then are generally no longer quite as masterful. Incredulity encompasses a questioning of any foundation or authorising centre and thus a scepticism that certain kinds of knowledge have canonical status - that some knowledge is *intrinsically* worthwhile and some is not. The decentring of the world thus also means a *decentring* of knowledge in a situation where knowledge is constantly changing and becoming more rapidly, almost overwhelmingly, available - itself mirroring the conditions of rapid change and bewildering instability of the postmodern "risk" society (Beck, 1992).

There is fairly widespread agreement that destandardisation, risk and individualisation are significant characteristics of all aspects of postmodern life. They are for example to be found in moves to increase the flexibility of the workplace and the workforce. As well as individuals, organisations are required to become reflexive, needing to learn in order to keep up with or be ahead of the bewildering pace of change and casting themselves as "learning organisations." The workforce at all levels needs to "think" change – to have a positive attitude towards and be prepared to accept change - and in this situation "lifelong learning" becomes a significant technology – of production, power, self and sign system (Foucault, 1988) - in helping to bring this about.

While we might not want to go as far as Baudrillard (1988), in characterising contemporary society as one totally enveloped by simulacra and hyper-reality, the analysis is nonetheless productive in problematising purely economistic and humanistic readings of lifelong learning. The significance of signifying practices in a contemporary society, even one only partially hyperreal, involves forms of learning that barely feature in mainstream discourses of a "learning society." Traditional forms of, and rationales for, pedagogy are subverted by, for instance, the spread of electronically mediated networks of learning. Who controls learning and indeed what constitutes a curriculum and a learning text becomes problematic and contested.

All this has paradoxical educational consequences. On the one hand, it has contributed to an erosion of the "liberal" curriculum and curiosity-driven research and an emphasis on learning opportunities oriented to performativity - learning that optimises the efficiency of the economic and social system. The modernist educational project is being reconstructed in terms of what it can contribute to the efficiency and effectiveness of the socio-economic system, its task that of producing the knowledge specifically needed by, and those with the skills indispensable to, the contemporary globalised system. Here, performativity is located within wider discursive practices of economic globalisation, neo-liberal economics and market competitiveness where education, increasingly referred to as "lifelong learning," becomes the means of attaining and maintaining the flexibility that is considered necessary in the face of the technological and socio-economic change required by these conditions. At the same time and in response to this context, educational institutions themselves become more managerial, corporatist and consumer oriented, more dominated by a managerial discourse and a logic of accountability and excellence.

On the other hand, however, the decentring of knowledge has resulted in a valuing of different sources and forms of knowledge (including knowledge that would not have once been considered worthwhile) and a corresponding devaluing of elitist discipline-based knowledge. Subjects (in the sense of bodies of disciplinary and canonical knowledge) and their transmission seem less significant in relation to curriculum developments, such as work-based learning, and the development of new skills and capacities such as multidisciplinarity, multi-literacies and "transcoding" (New London Group, 1995).

Stronach and MacLure (1997) argue that the contemporary scene is characterised by a certain "unruliness" of knowledge. Once knowledge is no longer an end in itself, its production and transmission ceases to be the exclusive responsibility of researchers and teachers and becomes as it were "up for grabs" epistemologically and within diverse contexts of practice. As Gibbons, *et al* (1994) point out, knowledge can no longer be regarded as discrete and coherent, its production defined by clear rules and governed by settled routines.

Another aspect of "unruliness" is traceable to the effect of information and communications technologies (ICTs). On the one hand, there is an acceleration of the individualisation of learning. Through the Internet, e-mail, CD-Roms and hypertext, possibilities are presented for individuals to access information, interact with it and other learners, and thus learn more flexibly and without the need to attend institutional centres or designated spaces of learning. With the breakdown in the hierarchy of, and the very distinction between, knowledge and information and with more people engaging in learning in diverse settings, what constitutes knowledge and worthwhile knowledge is further radicalised as an issue (Edwards & Usher, 2000).

The demand for performativity has itself contributed to this "unruliness" by subverting the very notion of knowledge as something that has to be validated by a "scientific" epistemology, thus undermining traditional knowledge production, In this sense, performativity simultaneously closes and opens possibilities. Performativity therefore – like lifelong learning and the postmodern of which it is an aspect - is itself paradoxical and has multiple significations. It contributes to both the strengthening and loosening of boundaries, to both an economy of the same and to an economy of difference and it is within these interlocking and interrelated economies that the lifelong learner is now located.

Without Mastery

The uncertainty of the epistemological markers for knowledge – pointed to in the calls for "standards" to be reasserted in certain educational contexts – that characterises the postmodern condition and the requirement for lifelong learning can be argued to signify a loss of mastery as a condition of education in the contemporary. Yet the notion of mastery is inscribed in modernist educational discourse. Education is a central modern practice, developing alongside and as part of the modern – Western, liberal, capitalist – nation state. Modernist education provides a training in certain forms of rationality, sensibilities, values, and subjectivities, in the process disembodying learners and the formation of bodies that takes place and reinscribing a mind/body dualism in its place. Thus, the more educated you are the more rational, the more "civilised." The extension of education and educational opportunities has been both a symbol of progress in a modern nation state and has itself contributed to a certain kind of progress through the type of education provided. Clearly, there are aspects of lifelong learning which are still located in this educational paradigm.

Mastery of the "subject" is a key educational goal. One becomes an educated person, attends finishing school, gains a Masters degree, masters a body of disciplinary knowledge. Each is a form of completion, an "end" to learning and, in the case of a Masters degree an interesting expression of masculinist discourse – in mastering a subject (knowledge), one is able to master subjects in the sense of both self and others - women, colonies, workers. (One can imagine different connotations being given to the notion of a Mistress of Education, a perhaps more seductive relationship to knowledge). Yet education is in the business of uncertainty and is itself an uncertain business. Those who work in education have to become lifelong learners as much as those who come to learn and it is unsurprising that continuing professional development has grown as an area of practice.

It is precisely the possibilities for mastery that are thrown into question by postmodern framings. In this sense, the post in the postmodern signifies an uncertainty as to the directions of change or perhaps more importantly the levers through which change can be directed, managed, regulated. Thus, the attempts at mastery only point to their inability to master. Modernity's rush to the new in the service of progress and truth has always produced uncertainty, insecurity and ambivalence and this was recognised by Marx, Durkheim, Weber and many more contemporary sociological accounts. However, such accounts have often sought to find resolutions through which mastery could be reasserted and ambivalence and uncertainty overcome. What the postmodern does is surface the ambivalence of modernity and critiques any pretence of overarching or totalising schemes through which progress can be made, whilst also surfacing the exclusions these inscribe - hence the growing importance of gender, race, disability, sexual orientation alongside class. The more interesting postmodern thinking seeks to engage with the messiness and complexity of the contemporary condition, part of which is the loss of mastery.

There is no doubting the modernist thrust in much of the talk and policy surrounding lifelong learning. Yet it is premised on the uncertainty, insecurity and ambivalence that is a characteristic of postmodern analysis. Change and uncertainty require lifelong learning and "lifelong learning" is itself a signifier of the uncertainty and change of the contemporary. Rather than being a solution to the problem of change and uncertainty – a condition of mastery - lifelong learning can be understood differently – as fuelling the uncertainty to which it is the supposed response. Lifelong learning is not a condition of modernist mastery but rather of postmodernist ambivalence. Lifelong learning is not a secure ground upon which to stand, but is a process of constant travelling that is never completed and where destinations are always uncertain and constantly changing. It is a condition of constant apprenticeship (Rikowski, 1999) – mobile, flexible, adaptable – and it may be no accident that the latter is having a distinct revival in learning theory at this point in time (Ainley & Rainbird, 1999).

Lifelong Learning: The Postmodern Condition of Education?

In this paper, we have offered pointers to a wider argument, one that we have pursued in a number of texts, both separately and together (Usher & Edwards, 1994, Edwards, 1997, Usher, *et al*, 1997, Edwards & Usher, 2000). To date, we have yet to articulate fully a view of lifelong learning as part of the postmodern condition, even though such a position has been implicit in some of our earlier work. It is to such a project that this paper is an introduction or way in. There is a paradox in this of course, as in naming lifelong learning in this way we are in danger of providing a totalising explanation of its significance, thereby gaining mastery of its "true" meaning, even as we problematise such explanations. Lifelong learning, like the postmodern, denotes not only substantive practices but is also a signifier with multiple significations and no fixed referent. As such, it opens up a range of spaces even though any opening depends upon the closings that make the opening possible. It is through engaging with lifelong learning as the postmodern condition of education and as both inter-related sign and substance that we can engage with, and be engaged by those openings/closings and the ambivalence and troubled pleasures and resistances they provide.

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Interdictions & Benedictions – AIDS Prevention Discourses in Vancouver Canada

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Abstract: *AIDS education has brought discourses regarding (homo)sexuality into the mainstream. This study of prevention-related artifacts from Vancouver analyzes key discursive aspects of local AIDS prevention programs.*

Purpose of the Study

When Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) first appeared in Vancouver, the question posed by public health officials was "how can we prevent gay men from spreading AIDS?" Re/searching technical strategies for preventing the sexual transmission of AIDS would not be particularly elucidating; the answers to this technical, "how to" question haven't changed in the last 15 years. But how these strategies are articulated certainly has. Explication of changes in communicative strategies help us better understand how knowledges related to AIDS and sexuality might have been re/constructed.

Michel Foucault wrote at length about the intersection of knowledge, power and sexuality in *The History of Sexuality Volume One: an Introduction* (1990). Foucault posited that institutional knowledges – reified by the academy and the state – are benedicted, usually at the expense of local – subjugated – knowledges. Such knowledges are often interdicted – excluded or silenced – when proffered outside their local milieus, usually for not meeting inappropriate, proscribed rigours of "validity". Foucault saw this dynamic as being in no one's best interest. As a researcher committed to grassroots activism, Foucault's ideas regarding this interactivity intrigued me. With significant animus between early gay male AIDS activists and public health officials during the nascent epidemic (Shilts 1987; Majoribanks, 1995), an examination of artifacts from AIDS prevention strategies could explain to what extent any subjugated, gay-male knowledge regarding sexuality existed. In delineating these different knowledges, the nature of their interaction with the knowledge-regime (manifest as medicine, specifically public health) could be examined. What power relations were at work in AIDS prevention education in Vancouver, as evidenced in artifacts used in local AIDS prevention programs?

Research Design

Searching for "instances of discursive practice" (Foucault, 1990a, p.12), I examined over 200 publications used in grassroots AIDS prevention program. Data collection occurred at venues throughout the City of Vancouver, including gay bars and bathhouses, private physician's offices, public health clinics, and community centres; sites where one could reasonable expect to secure AIDS prevention materials. Using an emergent design, document analysis was initiated with the classification of materials, in terms of why, when, by whom and for whom each was created. Materials were coded for format (pamphlet, poster, wallet card, display kiosk, booklet, pamphlet, web site, or sticker) and origins (grassroots groups versus medical/public health entities). Both graphic images and text were analyzed to identify representations and discussions of sexuality, AIDS transmission, and prevention methods. Given the brevity of most documents (usually less than 100 words), quantifying words, phrases or concepts within individual documents was not particularly illuminating. Instead, the entire collection of materials was considered a singular "canon" of AIDS prevention literature. Discursive trends were then identified.

Materials and Their Analysis

Seven discursive trends emerged from the analysis of the materials. Most common was a medical discourse, which used the terminology and language of medicine to communicate how one becomes infected with HIV, and the means by which to reduce one's risk of infection. Virtually every document I reviewed incorporated some medically-framed discussion of AIDS prevention, though often in conjunction with at least one other discursive trend. Additionally, many of the documents seemed purposeful in their use of a quotidian discourse with respect to sexuality. Normative in urban gay male milieus like Vancouver's West End, examples of this vernacular include "fucking ass" (versus "anal intercourse") and "sucking cock" (versus "oral sex", or "fellatio"). Among gay men, these terms had no pejorative meaning – they were merely descriptive. This closely paralleled a gay male discourse, in which a plurality of expressions of male-male desire (including monogamy, promiscuity, onanism and sado-masochism) were celebrated. Phrases such as "between men", "when two guys", and "rubbing your cock against his ass" are additional examples of how sex between men was represented in a manner which presumes male-male sexual desires to be normative.

Materials that did not posit sexual activities within the realm of a specific sexual orientation constituted a contextless, neutral discourse. However, a heterosexual discourse, whose materials described normative sexual desires as sex between men and women (in the language of the medical discourse), appeared shortly thereafter. And within this heterosexual discourse, an unique and informative sub-discourse was also embedded: heterosexually-focussed materials used qualifications about AIDS being "not a gay disease". This "not a gay disease" discourse was employed to persuade heterosexuals that they too were at risk for HIV.

Each document's year of issue proved critical for my analysis. Consideration of the materials' chronology facilitated mapping AIDS prevention in Vancouver as an evolutionary process. Juxtaposing the year of creation for materials grouped in a specific discursive trend facilitated my analysis of how these different characteristics impacted upon prevention efforts. For example: why were there so few materials that used the quotidian discourse to describe sexual activities in 1983? In whose interests (and from whose perspectives) did this strategy develop? And why did this quotidian discourse appear in AIDS prevention publications circa 1984? Could there be a connection between the choice of language to describe sexual activities and the nature of the organization that produced them? Can a consistent differentiation be claimed between public health and NGO-produced materials?

Findings

Chronologizing the materials helped me determine how each publication may have represented specific knowledges. In the gay male-specific materials, representations of gay male sexuality and desire were explicit, a direct challenge to their interdiction in the medical discourse. Depictions of gay men engaged in a variety of sexual activities were common. Sex between lovers, with anonymous partners, in public venues such as washrooms, group sex and sado-masochism all appeared in materials created by gay men for their peers. These contextualizations were utilized with little controversy. Juxtaposing the materials which target mainstream society with those directed towards gay men illustrated a striking contrast between two very different knowledges regarding sexuality.

Framed initially as a "gay" disease, the appearance of AIDS among heterosexuals led public health officials to look at targeting non-gays in their prevention programs. With this development came the "AIDS is not a gay disease" discourse. In many materials created for mainstream society, qualifications of heterosexual risk for AIDS included this sort of caveat. Images of male-female couples also began to appear where previously only single (viz. gay) men appeared. When concerns began to be articulated by some constituencies about the exclusivity of these two primary sets of prevention publications, materials for specific ethnocultural groups appeared. Materials targeting women, sex trade workers, and injection drug users followed shortly thereafter.

Why did AIDS prevention programs in Vancouver evolve as they did? In the absence of any relevant or effective strategy from public health officials, gay men deemed it necessary to identify for themselves, AIDS risk reduction techniques, and this eventually progressed to the formation of committees and organizations for disseminating prevention information. Though more mainstream (government-sponsored) programs also developed, these gay-specific endeavours found more immediate success. One common trait – and probably a primary reason – for these constituency-specific strategies' acceptance seems to have been their candour with respect to sexuality and sexual practices. The effective weaving of the benedicted medical discourse with their interdicted quotidian discourse about sexuality was widely welcomed by gay men.

Subjugated Knowledges

Homosexual desires were consummated long before they were permitted under the Criminal Code of Canada. But with the acquisition of some civil rights for homosexuals, these desires were discussed more candidly. Immediately prior to AIDS, gay men in Vancouver were exploring sexual activities, customs and relationships without and within the monogamous norms of mainstream society, as were many of their peers across North America were (Shilts, 1987; Seidman, 1993). The candour with which issues relating to sex and sexual relations were discussed among gay men did not substantively change as the AIDS pandemic manifested itself. Today in Vancouver, this discourse on sexuality continues to transgress the mainstream medical discourse on sexuality.

Whereas the knowledge-regime critiqued, ghettoized and silenced homosexuality in the public sphere, its medical discourse on sex was unable to subvert the local knowledge about sexuality which had already taken root among gay men (Foucault, 1980b, p.81). Pre-AIDS, this local knowledge's most fundamental component was that male homosexual desire was to be celebrated, not loathed. In challenging mainstream interdictions against homosexuality, a subsequent examination about other aspects of romantic and sexual relations was a reasonable next step taken by many gay men. Many men's assumptions about love, relationships, monogamy, promiscuity, intimacy, and other aspects of sexuality were subject to scrutiny, adaptation, acceptance or rejection. The resulting articulations of unique and individual moralities about sex and relationships was an integral component of "coming out" (e.g. revealing oneself to be homosexual) for many gay men. Under the shadow of AIDS, its resilience is remarkable.

The successful integration of this local knowledge into gay male specific AIDS prevention strategies necessitated the development of risk reduction strategies which were non-judgmental about the various contexts in which sex between men occurs. The overall message was that gay men needn't abhor their sexuality in the age of AIDS, regardless of how these desires for other men were expressed. Men were instead encouraged to protect themselves and their sex partners from AIDS – always.

Any mainstream discourses in which AIDS was inferred to be a punishment for homosexuality's immorality were rejected. Entreatments within the gay male constituency to ignore homophobic mainstream messages were indeed "insurrection(s) of subjugated knowledges" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 81), particularly in their refusal to moralize about sex.

Interdictions and Benedictions

The materials offer substantive evidence to support Foucault's claim for the interaction between th knowledge-regime and subjugated knowledges. In the mainstream, the reality of such a group's existence is often maligned, silenced or ignored. To most, "those people" do not, or should not, exist. The dismissal, silencing and vilification of their local knowledges all seek to interdict any discourse that might challenge this dominant perspective. In juxtaposing the materials which were from the gay male milieu, with those from society at-large, critiques of male homosexual desire are easily discerned. These critiques, which often operate in collusion with a broad silence about homosexuality, permeate the public sphere. Heteronormative content, images and text which frame heterosexual desires as normal (and superior to homosexual desires), specify the benedicted desire in the mainstream. Interdictions against homosexual desires, or the absence of any acknowledgement of their existence, serve as further de facto benedictions of heterosexuality. But members of a subjugated group often priorize their local knowledge over the knowledge-regime – especially when faced with a crisis like AIDS (Foucault, 1980b, p.81).

Foucault offers a new mode of inquiry related to analyses of competing knowledges which he himself employed to examine discourses about sexuality. "Instead of looking for basic interdictions that were hidden or manifested .... it was necessary to locate the areas of experience and the forms in which sexual behaviour was problematized, becoming an object of concern", he recounts in *The Use of Pleasure: the History of Sexuality, Volume Three (*1988, pp.23-24). For some, AIDS represented an opportunity to re-assert belief systems characterizing homosexuality as evil. Ironically, within the gay male milieu this served to reify local knowledges about desire and sexuality, and to disseminate them more widely. It can now be argued that male homosexual desires are less interdicted in the public sphere than they were prior to AIDS. Though explication of the specific practices inspired by male-male sexual desire remain largely excluded, tolerance of diversity with respect to sexuality, in principle, has diffused into the mainstream. This also supports Foucault's theory that criticism's character is not limited to the local, but can impact upon other locales, or the mainstream (1980b, p.81).

One discursive trend deserving further examination was the public-health-driven "not a gay disease" discourse. To many gay men this discourse was seen to validate the AIDS-related homophobic backlash in the mid-1980s. But for heterosexuals this discourse was intended to clarify that AIDS is a disease which can affect anyone, not only gay men. In using this discourse to challenge notions of AIDS as only affecting homosexual men (and later, people in the Third World, and injection drug users) – to what extent does this discourse perpetuate homophobia? Should AIDS prevention strategies that do not challenge such biases be permitted?

Consider this: It is now apparent that AIDS was already endemic in much of sub-Saharan Africa by the early-1970s, more than ten years before AIDS exploded among gay men in North America. Had AIDS's early impact in Africa garnered the sort of media attention it had merited, what discourses might have occurred regarding AIDS in North America? Would AIDS have been perceived as a legitimate threat to (largely Caucasian) gay male constituencies in Canada and the United States? Had a prescient epidemiologist predicted how AIDS would travel from Africa to North America and kills hundreds of gay men, would many of these men have considered their risk for exposure to AIDS important enough to foster an immediate change in sexual behaviour? In such a scenario, as the number of gay men with AIDS begins to rise, might not an "AIDS is not an African (or Black) disease" discourse have developed?

While the tension here is conjectured, doubtless anti-gay and anti-African trends are rooted in prejudices (homophobia in the former, and racism in the latter). Discourses such as these do not demonize the constituencies named in them; instead they serve to challenge notions which are perceived to be significant barriers to many persons taking seriously their risk for contract AIDS. The "not a gay disease" discourse is of merit for mainstream prevention strategies because it reflects a contextual reality of the society in which it appears: homophobia was (and still is) used by heterosexuals to delude themselves about their risks for contracting AIDS. Just as strategies integrated into gay-milieu prevention programs were seen as offensive and disturbing elsewhere, so too must gay men (and lesbians) permit those who plan mainstream programs to include elements which may offend some, but which are purposefully chosen for their perceived efficacy in reducing new HIV infections.

A Praxis for Effective Grassroots Education

Foucault's theories of knowledge speak directly to the grassroots constituency worker experience. As a research method, discursive textual analysis has few operational barriers for activist/researchers, and no significant opportunity costs. Thus a greater potential for voicing grassroots experience is achieved. Most adult educators, particularly practitioners whose work is extra-institutional, can adapt these methods to a variety of contexts. In identifying more accessible research paradigms, these local knowledges can be integrated more readily into the knowledge-regime, enhancing the larger body of adult education literature.

Foucault described Western society's normative discursive practices around sexuality as "restrained, mute and hypocritical" (1990a, p.3). In its efforts to prevent the spread of a sexually transmitted and largely fatal disease, governments continued to resist any implementation of more candid discourses about sex. Since HIV has been transmitted in Canada mostly via sexual relations, why have the publications used in government prevention programs remained so vague in their discussions of sexuality? In seeking to prevent further spread of a fatal malady like AIDS, this continued pursuance of a "neutral" discourse is spurious.

Nieto states that "all good education connects theory with reflection and action...defined as praxis" (1992). Reflection on one's actions, one's position in the setting of practice, and one's relationship with those being assisted is complemented by consideration of theoretical and ideological underpinnings related to self and society. This integration allows grassroots educators to pursue local change as part of a broader agenda for a better society. In helping to improve the circumstances under which those on the margins of society live, benefits are realized by society as a whole.

Transferability of Study

The findings of this study are of merit to any context where local knowledges are of importance in the planning of grassroots educational programs. How these local, subjugated knowledges can be differentiated from the knowledge-regime – and the potential merit of any such determinations to one's practice – is to be determined by those living in the context, not outside "experts." But these findings should also be considered by those who direct public policy related to health promotion activities of government. In the last few years, a climate of fiscal austerity has seen a trend towards government support being channelled through a decreasing number of NGOs. This strategic action has been undertaken to reduce administrative expense incurred when organizations with similar mandates deliver overlapping programs.

This is not a policy direction we need our governments to take. According to a recent study from the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS the expected average expense to provide medical care to each new person infected with AIDS in British Columbia is anticipated to be $150,000. Concurrent estimates of per capita prevention expenditures for each averted AIDS transmission are approximately $82,500 (Meagher et al, 1998). Grassroots, constituency-specific interventions have proven effective in preventing HIV infections (Health Canada LCDC, 1998), and are wholly inexpensive in comparison to the treatment costs associated with AIDS. For each infection that occurs due to this "economizing" of grassroots prevention programs, money will be lost, not saved.

And more women, men and children will become infected with AIDS and die.

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Is the Learning Organization for Real? Examining the Impacts of the Dimensions of the Learning Organization on Organizational Performance

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Abstract: *Despite the controversial nature of the learning organization concept, few empirical studies have examined the relationship between the learning organization concept and firm performance. An exploratory study was conducted using the DLOQ© along with objective measures of firm financial performance to assess this association. Findings suggest positive associations between the learning organization concept and firm performance.*

Introduction

During the past several years, many scholars have suggested that learning may be the only source of sustainable competitive advantage and that the hallmark of effective organizations will become their capacity to learn (deGeus, 1988, 1997; Tsang, 1997). The concepts of 'learning capability,' 'organizational learning,' and the 'learning organization' have become the focus of considerable attention among adult educators, human resource developers, and managers. In particular, the notion of the learning organization has generated tremendous debate. Proponents of the learning organization concept suggest that it "may provide the catalyst which is needed to push forward, in an holistic way, the many strands, ideas, and values with which organizations must now concern themselves" (Jones & Hendry, 1992, p. 58). Jones and Hendry indicate that "there are signs that where an organization continuously transforms itself and provides a clear vision and mission, it will not only be competitive commercially, but will attract the best employees, be known for its exemplary human resource policies and practices, be concerned with developing all staff to their full potential, and be able to accommodate the tensions and changes such a policy will encourage, as people begin to learn and see things differently." In contrast, some scholars have suggested that the learning organization concept is simply a "prescription to help managers retain control under dramatically changed external circumstances" (Coopey, 1995, p. 202; Fenwick, 1998). In spite of the multiple perspectives that exist about the learning organization, there is a pressing need to know "whether such ideas and practices genuinely create fitter and better organizations for both the people who work in them and the society they seek to serve" or whether this concept is "simply yet another 'vision' propounded by management and educational idealists or whether it is an ideal capable of reality" (Jones & Hendry, 1992, p. 58).

To date, many of the contributions on the learning organization have been descriptive and prescriptive and the need for empirical research on this concept has been articulated by several scholars (Altman & Iles, 1997; Jacobs, 1995; Iles, 1994; Leitch, Harrison, Burgoyne & Blantern, 1996). Yet, there have been more thought papers on why learning matters than on the processes required to building learning organizations and their potential impact on firm performance. Despite the numerous accounts and suggestions that discuss why the learning organization concept presumably works, few concrete studies exist that clarify if and how it works to achieve performance improvement (Kaiser & Holton, 1998). Jacobs (1995) suggests that there are little data supporting the claim that performance improvement is directly related to the adoption of practices associated with the learning organization literature. Accordingly, one of the major research challenges is to establish the relationships between characteristics of the learning organization and organizational performance (Iles, 1994; Leitch, Harrison, Burgoyne, Blantern & 1996).

Recent studies have begun to establish a research base that examines the dimensionality of the concept of the learning organization (Watkins, Yang & Marsick, 1997; Yang, Watkins & Marsick, 1998). However, if firms are to create learning organizations by focusing on the implementation of practices and processes that promote learning at the individual, team, and organizational levels, the linkages to improved organizational performance must be more firmly established. Therefore, the current research examines the relationship between the dimensions of the learning organization and financial performance utilizing both perceptual measures of firm performance and secondary financial data drawn from the COMPUSTAT and the *Stern Stewart Performance 1000* financial databases. Assessing the relationship between the learning organization concept and objective measures of firm financial performance represents an empirical methodology that has not been employed to date.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical grounding for this research is the Watkins and Marsick conceptualization of the learning organization (1993, 1996a, 1996b). For Watkins and Marsick, a learning organization is "one that learns continuously and transforms itself...Learning is a continuous, strategically used process – integrated with and running parallel to work" (1996b, p. 4). The foundation of the Watkins and Marsick perspective is based upon seven complementary action imperatives that they have identified that characterize organizations journeying toward this goal: (1) create continuous learning opportunities; (2) promote inquiry and dialogue; (3) encourage collaboration and team learning; (4) establish systems to capture and share learning; (5) empower people toward a collective vision; (6) connect the organization to its environment; and, (7) use leaders who model and support learning at the individual, team, and organizational levels. Their model emphasizes three key components – "(1) systems-level, continuous learning; (2) that is created in order to create and manage knowledge outcomes; (3) which lead to improvement in the organization's performance, and ultimately its value, as measured through both financial assets and non-financial intellectual capital" (Marsick & Watkins, 1999, pp. 10-11).

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this exploratory study:

(1). What is the relationship between the seven dimensions of the DLOQ instrument and the perceptual organizational outcome variables as defined by financial and knowledge performance?

(2). What is the relationship between the seven dimensions of the DLOQ instrument and objective organizational outcome variables as defined by four secondary measures of financial performance? [return on equity (ROE), return on assets (ROA), Tobin's q, and market value-added (MVA)]

Research Design

This exploratory research study employed a mail survey methodology. The procedures used to design the sampling frame correspond to those outlined by Dillman (1978).

Sample

A random sample of 400 mid-level managers at U.S. manufacturing firms was obtained from the Council of Logistics Management Membership listing. The selection of logistics managers as key respondents for this study was based upon the increasing role of supply chain management as a key element in corporate strategies that focus on service for the provision of superior customer value (Christopher & Ryals, 1999; Poirer, 1999; Stank, Daugherty & Ellinger, 1998). The logistics function must receive, assess, and act upon so much important customer feedback and data that firms with effective learning processes may be better equipped to provide their customers with better service. In addition, logistics managers must continuously interact with other corporate functions. Accordingly, logistics managers' perceptions of their firms' learning behaviors represent a unique platform from which to examine the dimensions of the learning organization concept and their impact on performance.

Potential respondents' firms were screened for the availability of secondary data for their firms on the COMPUSTAT database. Respondent firms from the random sample for whom data was not found on the COMPUSTAT database were replaced. Prenotification of prospective respondents is believed to increase response rates (Fox, Crask, & Kim, 1988). Therefore, each of the managers in the sampling frame was contacted by telephone to solicit his/her participation in the study. Additionally, since type of postage, the sponsorship of a university, and monetary incentives are also believed to be influential factors for increasing response rate (Fox et al., 1988), the initial mailing included prepaid return postage, a personalized letter on university letterhead, and a $2 bill as an incentive to respond. Non-respondents were contacted with a follow-up letter two weeks after the initial mailing. A total of 262 surveys were mailed and 208 completed surveys were returned resulting in a usable return rate of 52%.

Instrumentation

The DLOQ instrument (Watkins & Marsick, 1993, 1996a, 1996b) was used for this study. The seven dimensions in the Watkins and Marsick instrument are measured by 43 items. Previous research using this instrument has been conducted by Watkins, Yang and Marsick (1997), Yang, Watkins, and Marsick (1998), and Yang, Watkins, and Marsick (1999). Accordingly, several stages of empirical research have assessed the psychometric properties of the DLOQ. These analyses suggest that the seven dimensions have acceptable reliability estimates (coefficient Alpha ranges from .75 to .85). The seven factor structure was also found to fit the empirical data reasonably well (Yang, Watkins & Marsick, 1998).

Perceptual Performance Measures

The two performance outcome measures on the DLOQ instrument, Financial Performance and Knowledge Performance, ask respondents to indicate their assessments of the organization's current performance when compared to the previous year. The first performance variable, Financial Performance, is assessed in the following areas: return on investment, average productivity per employee, time to market for products and services, response time for customer complaints, market share, and the cost per business transaction. The second performance variable, Knowledge Performance, is assessed in the following areas: customer satisfaction, the number of suggestions implemented, the number of new products or services, the percentage of skilled workers compared to the total workforce, the percentage of total spending devoted to technology and information processing, and the number of individuals learning new skills.

Secondary Financial Performance Data

A database consisting of secondary measures of financial performance for the respondent organizations in the study was created with data obtained from the 1998 COMPUSTAT the *Stern Stewart Performance 1000* financial databases. Specifically, four measures were chosen to obtain a comprehensive view of firm financial performance: return on equity (ROE), return on assets (ROA), Tobin's q, and market value-added (MVA). The MVA data obtained for this study is from the *Stern Stewart Performance 1000* and is 1998 data for 1,000 firms. MVA data is quoted in a dollar amount for each firm. Since the research here includes firms with varying sizes, MVA is standardized by total assets, a proxy for firm size. The ROA and ROE measures are from the COMPUSTAT database and are listed for each company under the data items of ROA and ROE. A proxy for Tobin's q was calculated using a method suggested by Chung and Pruitt (1994). All of the data necessary to calculate the proxy were obtained from the COMPUSTAT database.

Data Analysis

To address the research questions guiding this study, canonical correlation was selected to assess associations between dimensions of the learning organization and perceptual and objective measures of firm performance. Canonical correlation is a technique for examining the association between two sets of variables (Stevens, 1996). The underlying principle is to develop a linear combination of each set of variables (both independent and dependent) in a manner that maximizes the correlation between the two sets.

Canonical correlation was chosen over structural equation modeling (SEM) as a more appropriate statistical technique with which to explore an omnibus impact of the dimensions of the learning organization on a set of financial performance indicators. The objective was to assess overall effects

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of the learning organization concept on firm performance rather than causal relationships.

SEM also requires more proven measures to be used in data analysis than were available for secondary financial performance. As no one measure is able to completely describe all aspects of a firm's condition, it is important to collectively examine several different measures of performance (Brigham 1995; Peterson 1994). We selected a combination of traditional accounting and value-added indicators to reflect an adequate, but nevertheless exploratory, measure of the concept of financial performance. The canonical correlation analysis was performed by MANOVA procedure using the SPSS statistical package (Norusis, M. J./SPSS Inc., 1990).

Results of the Canonical Correlation Analysis

Table 1 shows the results of the canonical correlation analyses between dimensions of learning organization and the perceptual and objective financial outcome variables. Because our primary purpose was to examine the associated variability between the two sets of variables, rather than the structure of the variables, our discussion focuses on the overall effects of the canonical correlation analyses.

The multivariate tests suggest a statistically significant relationship between the seven dimensions of the learning organization and the two perceptual outcome variables: Financial Performance and Knowledge Performance ($p < .001$). Effect sizes of the canonical correlation range from .246 to .312, indicating that more than a quarter of the variability in the respondents' perceptions of organizational performance can be accounted for by the seven dimensions of the learning organization.

The canonical correlation between the seven dimensions of the learning organization and the four secondary measures of financial performance (ROE, ROA, Tobin's q, and MVA) is also statistically significant ($p < .05$). Moreover, different multivariate statistics reveal consistent effect size, ranging from .104 to .108. Thus, more than ten percent of the variance in the four financial indicators can be explained by the dimensions of the learning organization measured on the DLOQ.

In summary, the results suggest a positive association between the learning organization concept and firm performance.

Table 1. Multivariate Tests of Significance for Canonical Correlation

Test Name	Value	Approx. F	Hypoth. Df	Error df	Sig. of F	Effect Size
Test for Two Perceptual Outcome Variables						
Pillais	.492	6.611	14	284.00	.000	.246
Hotellings	.908	9.084	14	280.00	.000	.312
Wilks	.519	7.827	14	282.00	.000	.280
Roys	.470					
Test for Four Secondary Financial Variables						
Pillais	.414	1.635	28	396.00	.024	.104
Hotellings	.485	1.638	28	378.00	.023	.108
Wilks	.639	1.641	28	347.56	.023	.106
Roys	.186					

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Limitations

There are several limitations associated with this research that must be acknowledged. This exploratory study solicited perceptions from logistics managers who served as key informants. It is possible that managers from other business units within the sampled organizations may have responded with different perceptions regarding the items representing the dimensions of the learning organization. Additionally, perceptions of upper-level managers and front-line employees were not solicited for this study. The sample for this study, although randomly drawn, also included only firms for which secondary data was available. Different results may have been obtained if smaller, privately-owned firms were also included in the sample. Lastly, this study includes only a limited number of secondary financial performance measures to assess the relationship between the dimensions of the learning organization construct and financial performance. The inclusion of other financial measures may have yielded different results. Each of these limitations, however, represent opportunities for future research in this area.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

The increased emphasis on and examination of individual, team, and organizational learning practices have stimulated tremendous interest in the concept of the learning organization. Although the concept is fairly well established, it is still evolving and a certain amount of confusion and ambiguity surrounds it (Leitch, Harrison, Burgoyne & Blantern, 1996). Despite the criticisms and critiques (Coopey, 1995; Fenwick, 1998), the concept of the learning organization is one that holds considerable promise as "the newest frontier in educational opportunities for adults" (Merriam & Caffarella, 1998, p. 44). From an empirical perspective, however, continued research is needed that addresses issues of leadership, power, and control, contextual factors that facilitate and inhibit such transformation, the strategies for becoming learning organizations, and the extent to which such practices impact organizational performance.

This exploratory study integrates objective measures of firm performance obtained from the COMPUSTAT and the *Stern Stewart Performance 1000* financial databases to better assess the association between the dimensions of the learning organization and firm performance. Incorporating objective measures of financial performance is a unique aspect of this study which has not previously been employed in studies associated with the learning organization concept. Our research findings suggest that the learning organization concept may positively associated with firm performance. However, future studies should further investigate these exploratory results using a wide variety of financial and non-financial indicators in different contexts with larger and more inclusive samples.

In conclusion, it has been acknowledged that creating learning organizations requires new roles for managers, human resource developers, and employees in building the capacity for learning at the individual, team, and organizational levels. Yet, there has been little empirical research to support the claim that performance improvement is related to the adoption of practices associated with the learning organization concept. Our exploratory research lends credence to the efficacy of the learning organization concept by suggesting that there may be a positive association between the learning organization concept and firm performance. Yet, there are caveats that must be appended to our findings. We would not advocate that this positive association between financial performance and the dimensions of the learning organization be conceived as an invitation for organizations to blindly journey toward the learning organization concept simply to reap financial gains without considering the complexities associated with such transformation.

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Women Crafting New Work: The Learning of Women Entrepreneurs

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Abstract: *This report presents findings of a cross-Canada qualitative study examining learning processes of new women business-owners, to explore the emergence and nature of women's experiential or 'informal' learning in work they invent.*

Overview of the Study

Workplace learning is coming to be understood as a complex phenomenon entwining identity, desire, cultural communities of practice, discourses of work and success, multiple knowledges and spheres of life activity, and cognitive processes. This three-year national study[1] is a qualitative inquiry exploring complex relationships between learning and work in women's lives. Participants were selected because they had precipitated for themselves a significant work-change that generated intense learning: each woman left a job with an organization to start her own business, often without previous business experience or education. This study explored the process of work learning and personal change reported by these women after at least four years running their new business. Emerging themes have opened directions for further research in workplace learning described in the summary below. Some of the most interesting center on the relationship between how and what these women say they learn, their personal needs in work, their meanings of both learning and success, and the work communities that emerge around them. Many women have crafted patterns of work/life/learning balance in shaping their own work-place and work-life which defy dominant discourses of productivity, profit, knowledge, and success. Ninety-five women across Canada were interviewed speaking from different cultures, business types and sizes.

Background and Framework of the Study

The study is grounded in the theory of women's learning and development and feminist perspectives on women's work, especially entrepreneurship. Studies of women's development consistently report that their work and learning are rooted in self and relationships (Caffarella, 1992; MacKeracher, 1994). Their work-lives and work-learning are also woven into family and other relations with fluidity and complex tensions. MacKeracher documented different knowledges that women develop in work, showing interrelations between skill, identity, relationship, and community. Fenwick (1998) found that issues of establishing and "reinventing" self in work, ethics and environment underlay women's fundamental engagement and their learning in work experiences.

Hart (1992) has described women's work experience as a terrain of particular struggle and even psychic violence. Women are leaving their jobs at alarming rates to create new kinds of work, citing reasons such as glass ceiling issues, ethical conflicts, and feeling under-valued or unchallenged (Business Development Bank, 1999; Sharp & Sharp, 1999 including limited access to capital, shortage of networks, lack of appropriate support, work-family issues, fundamental value conflicts with a competitive economy, and salary gaps (Canadian Advisory Council, 1993; Wells, 1998). Emerging studies of women entrepreneurs indicate that profound personal change is often experienced throughout the process of business development (Gay, 1997; Robertson, 1997). Brush (1992) argues strongly for new models of work and learning which recognize how many women entrepreneurs view business as a relational network in which the changing self unfolds.

Methods and Participants of the Study

One principal question and five secondary questions guide this study: *What is the learning and development process described by women leaving a workplace to establish their own business?* What transitions in self and knowledge do emerging women business-owners perceive that they experience? What meanings of success, work, life, and learning do they create in language and action? What inter-relationships do these women trace between their development and the various communities in which they participate? What visions and values do they describe and enact in creating their own work? How do women entrepreneurs perceive that they are changing dominant work and training paradigms?

The study combines life history methods (Goodson, 1992), focus group dialogue, and comparative thematic analysis. Participants narrated stories of their unfolding 'life history', then reflected on critical incidents of learning embedded in their history, the meanings they give to their own experiences and choices, and the relationships between these experiences. Women were also encouraged to examine their meanings of work, self and learning within the cultural-historical contexts of their lives. Most women also dwelled on the important threads of relationships entwined with their work, and their activities as mothers and spouses. Finally, women often talked about environment in ways that indicated close connections between the physical, relational and psychological spaces they deliberately create, the knowledge they value, and the ways they "do" business.

The study has just completed its second phase. Ninety-five women entrepreneurs from British Columbia to Nova Scotia were interviewed and the transcripts analyzed to identify both individual issues, shared themes, and areas of difference. Potential participants were identified through a combination of snowball referrals, entrepreneur agency members' lists, awards lists, and advertising through business and women's organizations. Our criteria specified that a participant had left a job with an organization, started her own business by herself or with partners, and was still running her business after four years of operation. Participants were selected to represent a range of types and sizes of business, provincial locations, and community contexts. Our resulting group of participants appeared to be dominated by white, "middle class," "mid-life" women in central and western Canada. Thereafter we actively sought to find potential participants speaking from different experiences than those represented by these dominant categories. We have been only mildly successful in our search to date.

Findings of the Study

At this point in the data analysis, individual interpretive life histories have been prepared, and thematic analysis across cases completed, assisted by qualitative software (NVivo). In comparing individual women's entrepreneurial experiences in different contexts, it has become overwhelmingly clear that workplace learning cannot be considered separately from other dimensions of a woman's work, family, and personal life. The term *workplace* is problematic in itself, and the meaning of *work* is highly individual and dynamic. *Learning* has different associations for people, but throughout this study its meaning focused on the process through which an individual perceives and experiences changes in her understandings, ways of behaving, personal characteristics, values, or ability to participate in a particular activity.

While a comparative thematic approach to analysis helps identify certain general patterns, its weakness is the danger of eliding and blurring important subtle distinctions between women's experiences and thus contributing to an unfortunate tradition that has served to essentialize women. However, we have come to believe that a few significant issues are clearly shared among many of these women. Some of these common themes present resistance to popular images of entrepreneurism and particularly of women in business. Others help contest certain understandings of experiential and informal learning, and open some interesting approaches to understanding knowledge production as entwined with relationships, environment, and identity.

For the purposes of this short report, we have chosen to present four themes that we believe help illuminate some important issues in these women's learning through a period of entrepreneurism. *Work needs* and *meanings of success* are significant because they are closely tied to a woman's choices about what kind of activity she seeks in creating her own business, what kind of people she seeks to work with, and what effect she is striving to have. Learning challenges are substantial in all these areas, and they mostly result from personal choice about what to learn. *Knowledge produced in practice* helps point to the knowledge these women value, where they believe it's located, and the nature of this knowledge. *Learning processes* illustrate what these women describe as their experiences and interactions with resources, both inner and outer, that produced their most valued knowledge.

1. Work Needs Reported by Women Entrepreneurs

Although a few women truly enjoyed former jobs, most indicated they left jobs because these did not fulfill important work needs. Women often described needs for hard work they could 'throw themselves into', meaningful vocation, creative opportunity and projects, stimulation and challenge, freedom to choose activity and time, freedom to schedule around family demands, personalized environment, ethical alignment of work activity and personal values, warm collegial relationships, a flow of work and learning, and clients'/ colleagues' genuine respect.

Like others (Business Development Bank, 1999, Industry Canada, 1999), our findings show clearly that many women say they start a business because they want more *control* over their lives. Most participants stressed their need to choose how they spend their working day. The amount of work (usually overload, these women admitted) is a secondary issue. In fact, several emphasized how much they enjoyed 'work' over any other activity: "I need work, I need projects I can throw myself into." The word *love* occurred frequently, as in "Now I'm doing something I love". Some started their businesses because they perceived it was the only way to do what they loved. *Fun* also appeared frequently: "The day this stops being fun is the day I stop doing it". Fun is described variously: lots of humor and laughing with staff, creative projects, meeting new interesting people, unpredictable everyday activity, minimal rules and a home-like work atmosphere.

Women also described strong needs for continuous *creative challenge* and stimulation. Many enjoyed inventing their own projects, products, services, and approaches to managing the business. Past jobs were described as lacking creative opportunity, "stifling", "on a plateau", "being in a box", "having a noose around my neck", and where ideas were 'shut down' or projects terminated midstream. Finally, many women identified a need to *make a difference* in their communities through their work. Their business vision was often described in personal terms, entwined with a sense of life purpose and ethics. Some explained that they had learned to reject contracts (and their income potential) to maintain this integrity.

2. Personal Meanings of Success of Women Entrepreneurs

Traditional signifiers of business success (profit, size and growth) are being challenged by women entrepreneurs in ways that have potential to reshape models of business, workplace learning, and subjectivity in work. Many describes their work "success" in terms of their children, their ability to choose daily activity, their daily satisfaction and fulfillment, the quality of relationships comprising their work networks, the contributions they perceive themselves making to their communities, the reputations they build in those communities, and their overall perceived quality of life.

Women were varied in their descriptions of what success in their work meant for them, but almost all emphasized the *secondary importance of money* and material goods in their lives. Freedom from financial worry was desirable, but acquiring more wealth than necessary was disparaged: "For anybody to attribute success to the initials you have after your name or how many zeroes you have in your income or how many houses you have is irresponsible" explained a woman running an accounting firm. This seemed true even for single women supporting dependents. A common measure was finding *satisfaction in work* ("Success for me is to be happy in what I'm doing"). Another was *family*: "to have happy, healthy children"; "my kids will be in college soon and I want to have enough money for them". *Reputation*, being recognized for high quality, ethical work by those one respected, was a meaningful indicator of success for several. Above all many women deliberately *resisted dominant cultural measures* of personal and business success in material terms. Everyday freedom, fun, doing what one loved, and deep fulfillment from creating quality products seemed more important than competitive measures of growth and profit.

3. Knowledge Produced in Their Practice

Two kinds of knowledge seemed to be discerned most clearly or valued most highly by these women: knowledge about running a business and personal knowledge. Practical business knowledge appeared to evolve in a complex relation with personal choices about what kind of business to create.

These seem connected to personal work needs and measures of success. Women had to define their business into being, convince themselves and others that it was real, and learn everything to make it work – all at once. A small business owner must become "a jack of all trades": simultaneously figuring out business goals, financing, a unique product or service, customer relations, marketing, accounting, staff management, and operational processes. Women wanted immediate information that was need- and context-specific. Knowledge seemed fluid and located in activity: women used information tentatively to help make a decision or implement a process, discerned patterns and developed names for what emerged, then moved on.

For about half the women, knowledge related to *finance* was a struggle, being farthest from their personal experience and interest. Most women discovered that *marketing* knowledge was key to business viability which they had to master or hire: "I was extremely naive. Like I didn't have a clue. I sat there literally and waited for the bloody phone to ring . . . The learning curve was vertical". Another area of valued knowledge was *focusing* one's business purpose. For some, this was interwoven with identity issues and search for meaningful work. However even in cases where women viewed their business as entirely separate from themselves, most described a very long process of coming to understand exactly what they wanted to do, who they wanted to work with, and how they wanted to run their enterprise. This often unfolded in an experimentation process through which women claimed to 'discover' what their business goals were through, as one put it, "rearview mirror planning". For some women this focusing process was also a personal discovery: 'the way *I* plan is different than the traditional business plan method, and that's okay'. More than two-thirds of the women hired staff and stressed the importance of knowledge about *managing people*. Through intuition, experimentation and advice from other sources, women seemed to gradually find themselves enacting the most important knowledge: 'reading' and choosing 'good' staff (for some this meant reliable, energetic, independent people); creating supportive relationships; creating an environment that people like to work in; understanding and mediating differences; trusting people – involving them creatively, and allowing them to make mistakes.

Finally, most women stressed important personal knowledge that had emerged throughout the business start-up process in two ways: they discovered their own abilities, and they developed new ones. Becoming *confident* in one's choices and ability was probably the most frequently mentioned personal change. A second was 'learning how to problem solve for yourself, *taking responsibility* for your own mistakes and your own decisions'. This knowledge was both a burden keeping one awake at nights and a source of power: "you choose, there are no permanent roadblocks, it's all up to you." A third important knowledge involved *positionality*, developing a sense of distance from the business while maintaining a deep personal investment or passion in it. Some women described this through stories of their critical mistakes and failures, in which they claimed to learn to take responsibility for their own mistakes: "admit it and fix it" and "don't beat myself up". Finally, many women emphasized *learning how to learn.*: recognizing the fear, self-doubt and pain of learning new things, confronting one's limits, and accepting one's learning patterns, and becoming confident in framing one's own questions to guide learning.

4. Workplace Learning Processes of Self-Employed Women

In the stories of their experiences during transition from an organizational job to self-employment, most women's learning could be characterized as constant, multi-layered, unstructured, and frequently isolated. Women seemed more conscious of learning instrumental or 'technical' knowledge of their new role, than of developing the communicative or personal changes they said they experienced – although these changes must have been unfolding simultaneously. Fewer than 10% of the women we interviewed started with any formal business education. Some had management experience, usually in large organizations, which was difficult to translate to small business. Few considered enrolling in a business course. Many reported that the enormity of what had to be learned hit soon after they made the commitment to a business start-up. There was an all-at-once quality to women's learning stories, which they characterized as "navigating the mess", "do or die learning", "discovering my way", and "inventing it and then figuring out what it is." A significant first step appeared to be learning how to separate big messy visions into tasks, then to prioritize and select what needed to be learned.

Most described learning the technical aspects of business through a process of focused trial and error. Each new step of the business development confronting the owner had to be figured out or hired out. The figuring out process was described variously as "learning by stumbling and stumbling", "flying by the seat of your pants", and "tinkering". Emotions of exhilaration and some fear often accompanied this sense of creating your way into business. Constant experimentation was often accompanied by heightened awareness and focused observation of a world to learn from: as one woman put it, "Open your eyes!" Learning to act amidst uncertainty and complexity without a sense of mastery, while trying to frame and construct meaning of a completely unfamiliar situation, became for many a way of working. In fact some indicated that as their experience and feelings of competence grew, they began feeling restless for new challenge.

Most women saw themselves choosing what and how they learned, using a variety of resources and supports. More than three-quarters stressed reading: skimming library books, government and bank brochures, and trade-related periodicals. A few used the internet extensively. Those who had accessed agencies supporting women entrepreneurs valued the links to experienced others for answers on a need-to-know basis. Training courses were often viewed as too general or basic to be of much assistance. Over half stressed the importance of having a "supportive husband" with whom they could talk about their business. Many women said they learned by talking with selected others, especially trade contacts and customers. However, women also had learned to be cautious of others' advice and frequently stressed the need to "trust my own judgment."

Because the learning process seemed continuously creative, it often included learning to accept as *real* what one had invented, then naming it and feeling confident in explaining it to others. It is likely that these issues are connected to most women's strong emphasis on learning to rely completely on one's own meanings and values, and to structure one's own learning. As one put it, "I didn't even know what questions to ask, or who to ask. I just figured it out . . . I've learned to take responsibility for myself". A tension emerged in trying to decide if there is a "right way" to do something. Many women emphasized discovering a way that "works for me", sometimes continuing to "do things my way" even if this contravened accepted business practice. Many echoed the spirit of one woman's advice on this issue: "You learn don't look back and don't regret – just go for it and believe in it."

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

Theory of workplace learning is often framed by the needs and structures of organizations, or by models of career development. This study offers insight into learning processes that unfold amidst women crafting their *own* work environments, purposes and challenges. Current models of 'self-directed' learning appear limited when compared to the emergent, participational, highly creative and unpredictable nature of these women's learning. The ways these women produce knowledge by clarifying what one wants and actively inventing and experimenting with others, while discerning and naming what is emerging implies a dynamic, ecological understanding of knowledge. The findings also demonstrate the importance of desire and growing confidence in one's personal preferences and judgments, which guide the value that women ascribed to different knowledges, and influence their work choices and learning direction. Finally, this study shows important dense interconnections between 'technical skills' and 'communicative knowledge', unfolding personal change and self-knowledge, and the environments of work and home. These themes appear most closely aligned with newer psychoanalytic (i.e., Britzman, 1998) and socio-cultural theories of learning (i.e., Davis and Sumara, 1998) than with models of reflective constructivism dominating workplace learning.

There are certain tensions evident in the relations among entrepreneurial work, learning and women's lives that seem embedded in these women's histories. One tension centers around control: women saying they desire control above all yet must relinquish control for their staff to grow and their business to thrive. Another is the elastic meaning of work, which becomes both all-consuming fulfillment and slavery. A third tension arises from many women's conflicting desires to defy traditional business expectations and competitive bottom lines, yet sustain a viable business in the current global economy. Women also struggle with conflicting meanings of money, and tensions as their own meanings of success grind against multiple discourses and societal expectations surrounding issues of motherhood, 'balance', and 'good' business. Women talk about learning compromise: "from what I originally wanted and what I now define as success", "knowing when to mother and when to focus on business", and "truly doing your passion", but also "the bread and butter contracts that buy the groceries." These struggles may indicate a central dynamic of creativity amidst continuing tension in workplace learning, rather than problem resolution.

Governments in both Canada and the US have dedicated significant resources to "train" and support women entrepreneurs with relatively little research of these women's intentions and needs. This study suggests that we reduce training and enable more financial support, opportunities for connection and mentorship, and accessible well-advertised agencies for new women business-owners. Some have noted this study's implications for redesigning work organizations and jobs in ways that will 'keep the women' from deserting to meet their own work needs. Perhaps women need assistance or spaces in which to name their unique dilemmas, recognize evidence of their own progress, and create meaningful projects. Some may sense a call here to workplace educators to help shift current business values and success criteria. At least we can resist representations of women entrepreneurs as "valuable new resources in our nation's economy" (needing training for success), and demand more accurate reflections of the new kinds of work communities and life/work/learning connections some of these women are crafting.

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Leadership for Adult and Continuing Education

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Abstract: *This paper reviews findings from a study of the perceptions of adult educators of leadership for the field of adult and continuing education. Findings are ultimately organized according to the contexts and dimensions of leadership.*

Theoretical Framework and Purpose

Adult and continuing education needs to be concerned with leadership as understood from the perspective of adult and continuing educators. Donaldson (1992) asserts the adult education literature draws heavily from the management literature base and thus fails to look at the "particular realities of continuing education practice. . . .[thus] we are guided as much or more by generic management and leadership concepts as by those that are particular to our practice" (p. 18). Rose (1992) also suggests that although we can learn from and build on models of leadership from other fields, this approach is insufficient for understanding issues peculiar to adult education, such as continuing marginality and lack of governmental support.

Studies in Leadership

For over 50 years organizational theorists, and in recent decades social scientists, have prescribed numerous approaches to understanding organizations and to developing and providing organizational leadership (Bolman & Deal, 1997). Attempts have included trait theory, behavioral theory, contingency, transactional, transformational, and cultural theory (Apps, 1994; Huber, 1998; Rose, 1992). Currently, perspectives on leadership are being broadened incrementally by studies that focus on women and minorities in leadership positions (Rose, 1992). Bensimon, Neumann, and Birnbaum (1989) place leadership models and theories into six categories. Trait theories seek to identify personal characteristics of effective leaders. Power and influence theories include a social power approach that considers how leaders influence followers, as well as a social exchange approach (including transactional and transformational leadership) that considers "the reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers through which leaders are themselves influenced as they try to influence others" (p. 8). Behavioral theories focus on what leaders actually do, while contingency theories emphasize situational factors and suggest that effective leadership depends upon influences of the external environment and the task at hand. Cultural and symbolic theories have arisen from a shift in perspective that "organizational structures and processes are invented, not discovered" (p. 21). Thus, how leaders interpret events and processes becomes important, particularly in terms of how they shape meaning and culture within their organizations. Finally, cognitive theories build on this concept of leadership as a social construct; leadership exists as a result of the expectations of followers and effectiveness is related "more to perceptions of followers of the degree to which the leader appears to do leaderlike things" (p. 24). These latter categories are compatible with the view expressed by Duke (1998) of a normative perspective of organizational leadership that "is a way of making sense of leadership that regards leadership as a function, in part, of organization members' beliefs, expectations, and values" (p. 184).

Emerging perspectives focus on the need to reconceptualize leadership in various ways: as compatible with our "emerging age" of disconcerting and discontinuous change (Apps, 1994); as a socially bound, relational construct (Donaldson, 1998; Donaldson, personal communication, February 22, 2000); and as a function of organizations and their members (Duke, 1998). There remains a focus on moral and ethical leadership, grounded in socially responsible beliefs and values. "What is important for the emerging age is that leaders have a foundation, an examined core of beliefs and values, that guides them during times of paradox, ambiguity, and chaotic change" (Apps, 1994, p. 36).

Leadership in Adult Education

In his review of administration literature in adult education from 1936-1989, Courtney (1990) found leadership as the administrative function that appeared most often (62%) throughout all the references analyzed, noting, unsurprised, leadership "is often referred to as the most critical administrative function" (p. 67). Leadership has been a concern for adult educators, particularly from the post WWII era (Rose, 1992). Its study, however, is limited and has perhaps been complicated as a result of our tendency to view leadership broadly. Historically the literature has referred to all adult educators as leaders; for example, Beal and Brody (1941) who viewed "persons directly engaged in some form of communication--teachers, writers, readers' advisers, docents--who, for want of a better term, we call 'leaders'" (p. 101). Similarly, Overstreet and Overstreet (1941) conceive of leaders as adult education practitioners, the teachers, program coordinators, and community developers who are doing the work of adult education. In addition, a resistance to leadership itself can be sensed in adult education, perhaps as a result of sensitivities to potentially hierarchical and oppressive practices and democratic traditions.

Thus, leadership in adult education is an ambiguous concept. In contrast to adult education's historically broad conceptualization, Rose (1992) more recently concludes narrow definitions from other fields have limited our research on leadership and that in reality, leadership is still constrained by calls for greater productivity and effectiveness. "We need to question more closely the assumption that this model is helpful in developing a vision of adult and continuing education for the twenty-first century" (p. 93). Edelson (1992) further maintains "we need to constantly assess the ways in which we lead so that the field of adult education continues to fulfill its mandate of providing opportunity and choice in the decades ahead" (p. 14). Adult educators even debate the appropriate source of leadership for the field, from within it or from outside (Griffith, 1992; Jarvis, 1992). Currently, the need for examining the concept anew is apparent. Apps (1994) has made the most significant contributions to reconceptualizing adult education leadership: a "new perspective on adult education leadership is shifting from a mechanistic attitude marked by objectivity, control predictability, competition, efficiency, and single views of knowledge to an attitude that values context, shared power, multiple relationships, and varied knowledge sources in which predictability is often impossible" (p. 18).

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine leadership within and for adult education through the eyes of adult educators themselves. The goal is to contribute to the literature a perspective that speaks specifically to leadership for adult education. Ultimately, by capturing the perspectives and understandings of adult educators about leaders and leadership for adult education, the potential is increased for their critical re-examination in light of current sensitivities to contextual influences, and social foundations of the field. Although the intent is to be descriptive rather than prescriptive, study findings certainly echo adult educators' perceptions of what leadership needs to be.

Research Design

This study is a qualitative inquiry into the phenomenon of leadership for adult education. This approach allowed an emergent research design, enabling the researchers to build on, and within, each proposed phase of the study. Three broad research questions guide this study: (1) How do adult educators perceive leaders and leadership in their field? (2) What role does/can leadership play in the continuation and growth of adult education? (3) How should individuals be prepared who wish to assume leadership roles or responsibilities for adult education?

The study has been divided into two phases: (a) survey distribution to a purposeful sample of leaders in adult education, and (b) in-depth interviews with key informants from the adult education field. This second phase of the study is continuing; additional interviews are planned. Survey respondents were formal leaders in three groups drawn from two international professional associations, The American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE), the Commission of Professors of Adult Education of AAACE, and the Learning Resources Network (LERN). Survey responses yielded insights into the first and third research questions. Response rates were 71%, 80%, and 33% for each group respectively. After the narrative responses for each question were analyzed, the resulting data chunks were compared across respondent groups. Resulting data clusters and categories were then compared and collapsed into11 themes that cut across all groups and questions. Each researcher

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followed this process independently at first. They then compared interpretations which served to check the analysis process and facilitated the discovery of themes and surprises.

Interviews are providing limited additional data addressing the second research question as well as expanding on the other two. The initial key informants were chosen because of their breadth of perspective on the field based on their years of experience and on the contexts in which they currently work or have worked. Two additional interviewees were suggested by key informants in response to a request by the researchers. Interview questions focused on: (a) conceptualizations of leadership for the field, and (b) leadership development. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed. Resulting data chunks were compared and placed into clusters that were then collapsed into categories; these categories indicated three themes. Finally, two frames were identified from a review of both survey and interview responses-dimensions of leadership and contexts of leadership-that served as the basis for integrating findings in the ongoing analysis of data.

Findings, Conclusions, and Discussion

From survey responses the researchers identified and organized themes according to four frames: types of leadership, characteristics of leaders, actions of leaders, and beliefs and values of leaders. *Types of Leadership* included: (a) informal/formal, (b) organizational, (c) association, and (d) intellectual. *Characteristics of Leaders* encompassed four themes: (a) collaborative and caring with effective human relations abilities, (b) energetic and committed, (c) ethical and consistent, and (d) intellectually active and capable. Six themes were considered to be *Actions of Leaders:* (a) provide visibility for the field; (b) understand the "big picture", shape and communicate vision; (c) engage in advocacy and social action based on democratic ideals; (d) serve as teachers, mentors, facilitators, and role models; (e) perform managerial functions skillfully; and (f) communicate effectively. Finally, *Beliefs and Characteristics of Leaders* held a diversity of responses. Only one theme was identified: Leaders are perceived to hold strong, positive beliefs on the necessity and benefits of lifelong learning. Five conclusions were derived from these findings: (a) leadership in adult education is both visible and hidden; (b) intellectual ability, scholarly production and teaching/mentoring are key elements of leadership in adult education, (c) adult education leaders provide visibility and advocacy for the field; (d) patterns of beliefs and values of leaders in adult education are unclear; and (e) adult educators confirm characteristics and behaviors of leaders as described in the literature. There seems to be, however, a tendency for adult educators to place a greater emphasis on managerial activities for their leaders than commonly cited in organizational theory.

Interview data yielded greater insight into adult educators' perceptions of: (a) what leadership is for the field of adult education, (b) qualities /attributes of leaders, and (c) leadership development. The second research question has not, in the opinion of the researchers, been adequately addressed. First, conceptualizations of leadership again suggested similar types of leadership found in survey responses, although purpose became an increasingly more useful term: intellectual/scholarly, organizational, association, practitioner, and community. Included here as well was the perspective of leadership as a social construct. Second, attributes/qualities of leaders overlapped survey responses. Leaders are perceived as needing to be skilled, critically reflective, visionary, ethical, advocates of the field, and able to initiate and support movement. Third, leadership development assumed "teachable things" yet also recognized intangible qualities, "that difficult-to-describe 'something extra'" (Apps, 1994, p. 57). Development was clearly related to purposes and qualities of leaders. Critical reflection, mentoring, getting "back to the heart and soul of people," and personal transformation were cited. Graduate programs--configured differently according to different perspectives on academic programs--were consistently considered as bearing responsibility. Three conclusions were derived from these findings: (a) leaders are perceived in a diversity of contexts and serving varied purposes; (b) adult educators perceive leaders to possess multiple attributes, not all of which may equally cross all purposes; and (c) components of and responsibility for leadership development are shaped by the broad purposes and personal qualities ascribed to leadership.

Two frames were identified from survey and interview findings that suggest a preliminary organizational approach for continued examinations of leadership: (a) contexts of leadership, and (b) dimensions of leadership. *Contexts of leadership* attempts to capture five different purposes of leadership. Those viewed as intellectual leaders are perceived to "be asking hard questions and looking at things others don't." They are constantly challenging existing ideas--their own and others'--and "contributing to the intellectual development of the field" through constructing and disseminating knowledge. Intellectual activity and ability were also noted as critical facets of practitioner leadership. Organizational leadership refers to formal administrative positions; the concept becomes more complex when understood as "socially constructed and conferred" by and among leaders and organizational members (Duke, 1998, p. 182). Association leaders are formal positions within professional associations of the field who, historically, "have taken strong positions [and] fought vigorously for things," and who should be "pushing us in new directions." Practitioner leadership embodies the perspective that everyone is a leader; recognition is given to "hidden" and informal leaders who are actually doing the work of adult education, as well as to those individuals providing leadership within their own specific contexts. The commonality here is the relative lack of visibility; adult educators feel the degree of visibility, although noteworthy, has no bearing on whether an individual is or is not considered a leader. Community leadership switches the perspective from adult educators as leaders of other adult educators, to "adult educators as leaders in their social context." In this sense, adult educators serve as "resource persons to those communities in which [they] are interacting." This sets leadership and its social responsibilities in a much broader context, not unlike what Knox (1993) suggests. Rose (1992) asserts "only lately, in the writing on women and minorities, have researchers returned to questions about social change as the key aspect of leadership, rather than organizational reform" (pp. 92-93). An emerging perspective is of leadership as a social construct, encompassing views on leadership as interactive (Apps, 1994), and as "socially bound and relational" (Donaldson, personal communication, February 22, 2000). From this perspective, relationships of power and the representation of interests come into focus. Issues of gender and ethnicity, for example, are recognized as shaping why some individuals are labeled as leaders and why others are overlooked. In addition, leadership from a normative perspective is seen as determined by organizational needs and expectations of organizational members (Duke, 1998). Interestingly, into this discussion can also be placed the perspective that those whom we regard as leaders has "to do with the collective consciousness of the field."

Intertwined within contexts of leadership are *dimensions of leadership*. Each may vary in degree dependent upon the contexts and purposes of leaders. Based on our findings, leaders are, however, consistently called upon to be: skilled, ethical, reflective, active advocates of the field, and able to define, inspire and support movement. Leadership skills include those associated with management such as planning and organizational skills, effective communication and human relations skills. Included here as well are teaching, mentoring, facilitation and role modeling. Ethical leadership mandates that leaders be aware of purposes and consequences, and grounded in knowledge of their own beliefs and values. The reflection dimension holds both a critically reflective perspective that asks, for example, "why something is being done, not just the best way of doing it," as well as an interest in contemplative, introspective leadership. The dimension of active advocacy speaks to leaders being willing to be visible, to stand firm, and to remind us in public policy, organizational structure, and interpersonal relationships how "incredibly integral" learning is to being an adult, "to realizing our humanity both individually and collectively." Interviewees also noted the need for leaders who have "an appreciation of where we have been and where we are. . . [of] the breadth of who we are." The fifth and final dimension suggests leaders have the ability to provide movement, to move people toward visionary goals. Consistently, leaders were seen as individuals who: (a) challenged ideas and assumptions, (b) understood the "larger picture," (c) were visionary, (d) were passionate, and (e) provided direction. For example, leadership was seen as "the ability to visualize a variety of possible futures, the ability to marshal resources to achieve those goals, the absolute political cunning it takes to make it happen, but [with] really deep-seated ethical guidelines." Or, similarly, "leaders need to be spark plugs, they need to really mobilize energy, enthusiasm and interest, and curiosity, and desire. . . .And they need to be able to get out of the way. And they need to know themselves well enough to be able to do that."

Implications for Research and Practice

These conclusions suggest at least two directions for developing leadership theory for adult education. First, we can likely build on the understanding that adult educators have diverse perspectives of leadership, although a fairly consistent view is that leadership is pervasive and not limited to formal designation or high visibility. As one interviewee expressed it, "any framework must be broad and deep enough to account for all the different forms of leadership that go on in the field." Secondly, we must pursue an examination of leadership as a contextually bound, social construct. We would agree with Duke (1998), for example, who maintains that additional attention and research needs to be paid to the beliefs and values of those subject to leadership, rather than continuing to focus on the beliefs and actions of leaders themselves. "Leadership cannot be detached from those who perceive and are subject to it" (p. 193). In addition, at least two concerns should guide an examination of leadership development: (a) the relationship of personal dimensions of leadership to broad purposes and contexts of leadership, and (b) the responsible development of ethical and critically reflective leaders. These directions suggest the potential for discovering the role of leadership in the development, growth, or perhaps transformation of the field, thus yielding a more complete response to our second research question. A critical look at leadership requires questioning the purposes of leadership, to ask as one interviewee did, "How have we been leaders to anyone other than ourselves?" Additional examination should focus not only on what lenses have shaped how we have come to perceive past and present leadership, but also on our role in shaping expectations of leadership for, in Apps' (1994) words, "the emerging age."

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Adult Education in the End of the Century: A Reflective Review from Portugal

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Abstract: *In this paper we review adult education policies in Portugal from 1974 until 1999, and we also try to provide a realistic portrait of the current situation. Our main aim is to give suggestions to guide researchers in this field of work.*

Introduction

To propose in this introduction to offer a general perspective on today's adult education would be an inglorious effort resulting in an absurd reduction. The traditional richness of this area of knowledge makes it impossible for us to consider all situations, events and possibilities. Nevertheless, and assuming the risk we want to avoid, it is possible to approach today's adult education using the proposals suggested by Peter Jarvis, which we find in several authors (Apps, 1985; Barros, 1974; Freire, 1985; Jarvis, 1989). In this approach, the various positions on adult education are located in a philosophical foundation that overcomes possible methodological reductions, and allows us to distinguish several educational perspectives. We see adult education as a political and cultural act that by itself can play a role in strengthening the chains of domination or breaking them in a liberatory way (Hall and Stock, 1985). We identify a hegemonic tendency that results from stressing the formal school system, which is based in teacher training as defined from an economic point of view, with a clear distinction between students and teachers. Opposed to this is a counter-hegemonic tendency that has to do with citizen's education, constructing different relationships in education, promoting innovation and developing a critical sense. These two major trends within the field of adult education help us to understand the reference point at which we stand, and the positions we assume, beyond speech differences, or methodological proposals. Our positions influence the analysis that we have done of the Portuguese adult education system. We sustain a critical perspective, because it is only by knowing deeply the system in which we move, that one gains the possibility to change it.

Adult Education in the Revolutionary Period (1974-76)

Portugal was ruled by a dictatorship regime from 1926 until 1974. It is easy to understand that after the revolution[1] the great majority of the population believed that all changes were possible. All tasks seemed urgent: to destroy the policies of the old regime; to replace them by new ones; in short, to build a new and fairer country.

Education was considered a very important tool for changing society, but on the other hand, a certain type of education had been one of the bases of the fascist regime (Carvalho, 1986; Cortesão, 1988). Being so, it was necessary to abandon the old educational structures and to reshape all educational systems (Teodoro, 1978). The state's visibility and authority were reduced in this period, which was characterised by a political struggle as different groups tried to achieve hegemony. For two years there was uncertainty about whether the revolutionary strategies of social transformation that would prevail. One can identify two major strategies (Stoer, 1986) supported by competing groups within the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA). One was based in a centralised revolutionary direction, with the MFA leading the state apparatus and government. The other was based in an autonomous social movement and in the construction of a revolutionary alternative through local popular power. Political parties clearly opposed these two strategies. They wanted to institutionalise a pluralistic representative democracy and defended the end of the MFA. We shall look at some movements that occurred, namely, the movements and initiatives that were centrally controlled, and the response of the General-Directorate for Permanent Education (DGEP) to a strong emerging associative movement.

Mobilisations Centrally Controlled

Military cultural campaigns. Created by the MFA, their aim was to show the Portuguese people that revolution was not only a coup d'état, but also an attempt to change Portuguese society profoundly (Almeida, 1981). The MFA, aware of its triumph in the social process triggered by the revolution it had led, intended now to assume the role of cultural promoter (Murteira, 1986). These campaigns went on from November 1974 until February 1975. They consisted of cultural activities – theatre, movie projections, etc. – and in public sessions, all destined to enlighten the people in political terms. Their targets were the rural inland populations to which the Lisbon revolution had come late. The results were not as expected. The military were often caught between the lack of political background, or the interest of the population, and their commitment to the old regime of right wing local bosses. This political heterogeneity and the lack of qualified MFA persons to do the work, contributed to the failure of their established aims (Almeida, 1981). Among the negative effects of these actions were the vain promises made to the populations and the absolute ignorance regarding the people's reality (Matos, 1979). In summary, none, or few, of the actions were taken for the population's interests (Cunhal, 1976). This cultural revolutionary movement mainly represents a naïve discovery made by the military about their own country-people. Also we should note the difficulties they met in taking the revolutionary ideals into traditional and forgotten communities.

The civic student service. Created in 1975, this was a compulsory year for student's prior to their beginning university studies; they put themselves at the service of communities[2]. A significant number of students were sent to do basic adult education. The training programs were conducted locally with "disposable resources". There were recommendations to use Paulo Freire's methods[3], once it was understood that illiteracy was an issue, "not only as instruction, but as a means to awaken the personal conscience of the individual" (Matos, 1979, p. 27). The results were poor, even when we consider only quantitative aspects: in the great majority of the regions there were certified around 30% of the adults who joined the program (DGEP, 1975). We must remember, first of all, that this was a compulsory year. Second, these "adult educators" had no training at all. Finally, the main aim of this "program" seemed to be to educate the young adults who wish to get a university education!

DGEP, or the Administration Serving Popular Initiatives

The period in question was characterised by a certain climate of generalised euphoria. In this context, there arose hundreds of small groups, co-operative societies and cultural centres. Most of these groups had no legal existence. Nevertheless, they performed a number of activities, from basic adult education to cultural animation. In this way was born a spontaneous popular associative movement that assumed typical forms of mass mobilisation and direct democracy (Lima, 1994b).

From January 1976 on, the DGEP tried to follow and serve the emerging associative movement (Melo, 1983). The main actions of this department were briefly as follows (Melo and Benavente, 1978). First of all, they established ways to support (monetary, pedagogical and technical) the existing associations who wished to do some work in adult education. But in order to give that support the associations had to be legalised. So, legal mechanisms were created to ensure that these informal groups would be considered "popular education associations". In July 1976, the DGEP maintained regular contact with more or less 500 of these associations. This work with popular associations was crucial to the "formation of a new type of educator and a new type of education" Norbeck (1983, p. 8). Furthermore, Norbeck states that only these associations should constitute the base of education for development in a Portuguese democratic tradition. Summarising some of the important features of this period: *i)* the focus of the action were the base groups and communities that mobilised their resources (Falcão, 1987), that is, non formal education; *ii)* the Portuguese adult education system was created by these base groups, *iii)* adult education was viewed as a "liberatory process that aims at the population's autonomy and not its dependency" (Melo and Benavente, 1978, p. 99). Finally we must stress that this focus on popular education was possible only because a certain "emptiness" of power existed in this period.

Adult Education in the Rebuilding of the State (1976-79)

The implementation of a pluralistic representative democracy in Portugal changed once again the so-

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cial and educational scene. In July 1976, the military Revolutionary Council was dissolved and the Socialist Party, winner of the elections, formed the first constitutional government. What were the effects on education and adult education?

The building of a democratic system implied a sudden cut with the revolutionary policies. The persons identified with popular education were dismissed and the DGEP was left with no qualified personnel (Silva, 1990). On a broader level of analysis, a redefinition of education was made by the introduction of new forms of administrative and economic rationality (Stoer, 1982). The "new" Portuguese State, traditional and autocratic, began by giving little attention to the people's social and cultural rights (Silva, 1990). Also we have to stress the reconstruction of a strong centralism (Lima, 1994a), with a consequence of abandoning local initiatives. There is no doubt that the first constitutional government marked the end of the period of radical educational reforms (Stoer and Dale, 1999) – normalisation was the rule and popular education associations were left without any kind of support. On the other hand, this marginality may have forced the emancipation of such associations which now had to work under a democratic system – much different from a revolutionary one. Paradoxically, this status of outsider brought some advantages to these groups. The lack of attention that the administration paid to them allowed for actions that otherwise would have been stopped, and also gave them the opportunity to avoid bureaucracy (Norbeck, 1983). The same kind of arguments are valid for the whole sector of adult education, since central initiatives had been often substituted by local community initiatives (Lima, 1994b). Finally we must emphasise that such associations represented a step forward towards democracy, through participant popular classes and the rules that guided their actions (Belchior, 1990).

The National Plan of Illiteracy and Basic Adult Education (1980-85)

Following a proposal made by the Communist Party, a 1979 law made the Government responsible for developing a national plan to eliminate illiteracy – the PNAEBA. Also, it was to develop several areas of adult education. The task of constructing and leading the plan was assigned to the DGEP. The PNAEBA consisted of seven different major programs. Five of them were (DGEP, 1979): i) the creation of an Institute of Adult Education; ii) the organisation of a network of cultural and permanent education centres; iii) the implementation of integrated plans for educational and cultural development; iv) illiteracy and adult basic education; and v) support for popular education.

The Institute of Adult Education never appeared. Only four cultural and permanent education centres were created at experimental level, but they soon disappeared. The support for popular education was limited to some monetary help, and that decreased over the years (DGEA, 1986). The impact of literacy programs on improving illiteracy rates was 0,75% to 1,6% (Sousa, 1986). The participants became younger and training programs were disconnected from community reality (Nogueira, 1996b). Finally, there were some interesting results in the implementation of territorial integrated development plans. The territorial approaches allowed for the appearance of participatory practices and endogenous development. The PNAEBA was a good plan that generated poor results. There was never enough resources to put it into action (DGEA, 1986) and this meant simply that there was not the political will to guarantee success. But new theories and forms of intervention arose (Nogueira, 1996a), and it was demonstrated that there was a "capital of knowledge, experiences and ideas, capable of promoting the integrated and autonomous development of an educational field" (Lima, 1996a, p. 68).

The Effects of Neo-Liberal Politics (1986-1999)

In 1985 the Social Democrat Party – in Portugal, a right wing one – won the elections and promoted neo-liberal politics until 1995. In 1986 a major reform in education began, and after the defeat of humanist sectors in the reform committees, adult education become severely diminished as a system. In the past we can characterise as ambiguous the attitude of the State towards associative movements, popular education or local structures intervention. Now, it became clear that the tendencies to privatisation in education – not investment – would be justified by the needs of modernisation (Lima, 1994a). We witnessed the transference of technocratic and rational perspectives to educational and social policies. The obsession with efficacy and efficiency, visible in the discourses that overvalue evaluation, rigor and results, started to define the "education that counts" (Lima, 1996b, p. 289). That is, formal education, one that is susceptible to quantitative orientations. Of course, adult education – especially the one that emphasises processes and not products – was therefore defined as the education to combat and exclude.

Adult Education in the 1986 Educational Reform

In this context , there began the destruction of the existing adult education system, which was still trying to emerged. Reform practically ignored adult education. The areas of territorial approaches and community development were forgotten (Nogueira, 1996b); the whole field of social and educational intervention was practically absent (Comissão de Reforma do Sistema Educativo, 1988). The departments that handled adult education were transformed into small units with no power or means to do significant work. The final stroke was given when adult education become subordinated to two existing departments: the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Secondary Education – that is, adult education was entirely placed under schooling.

The "New" Adult Education

Adult education in the 1990s has two major components: professional training and recurrent education. The latter is defined by alternating periods of study with other kind of activities, usually professional ones (DGEP, 1979). In its broader concept, it could be a tool for change (DGEA, 1986). This was the concept originally defended by the Portuguese administration. However, after the 86 reform the concept adopted was a strict one: second opportunity education, aiming solely at compensating the failures generated in the traditional educational system (DGEE, 1991). This kind of adult education does not represent a tool to combat social exclusion, nor present alternative strategies and processes towards liberation. Its main goals are disguised: the "new format" does not improve the cultural and economic situation of its beneficiaries, who mainly need a certificate to guarantee professional stability, but not social change (Sancho, 1996). In the meantime, what happened to the associations for adult education? Freedom from State control represents today an "open space" where non-formal processes can take place, at the local level. There are a significant number of projects seeking to integrate educational and cultural animation dimensions, and promote local development. Its work is based on participatory models because the associative dimension is suitable for such active models (Lima, 1994c).

Adult Education in Portugal can now be characterised by two different realities. 1) Official adult education, diminished as a whole, and almost absent. 2) The marginal network of State-independent organisations that use interesting non-formal practices – even if universities and research centres ignore or deprecate this reality.

After the elections of 1995, won by the Socialist Party, the Ministry of Education gathered a team of experts with the specific task of redefining the whole system of adult education. They have been working since 1997. The documents produced by this team[4] are very good, but there are no signs of real actions taking place.

Conclusions

It is obvious that, until now, the Portuguese administration has failed in promoting meaningful national policies to build a strong system of adult education. We must not wait for that day when some government will perform this task. After this reflective review, it is our opinion that Portuguese researchers should be aware of our future needs. These are: 1) A turn to integrated projects at regional or local level. 2) Universities should assume their responsibilities as regards the communities where they exist, assuring that research programs are designed to study projects undertaken by base groups, (thus ending the traditional separation between action and reflection), and that projects in which participatory research is used as a tool to changing social reality are promoted. 3) Put pressure on the official institutions and the teams of experts to carry out promised structures and plans. 4. Clarify the true meaning of adult education, an urgent task in a country where the authorities promote such a narrow concept of adult education.

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Notes

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[1] Throughout the paper, the word "revolution" refers to the coup d'état of April 25th, 1974. Revolution is a process. The complete political analysis of the events that took place in these two years is a huge task. Clearly it does not belong in this paper. Hence we choose to simplify, even if some times we lose some precision with it.

[2] Of course, this "one more year" represented an opportunity to delay the solution of a simple problem: 14,000 students without a place in the university system.

[3] Paulo Freire's methods were accepted in that period, although often used in deviating forms and with some dogmatism and predetermined objectives (Stoer and Dale, 1999).

[4] Melo, A.; Queirós, A. M.; Silva, A. S.; Salgado, L.; Rothes, L. & Ribeiro, M., (1998). *Uma Aposta Educativa na Participação de Todos. Documento de estratégia para o desenvolvimento da educação de adultos*. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação.

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Research that Hurts or Research that Helps? A Critical Framework for Adult Education Inquiry and People with Intellectual Disabilities

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Abstract: *This study provides two important caveats to educators involved in work with adults with intellectual disabilities: we must pay close attention to the structures we operate within, and we must carefully interrogate our purpose and our methods.*

People with intellectual disabilities remain segregated, and politically and economically disenfranchised, despite government policies of community integration, a social work focus on "quality of life" (Rapley & Ridgeway, 1998) and greater public awareness about disability as a human rights issue. A vast amount of literature about this group of people is generated by what Rapley and Ridgway calls the "psy-complex," of psychiatry, psychology and social work, and it conflates what might be called intellectual impairment or learning difficulty with the political economy that surrounds a segregated population. Much of the literature talks about managing people's behaviour without framing them in their social and institutional context, or talks about goals and outcomes of group homes and day programs without acknowledging that the people in them are heavily regulated. Even authors whose goal is to question and critique the level of choice people are afforded in their daily lives frame them as "clients" who deserve better service, rather than citizens who have rights (Johnson, 1998). There has been a great deal of similar literature produced by community organizations, whose overwhelming influence are parents of people with intellectual disabilities. This literature also maintains a focus on consumer rights, and the struggle between families and government over funding for care giving and support services.

Adult educators who deal with disability issues are often rooted in the practical aspects of individual education, but adult education theory plays a role in the hegemony of training as the panacea to joblessness, underemployment and social participation. When we keep in mind the structural constraints that face disabled people, and the way that the category of intellectual disability is socially constructed, it becomes clear that adult educators must rethink disability and educational theory and practice. The objective of this paper is to consider which theoretical, political and educational approaches adult educators might employ to combat human rights abuses and further the legal, political and economic emancipation of people with intellectual disabilities.

Toward an Historical Materialist Understanding of Disability

Structuralism

In an evaluation of feminist disability politics, Sheldon (1999) argues that a structural approach is necessary for disability politics to move forward. Sheldon evaluates three different feminist approaches in relation to disability politics: structure, culture, and individual experience. Sheldon notes that although "cultural representations of disabled people are undoubtedly worthy of study...structural forces are also at work" (Sheldon, 1999, p. 646). Authors who focus on social barriers have been accused of "denying [the] personal experience of disability and of impairment," however, focusing only on the personal can lose the focus of removing social barriers and changing social structures (Sheldon, 1999, 648). Including a structural approach offers "a more effective way forward for disabled people, women, and people from other oppressed groups" (Sheldon, 1999, p. 643).

Gleeson argues that a focus on changing the material structures should be the "central emphasis for a transformative political practice" (Gleeson, 1997, p. 97). To Gleeson, structures include not only the surface layer of social organization (for example, the physical layout of a city), but also the deeper set of economic relations that are responsible for the way the physical and social landscape is organized. Oppression of disabled people begins with "the political-economic structures (notably, employment markets) which economically devalue disabled people and thus expose them to ideological marginalisation" (Gleeson, 1997, p. 193).

More insight into a materialist understanding of structure is provided by Allman and Wallis' (1995) reading of Gramsci. Following Marx, Gramsci did not see the structure of society as reified, objective forces," but instead as "social relations between classes comprised of people." The most important, or constitutive social relation in a capitalist society is the labour capital relation, while other relations (such as gender or disability) are secondary. Therefore, tactics to change secondary relations must be linked to a strategy to abolish labour/capital relation, or "we merely reproduce, albeit in conjuncturally different guises, the structure" (Allman & Wallis, 1995, p. 128). In a materialist reading of disability, transformative political practice must keep the labour-capital relationship as the focus.

Materialism vs. Idealism

There is a wealth of disability studies literature that conceptualizes disability as socially constructed–meaning there is no set of pathological or essential characteristics that separate disabled people from non-disabled–and as a category of oppression, theoretically analogous to gender or race. However, the literature diverges, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly, on whether disability is conceptualized as a "product of ideas and attitudes" or as a result of relations of production (Gleeson, 1997, 197). Idealist explanations of disability have been dominant in literature from the 1960s until the present. One of the most influential conceptualizations of disability was Erving Goffman's in *Stigma: Notes on the management of a spoiled identity*, in which he argued that a disability is a social stigma, and the disabled person must learn to manage or negotiate a positive self identity in the face of their imperfection.

Idealist explanations of disability are prevalent in the dominant ideologies of social work and rehabilitation, including "normalization" and "social role valorization" (Gleeson, 1997, p. 184). These service philosophies purport that if people act normally, and infiltrate valued social positions, they will be able to integrate into mainstream society, and reduce discrimination against disabled people. This position is conceptually equivalent to the belief that negative attitudes cause ableism, and is evident in many adult education strategies of sensitivity training, and familiarizing non-disabled people with disability issues as a way to make workplaces more accessible to disabled people.

Allman and Wallis (1995) attribute the prevalence of idealist explanations of social relations to Gramsci's concept of common sense, which contains ideologies that reflect current social relations, as well as ideas that are "residues of previous social relations." These residual ideas give "the appearance that ideas pre-exist and even cause social reality: an appearance that results in idealism, or idealist as opposed to materialist reading of historical change" (p. 122). Gleeson (1997) argues that disability studies authors are guilty of a kind of reverse process of idealism, due to an ahistorical understanding of disability. Disability theorists have reified the past based on the present construction of disability. This ahistorical approach has lead to an essentialized view of disabled people as needing services, and as being unable to perform work.

Producing and Reproducing Disability

While a materialist understanding of disability does not conceptualize ideas and attitudes as the *cause* of ableism, ideas and attitudes do have an important role in the reproduction of ableist structures. Sleeter's 1986 study of the history of educational streaming provides an example of how "Discourse and symbolic representations reproduce disablement" (cited Gleeson, 1997, p. 194). Sleeter clearly demonstrates how labour-capital relations coupled with discourses of race and disability construct and reproduce racism and ableism in the educational system.

In the US, educational tracking grew up in the early 1960s, responding to the demand of the government/military/aerospace industries that schools produce highly skilled technical workers. Children who could not keep up to the more difficult curriculum were classified as slow learners, mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, culturally deprived, or learning disabled (Sleeter, 1986, p. 48). US school systems defined children with IQ test scores between 75 and 90 as slow learners, and below 75 as retarded (Sleeter, 1986, p. 49). These categories are underpinned by race and class, because they are determined by IQ tests which have been proven to favour white, middle class children (Sleeter, 1986, p. 50).

As a result of civil rights activists protesting the over-representation of Black children in the retarded category, US school systems "lower[ed] the maximum IQ from one standard deviation from the mean to two" (Sleeter, 1986, p. 52). Thus we can see how state and industry demands on the school system to produce certain types of workers interacts with constructs of race and class to create categories of disability. We also see that these categories are not only socially constructed, but are also altered in the dialectic between labour and capital. Far from being a static category, the parameters of intellectual disability, and disability in general, are defined by structures (educational) that are reproduced and recreated by the social relations of labour and capital, race and gender.

Disability and Work

Relations of Production and Distribution

In his outline of an historical materialist view of disability, Gleeson (1997) argues that through a reification of present social relations, and without evidence, many disability scholars have adopted the view that all impaired people were beggars in the pre-industrial era" (p. 188). Gleeson also criticizes the belief in "the historical existence of dual distributive systems in societies," one for those who produce sufficient value to meet their own needs, and one for those who cannot. From this assumption, "disability is explained as a juridical and administrative construct of state policy which is aimed at solving this supposed redistributive predicament" (p. 189). Gleeson argues this is only relevant in societies where a direct reciprocity is assumed between individual work and individual reward. My concern with explaining disability as a distributive dilemma goes further, as I disagree that individuals are rewarded in relation to work in the capitalist system. Whether we define work in hours, or effort exerted, or the amount of commodity that is produced, there is no correlation between work and its value in a capitalist economy. If we leave the assumption of distribution according to work, we can begin to see disabled people as workers.

The notion that in a capitalist economy the "value of work varies according to supply and demand" (Marx, cited in Bender, 1986, p. 81) is more useful for understanding the relationship between distribution and disability. The commodification of labour requires us to shift our focus away from interrogating whether disabled people can work as efficiently or productively as non-disabled people, to whether their labour might be in high supply, or low demand. Segregation can interact with the supply and demand for labour by providing a more available supply of workers, or by removing workers' opportunity to compete for wages. The issue is not so much the relations of distribution, as it is the relations of production. The commodification of labour means that "more inflexible workers were devalued in terms of *potential* for paid work" (emphasis mine) (Gleeson, 1997, p. 195), which should not be conflated with an individual's capacity to perform work. Separating the commodity value of someone's labour from their capacity for productive work explains the paradox of workers in sheltered workshops being able to produce as many units as non-disabled workers, but getting paid less.

Ideology and the Sheltered Workshop

For adult education, a central concern is how to think about or justify vocational training programs when the commodification of labour plays such a central role in structuring disability. There are three conflicting ideologies about work that are negotiated through the state as social services policy: that everyone has the right to engage in productive work, that people using social services accrue a debt to society, and a belief that unemployment is a result of lack of training. These three conflicting expectations impact how work is done by people within the social service system (in workshops and vocational programs), and how much or whether workers are paid for it.

Citizen as Consumer

Within public policy and social service discourse, legal and political rights for people with intellectual disabilities are conflated with, or replaced by a discourse of consumer rights. Discussion about the right to self-determination is pushed aside in favour of discussion about the right to services. The backdrop to the consumer rights debate are large industries including manufacturers of pharmaceutical and assistive devices, private sector home care agencies and nursing homes, as well as large professional associations including doctors, psychologists, physiotherapists and social workers.

Consumer rights are increasingly framed in a "Quality of Life" discourse. On the surface, this represents a shift away from the medical model of curing individual disorder, however, it is still rooted in the idea of curing individual problems–this time a lack of rights and poor living conditions. Although the focus is shifted away from patient outcomes, "quality" is still defined and measured by professionals.

Not only is the discourse focused on services rather than citizenship, but the quality and delivery of services is determined through professional discourse that is circular, and excludes the opinions of disabled people. There has been an abundant literature discussing services in terms of "Quality of Life" that contains no input from the people it speaks about. Stancliffe and Parmenter (1999) outline a questionnaire to gauge "quality of life" for people with intellectual disabilities that ranks how much choice people have in their daily living conditions, including: what they wear and eat, when they bathe and sleep, and who they socialize with. The authors then conducted a survey with this questionnaire, and relied on staff to report the answers.

Having staff assist in answering questionnaires is also problematic when we consider the high instances of physical and sexual abuse in group home and institutional settings (Cambridge, 1999). In a video made with a collective of people with intellectual disabilities fighting sexual abuse, the participants firmly situate sexual and physical abuse in a climate where people do not have the opportunity to make even the most minor choices about what to eat or when to go to bed. (Diverse City Press, 1996). Lack of choice perpetuates and exacerbates a cycle of abuse and oppression.

Implications for Adult Educators

In our perspective, all education is political as it is aimed at either preparing people to liberate themselves from an oppressive and exploitative status quo or at domesticating people to adapt to work individualistically within the given (Allman & Wallis, 1995, p. 120)

The first part of locating ourselves as educators and researchers involves examining the structures we operate in. Rather than pretend the learning or research situation is power-neutral, it is important to not only state our location, but also to carry an awareness of how educational and social services structures organize and reproduce disability as a category. Too much of the literature on intellectual disability glosses over or masks the oppression and exploitation people experience in their daily lives. As an example, in her study of an institution for people with intellectual disabilities in Australia, Johnson states she spent "hundreds of hours as a participant observer in a locked ward" (Johnson, 1998, p. 378), but she does not explain whether she was a staff member, or a human rights observer, or a consultant paid to do research.

Recognizing that there are power relations among participants in education and educational research does not mean that educators/researchers are precluded from emancipatory education. Freire makes a distinction "between professional authority and authority of knowledge" (cited in Kilgore, 1999, p. 193). Mezirow suggests that educators can provide the conditions for emancipatory learning (Mezirow, p. 1996). If it *is* possible to negotiate the power relations between would-be emancipatory educators and an oppressed group, then that negotiation is achieved through close attention to purpose.

The second part of locating ourselves as educators has to do with interrogating the purpose of the educational program or research project. The purpose is related to the structures we operate in, through mission statements and funding mandates, but attention to purpose includes examining the professional discourses that surround the people we are working with, and the political economic function our educational program or research project has. Kilgore argues that educators and learners are involved in learning "for the sake of the increasing number of social control mechanisms that have developed in our economic, political and administrative institutions" (Kilgore, 1999, p. 192).

Adults with intellectual disabilities have severely limited opportunity to choose whether to participate in a vocational or other educational program. Beyond economic and social restrictions to educational choices, many people are confined, or physically forced to be present for education or training programs (Chernets, 1995). Adult educators working with people with intellectual disabilities are also operating within or in proximity to agencies and institutions that find ideological reason for being in the rehabilitation model. In the Ontarian context, program funding is granted based on the acquisition of skills that conform to perceived market requirements and social norms (Government of Ontario, 1997). As educators, we have a responsibility to understand how "literacy and education for citizenship has potential both as a domesticating tool and as a force for liberation" (Gibson, 1999, p. 132). We also must stop the appropriation of the disability rights movement by professionals who promote the appearance of self-determination of service users, rather than working for real change.

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Feminist Pedagogies and Graduate Adult and Higher Education for Women Students: Matters of Connection and Possibility

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Abstract: *This essay examines the disconnection between the homeplace and the university in graduate education for women students. It explores the ways that positional models of feminist pedagogies can be used to develop more inclusive and transformative forms of graduate education.*

Introduction

Various researchers who have investigated the status and predicament of women graduate students in higher education assert that, despite some improvements in regard to access and accommodation issues, the reality of graduate studies for many women is still incongruent with the reality of their lives (Guppy & Davies, 1998; Johnsrud, 1995; Lapidus, 1997; Pruitt-Logan & Isaac, 1995; Rossman, 1995; Seldenthuis, 1995). Demographics, dispositions (attitudes, values, and beliefs in relation to graduate education), and expectations that locate graduate students have changed. These changing profiles of graduate students must be considered along with another academic fact of life in Canada and the United States: Women comprise the majority of students in graduate education (Guppy & Davis, 1998; Johnsrud, 1995). This state of affairs challenges academics, graduate students, and others with interests in improving academic adult education and other forms of higher education as fields of study and practice.

Women students comprise a diverse group by virtue of their different identities, subjectivities, identifications, socialities, cultural locations, histories, and knowledges. Recognizing the complexity of the politics that locate different women differently, we investigate positional models of feminist pedagogies as ways of knowing that deal with location. They can help us frame policy, programmatic, and pedagogical issues, and set possible directions in graduate education. From this perspective, we focus on graduate education for women students in this essay. We provide background for this project by discussing the historical sociocultural location of the homeplace and the difficulties women students encounter because of the traditional distance between the homeplace and the university. Then we draw on themes and concepts pervasive in positional models of feminist pedagogies to help us frame issues and concerns in graduate education for women students. We also explore these models to help us speak about new directions that might enable women students in graduate adult and higher education to have inclusive and transformative learning experiences. We conclude by speaking to the value of these models.

Homeplace Matters and Graduate Education for Women Students

The homeplace is a central site for identity formation, relationship formation, and labor, for most women. It is traditionally expected to be the center of women's allegiance. As a consequence, when women students pursue graduate studies, one of the challenges they must often address is the incongruence that arises when this loyalty is questioned within the patriarchal context of university traditions. Many practical and emotional conflicts may arise when women students are expected to attend to the needs of two "greedy institutions" – a term that Edwards borrows from sociologist, Louis Coser, to define institutions that demand complete obedience and loyalty. In her study of the experiences of mature women students returning to university, Edwards (1993) notes that the traditional concept of the student in higher education is modeled after the singular, 'bachelor male;' that is, one who is unencumbered with domestic or family responsibilities. Women graduate students are uneasily aware of the discrepancies between their own daily-lived experiences in the homeplace and the world of the university. They often feel caught between two opposing, equally demanding institutions, where the work in one place is often not valued in the other. As a consequence, many women must not only work exceptionally hard to prove that they are meeting the demands of each institution, but they must also do it in a way that this work is invisible, so as not to draw attention to the time and energy expended upon it.

Research on the experiences of mature women students in higher education exposes a number of structural and cultural barriers that impede possibilities for success. First of all, there are challenges within the homeplace. Societal expectations assert that women are to be the primary caregivers for children and other family members. They are also to be responsible for most of the household labor, regardless of other obligations. Many women find it politically difficult to assert the need for their own time and interests, which is prerequisite in continuing formal education (Fagan, 1991). When women return to education they sometimes receive support from their male partners, but in many cases men feel threatened by the power that education represents. Their reactions may range from subtle discouragement to blatant acts of violence (Mendelsohn, 1989; Campbell, 1993). Luxton (1990) notes that when conflicts arise over the distribution of household and childcare responsibilities, it is usually treated as an individual concern to be negotiated within each homeplace. However, the inequities and expectations that determine women's experiences are related to structural relations of power that are systemic within the larger culture, and that impinge upon the household. To address these concerns, therefore, we need to understand how gendered divisions in labor and responsibilities may serve to put women students at a disadvantage.

Secondly, within university structures there is blindness to the concerns of women graduate students. This blindness afflicts all levels of the administration as well as many faculty members. As a consequence, there is an unwillingness to address policies that create structural forms of discrimination (for example, the insistence upon a residency requirement for doctoral studies). Having equal policies for male and female students assumes they are equally affected. However, the life experiences of women students are different, particularly if they become mothers. Peets (1999) argues that we need to value the different choices that women make, whether they stay at home to look after children, or work full time in the paid labor force. In the same way, we need to respect that women should be able to make choices regarding how they manage their studies and their domestic and childcare responsibilities. The insistence upon a full-time residency means that women who choose to do their doctorate are told that they must make a full-time commitment to academia, and that they cannot make a full-time commitment to mothering. This is something that should be an individual choice, not an institutionally determined decision.

In addition, universities need to be more sensitive and aware of other issues that create challenges and barriers for various women students. For instance, universities need to address safety concerns so that women feel safe walking around on campus, and they need comprehensive policies to address issues such as sexual harassment (Vezina, 1998). They also need to address adequate, affordable childcare, which is a priority for mothers engaged in formal study (Johnson, 1998).

Finally, faculty need to assess their own willingness to engage critically with issues that are central to women's lives by validating the learning that comes from the homeplace. Within academia, the value of knowledge gained from learning within the homeplace is overlooked and often disparaged. Women students learn quickly that while experiences from the paid workplace may be considered valuable experience to bring into classroom discussion, the same recognition is often not given to experiences in mothering, domestic forms of labor, and other caring types of work that women engage in within the homeplace. Hart (1997) suggests that acknowledgment of the significance of motherwork would provide a radical challenge to academic discourses that currently exist. Litner, Taylor and Rossiter (1992) argue that we need to encourage women students to assess critically their own lived experiences within the academic context. They assert that assessment and validation of women's multi-perspective knowledges are crucial in efforts to challenge, question, and assess information raised within the academic realm.

Using Positional Models of Feminist Pedagogies to Inform Graduate Education for Women Students

Poststructural feminist discourse has significantly influenced the development of positional models of feminist pedagogies. In their influential edited text, *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy,* Luke and Gore (1992) present key essays in the emergence of poststructural feminisms in education. These essays help to construct a discourse of interrogation, interruption, and intervention. This counter-discourse refuses and resists a patriarchal coordination of knowledge, theorizing, and pedagogical relations.

As models of poststructural feminist pedagogies emerged, they have been viewed as a way to build an enhanced pedagogical framework that focuses on positionality (matters of disposition, connection, context, and relationship). They aim to enable inclusiveness and transformation in learning environments (Tisdell, 1995). In the theory-research-practice interactions embodied in positional praxis, subjectivity, history, experience, voice, authority, and difference are significant determinants that gauge identities, identifications, and possible actions. In addition, the politics of knowledge production, exchange, and distribution figure significantly. Positional pedagogies locate teachers, learners, and their experiences amid forces situated in the culture-power nexus. They contour the pedagogical moment as a political engagement, and they contribute to the possibility of transformative learning experiences.

In academic adult education Tisdell (1998) has developed a model of a positional pedagogy that builds on work first presented in her 1995 typology of psychologically oriented, liberatory, and positional models of feminist pedagogies. Tisdell's model of a positional pedagogy highlights the importance of the positionality of the educator in relation to issues of knowledge production, voice, and authority. In keeping with a poststructural feminist perspective, she maintains a key focus on gender as a category of analysis, and she investigates the gendered nature of experience and its relationship to adult learning. Tisdell suggests that the trademark of her variation of a poststructural feminist pedagogy is its emphasis on the positionality of the instructor as an actor with authority and capacity to influence the learning environment. In her theorizing and practice to build what she calls "a feminist emancipatory adult education theory-in-practice" (p. 145), she problematizes the locatedness of instructors who, like learners, act and interact in the intersections of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and other representations of positionality. She believes that the positionality of the instructor is always caught up in classroom dynamics that affect the teaching-learning interaction. She asserts that instructor positionality influences the production of instructor and learner knowledges, the connection between the learner and the social context, and the possibility for social change leading to emancipatory education.

Positional models of feminist pedagogies provide further ideas to frame and debate issues and directions in graduate education. Tisdell (1995; 1998) contends that positional models of feminist pedagogies intend to advance the cause of experiential and transformative pedagogies in at least four ways. First, positional pedagogies promote the mutuality of theory and practice, and focus on experience and its conceptualization in terms of intervening forces. This is particularly important to women students in graduate education who explore diverse theoretical perspectives to gain insight into ways of knowing what Freire (1998) calls the word (the text and its context and subtext) and the world (experience and its situatedness). Making connections between theory and practice helps students to understand connection, disconnection, conflict, and change in their own lives, which provides them with an expanded knowledge base as they negotiate the realities of homeplaces and formal learning places like the university. To assist this process, graduate programs need to be designed as spaces where critical reflection on everyday life merges with knowledge gained through formal study. This unifies theory and practice in ways informative to intellectual cultural work (hooks, 1994).

Second, positional pedagogies interrogate relationships of power in larger social and cultural contexts, and they investigate how the power-knowledge relationship affects the production, exchange, and distribution of knowledge at the macro-level in education and culture. Third, they interrogate relationships of power-knowledge at the micro-level in particular learning environments such as formal classroom spaces in the university. These related goals of positional pedagogies elevate issues of power and voice as they question which knowledges are taken up in specific situations. They point to the requisiteness of asking the question "What knowledge is of most worth?" at policy-development and program-design levels in graduate education. They also point to the importance of addressing corollary issues such as criteria for setting academic standards since these criteria are usually developed to uphold dominant culturally valued knowledge.

Fourth, positional pedagogies keep teacher authority an open issue, and they investigate power disparities and issues of responsibility in the teacher-learner relationship. By focusing on issues of authority and responsibility, positional pedagogies speak to the danger of graduate education that wears a cloak of neutrality as it aids and abets the maintenance of hegemonic structures and accords that fail to address issues of subordination and disconnection in higher learning. As part of addressing these dangers we need to monitor programs and courses and, as necessary, challenge choices of texts, teaching methods, and evaluation procedures. Program coordinators, faculty, and students should all have a role in this front-line monitoring process, which is bounded by larger academic infrastructure and processes. After all, syllabus construction is a political act not simply tied to the politics of the educator's situatedness. It is also tied to a larger politics and authority reflected by departmental guidelines, programmatic requirements, university policies and procedures, and academic standards. Thus monitoring program and course designs, and certainly attempting to change them, are profound challenges.

Concluding Perspective: The Value of Positional Models of Feminist Pedagogies

Many women, variously situated in the intersections of gender and other relationships of power, come to graduate education with different identities, knowledges, histories, experiences, and motivations. Acknowledging this, positional pedagogies challenge universities to shape policies, programs, standards, and procedures to value women's different positionalities and ways of knowing. They challenge academics to engage in inclusionary and transformative educational practices. These challenges involve recognition that formal learning spaces are political places where possibilities for transformative learning demand a collective engagement with educator and learner positionalities. They also involve emphasis on connection in learning so that homeplace and other situated knowledges have value in academe.

Positional models of feminist pedagogies help us to assess problems in graduate education and they provide a framework to guide our intervention in their solutions. Analysis of these models provides theoretical and pedagogical lenses to help us explore and address changes in the realities of graduate education. These include changes in the goals and objectives graduate students set for themselves, changes in the time it takes to finish graduate school, altered student perceptions of the role and purpose of graduate education, and altered research interests and job and career ambitions. Positional models of feminist pedagogies provide themes, concepts, and ideas to help guide the process of rethinking educational policy, standards, program design, and educational practice. They also provide graduate faculty with insights and understanding to guide their work as knowledgeable and responsible advocates for graduate students.

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The Modern Practice of Canadian and US Academic Adult Education during the Brief American Century (1945-73): People, Politics, and Ideas Shaping an Emerging Field

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Abstract: *This essay examines cultural and economic aspects of the emergence of the modern practice of academic adult education as a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge emerged in Canada and the United during the brief American century (1945-73).*

Introduction

I begin this essay with an analysis of the post-World War II project of academic adult education in Canada and the United States. Next I explore academic adult education's moves in the context of big-picture understandings of a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge. I conclude with the field of study's assessment of the field of practice near the end of the brief American century.

The Project of Academic Adult Education during the Brief American Century

As Jameson (1991) demarcates it, "the brief 'American century' (1945-73)" (p. xx) covers a remarkable period from the end of World War II in 1945 to 1973, the year in which he claims super crises including the world oil crisis and the end of the international gold standard signified its end. During this period people, politics, and ideas operating inside and outside of academic adult education can be understood to mediate the project of the field of study to enhance the space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) of the field of practice in the larger culture in both Canada and the United States. In this essay I explore aspects of these mediation efforts as a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge emerged in both countries. While this culture may have developed first in the United States, it also deeply affected postwar Canada, which became a target of American imperialism due to its rich resources that could feed America's Sovietphobic military need. Thompson & Randall (1994) contend that "during the 1950s, Canada became ... [an] integral part of the new American Empire" (p. 184). They go on to say that "defense production was a fundamental element of economic integration: as it became truly continental in scope, parts of the Canadian economy became northern extensions of what President Eisenhower would later call 'the military-industrial complex'" (p. 206).

Canadian and US academic adult education emerged amid the persistent and omnipresent cultural and economic change-force factors that created a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge in both countries (Grace, 2000). A link between these two forms of academic adult education, at least during the brief American century, was the fact that key academic adult educators working in Canada had been trained in the United States or had immigrated from there. For example, J. Roby Kidd, who worked at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, earned his doctorate in adult education at Columbia University (Selman, 1995). Coolie Verner, who worked at the University of British Columbia, was born in Ohio. He also earned his doctorate at Columbia University (Boshier, 1995).

As academic adult education emerged in the United States and Canada after World War II, the field of study worked to configure the larger field as an enterprise with expertise useful to assist the techno-scientific and economic advancement of postwar culture and society in both countries. The term enterprise is used in this essay to describe the desired cultural space and place that academic adult education sought to attain for the larger field during the postwar decades. This term incorporates two ideas that encompass the efforts of academic adult education as it performed in the midst of thoroughgoing and omnipresent cultural and economic change forces. First, it includes the idea of adult education as a venture designed to attain cultural currency in techno-scientific and professional terms. This idea linked the emergence of a professionalized field of modern practice to the emergence of a field of study where developments in theory, research, and method tended to align with the regulatory culture of techno-science as the source of productive knowledge (Grace, 1999). Locating techno-scientific knowledge as knowledge with most worth in adult education seemed to be the best way for academic adult education to increase the larger field's space and place in the larger culture. Blakely and Lappin (1969) concluded that the cultural process where *knowledge was power to control power* was a fait accompli. They deduced, "Action is coming to be guided by knowledge – [techno-scientific] knowledge purposively and systematically taught and learned" (p. 19).

Second, the term enterprise includes the idea of adult education as an adventure designed to help adult learners negotiate new and unfamiliar life, learning, and work terrains. This idea was hooked to a field history valuing an amateurish spirit that nurtured transformative social and cultural forms of adult learning. Despite a perceived primary emphasis on adult education as a venture in the postwar period, adult education as an adventure was still an important adult-learning terrain that attempted to respond to diverse demands for new forms of social and cultural education (Bergevin, 1967; Rosen, 1970). Its historical roots located adult education as an adventure is a kind of education that emphasized context, relationship, and learner disposition in community settings. This more integrated focus often seemed to put adult education as an adventure at odds with the emerging idea of adult education as a venture. The latter, newer idea was more about setting parameters to a professionalized modern practice. As such it was an expression of academic adult education's apparently more urgent concern to occupy prime cultural space and supposedly neutral educational space by submitting to the regulations of techno-science and the rigors of professionalism. The ongoing tensions between the two ideas vying to shape a postwar field of study and practice augmented faulting in a historically fragmented field caught in a perennial struggle over the values of instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education.

As professionalization of the field progressed, some academic adult educators, fearing the enterprise was shirking its social responsibility, raised the concern that mainstream adult education was engaged in a technical and precise endeavor primarily valued for its utility in contributing to the techno-scientific and economic advancement of the dominant culture (see, for example, Blakely & Lappin, 1969; Rosen, 1970). They challenged status-seeking academic adult educators whose myopic professional gaze focused on the kind of instrumentalized practice supported by universities and other institutions that gave increasing prominence to science and technology (see descriptions of this practice in Verner, 1978). They critiqued an emerging modern practice moving away from adult education's traditional social focus and pluralistic and voluntary nature. These educators investigated the *Ization Syndrome* – techno-scientization, individualization, professionalization, and institutionalization – shaping adult education's postwar development as an ordered and orderly enterprise complicit with the dominant postindustrial culture.

Painting a Big Picture: Understanding Academic Adult Education's Moves in a Post-World War II Change Culture of Crisis and Challenge

US academic adult education experienced tremendous growth during the quarter century following World War II (Kidd and Selman, 1978; Smith, Aker, & Kidd, 1970). This growth occurred in the midst of dramatic cultural and economic change forces that profoundly reconfigured culture and society. Indeed, persistent and disruptive change appeared to be the only constant as citizen learners and workers negotiated new life, learning, and work terrains. As phenomenal cultural and economic change forces contoured these terrains in new and unfamiliar ways, they, in effect, constituted the preconditions for a new functional system of capital that reconfigured the relationship between the cultural and the economic. Whether this new system constituted a break with the prewar system of capital or, alternatively, represented a new stage that recognized capitalism's new functionality in an emerging knowledge-and-service economy has been variously argued from different theoretical perspectives. Two contrasting perspectives –Bell's (1960) view, which suggests a rupture with the prewar system, and Jameson's (1991) view, which suggests a transition to a new stage of capitalism – are briefly discussed here.

In his classic explanation of the impact of unparalleled postwar cultural and economic change forces, eminent sociologist Daniel Bell (1960) described the unprecedented expansion of capitalism into postwar US culture as the precondition for the emergence of what he called postindustrial society. His explanation, recorded in *The End of Ideology*, suggested a rupture or break with the prewar system of capital. Bell (1967) listed the years 1945 to 1950 as "the birth-years, symbolically, of the post-industrial society" (p. 159). He distinguished this society by "the rise of the new elite whose status is based on skill. [Their ascendancy] derives from the simple fact that knowledge and planning ... have become the basic requisites for all organized action" (p. 165). Bell's distinction suggested that the age of a new techno-scientized kind of professionalism had arrived. The new professionals were technical intellectuals whom Bell believed were capable of displacing class conflict by subjecting it to technical and organizational problem-solving processes (Aronowitz and DiFazio, 1994). Aronowitz and DiFazio (1994) describe this belief in the end of ideology as a belief in the ethos and expertise of technical intellectuals as well as a belief in the power of their knowledge as a productive force. They argue that this belief is decontextualized and hence problematic. They assert that Bell's postindustrial ideology forgets the effects of history and work culture, and locates the end of ideology as a progression of capitalism into a postindustrial society where technical reason supposedly has the power and independence to be a force able to replace class conflict. Drawing on the work of C. Wright Mills, they further assert that Bell's postindustrial ideology does not consider how technical intellectuals constituted a constrained new middle class that was potentially significant yet disastrously dependent on its procreators, science and government.

Despite this dependency, and perhaps because of it, technical intellectuals became avant-garde in the emerging knowledge-and-service economy. This economy expanded in the post-World War II era because science was politicized in the service of government to produce the institutionally dependent technical intellectuals needed for the expansion (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994). These elite new professionals worked within the bounds of the new economic realm ruled by government with science as its handmaiden. Their prime cultural worth was a measure of their techno-scientific expertise (Said, 1994). Bell (1960) believed that this expertise served a dual purpose. First, it advanced postindustrial society, which he described as "above all, the machine civilization" (p. 224). This society expanded in the 1950s and 1960s in the face of Cold War fears in the United States and Canada, its resource-rich neighbor to the North, and it built what President Dwight D. Eisenhower called a military-industrial complex as its pervasive architecture (Thompson & Randall, 1994). Second, and concomitantly, this expertise provided the human and material resources needed to deal with the effects of postindustrial change forces, which Bell (1960) described as "turbulence born ... [of] prosperity [that] brings in its wake new anxieties, new strains, new urgencies" (p. 94).

Fredric Jameson (1991) offers a contrasting theoretical explanation of the emergence of postwar society in *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. He takes issue with Bell's notion of postindustrial society and its suggestion of a break with the prewar system of capital. While agreeing with Bell that a new functional system of capital was pervasive after World War II, Jameson takes the position that this new system represents not a rupture but a transition to a new stage of capitalism. He asserts that this new stage had attributes and functionality aligned to the time and tides of postwar change culture. He maintains that this new stage, which the economist Ernest Mandel named late capitalism, emerged as technology transformed capitalism. He contends that the basic technology necessary to sustain it existed by 1945. During the brief American century, Jameson argues that unprecedented techno-scientific advances radically changed the system of capital. He locates the economic precondition for establishing the new system in the 1950s when escalating consumerism and expanding new-product production were the predominant features of the changing US economy. He situates the cultural precondition for continuing the development of this new functional system in the 1960s when social upheaval and generational rupture radically altered US culture and society. However, while he believes that this demarcation represents the more proper location of each precondition, Jameson does not mean to suggest that economic and cultural impacts occurred separately. In fact, he argues that diverse economic and cultural change forces at work during the brief American century were not separate. They were just not particularly synchronized.

Whether one associates profound postwar economic and cultural change forces with a rupture or a transformation of capitalism, both arguments come together at least at a juncture recognizing the emergence of a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge. In this rapid-change culture, where the larger field of adult education gained new impetus as a vehicle assisting cultural adjustment and advancement (Kempfer, 1955; Knowles & Dubois, 1970), many academic adult educators sought to fulfill two longstanding goals. First, they wanted adult education to be recognized, respected, and valued as a profession. Indeed, professionalization had been a concern throughout modern practice, and distinct moves toward it can be traced back at least to the 1930s in the United States (Cotton, 1968). Second, they wanted academic adult education (as a field of study) to achieve a more valued presence in what many of them hoped would be an increasingly professionalized larger field of modern practice. They felt that achieving these complementary goals was an integral part of achieving a valued cultural identity. They believed that building an academic field of study shaped by theory building and research would support and enhance the development of a more professionalized modern practice. The "discipline" would serve to shape and enhance this practice as a techno-scientized and more precise practice with worth in the emerging knowledge-and-service economy (Verner, 1963; 1978). It was hoped that achieving these goals would lift adult education to a desired cultural location as an enterprise with value as a venture and an adventure.

Setting Larger Field Directions in a Change Culture of Crisis and Challenge

As adult education worked to increase its space and place in a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge it appeared to engage, at least in its mainstream forms, in education as reaction. Hallenbeck (1960) offered this explanation of the cultural politics that produces this kind of education. He claimed, "A culture always determines the form, the content, and the scope of its organized education" (p. 29). Believing that the history of education was inextricably linked to the history of sociocultural change, he purported that change determines cultural needs, which in turn determines the form and function of education and the clientele served.

In a postwar change culture of crisis and challenge, which promoted techno-science as a cultural and economic panacea, the modern practice of adult education had to be organized as a more precise, techno-scientific practice. London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom (1963) described such a field of study and practice: "There is a need to be more precise in identifying what is included or excluded in the field so that adult education can be studied objectively and scientifically" (p. 140). Speaking to the state of adult education research, they surveyed that it tended to be disconnected from research in formal education and other disciplines. This gave the enterprise the appearance of not reflecting trends in the larger culture and society. They related perennial research difficulties including the problem of evaluating a field without defined parameters and the problem of securing funding for a marginal and relatively invisible enterprise.

Looking back in the 1970 US handbook of adult education, Schroeder (1970), offered a similar synopsis, "Since 1930 there has been an erratic though discernible trend toward greater precision in defining adult education" (p. 27). There was still no clear and comprehensive understanding "of the vast area included in the idea called adult education" (Bergevin, 1967, p. 52) near the end of the brief American century. The field remained flexible – a jumble. Its parameters shifted in response to social, economic, political, and other forces in culture and society. They also shifted in reaction to internal field forces including techno-scientization, institutionalization, professionalization, and individualization (Grace, 1999).

To counter this reactive, episodic, and fragmented identity-difference, academic adult educators Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck (1964) proposed a set of field directions designed to further determine and strengthen adult education's social and cultural space and place. Their suggestions specifically aimed to enhance perennial efforts to promote enterprise cohesion and the coordination of activities. First, adult education had to be affirmed as a national necessity not an optional activity. Second, learning had to be conceived as a lifelong process connecting education for children, youth, and adults. Third, adult education agencies needed to delineate their roles and network with one another to make the best match of resources in meeting individual, institutional, and community needs. Fourth, substantial effort was needed to design and develop an organized and coherent curriculum that would help adults learn to live in changing times. Fifth, an effort had to go into the recruitment, training, and development of adult educators. Sixth, universities had to accept responsibility for an expanded role in adult education research and advanced professional training. Seventh, community agencies of adult education had to raise standards of professional competence required by their personnel. Eighth, the public had to be educated about the value and necessity of lifelong learning so they would support and participate in it. Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck's set of field directions represented a lengthy to-do list. It indicated that the enterprise still had a long way to go to answer the question "What is adult education?"

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Extension and Grassroots Educators' Approaches to Participatory Education: Interrelationships among Training, Worldview, and Institutional Support

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on development of adult educators' commitment to participatory education through the presentation of empirical results from a study of a Canadian sustainable agriculture program. The author argues for an account of professional development that integrates institutional and historical dimensions.*

The renewed commitment of powerful institutions to participatory adult education raises hopes. Increased support from governments and development agencies in the area of sustainable development, in particular, has allowed participatory initiatives to bloom in some parts of the world (Cassara, 1995; Röling and Wagemakers, 1998). However, alongside hope rides anxiety. Collectively, we seem to know so little. Too few practitioners discriminate among even basic dimensions of participation, such as who may provide leadership for participation, how participation emerges, and what participation looks like when it has succeeded (Chambers, 1997; Heron, 1989). Worse, some scholars claim that participatory approaches attract problems like flies to honey. Development professionals describe frustration and co-optation in integrated conservation projects (Gezon, 1997); negative impacts of participatory development (Pigozzi, 1982); and illusory gains in community-based conservation (Western, Wright and Strum, 1994).

Despite challenges, participation continues to interest adult educators because the right forms are anticipated to improve adult education individually and collectively. Participatory approaches to program planning are grounded in theories of democratic education advanced by John Dewey (1938) and Paulo Freire (1970). When participation is authentic, local knowledge of insiders and outsiders can be combined in ways that attain superior results and build the capacity of community members to solve complex problems (Greenwood & Levin, 1998). Participation may also indicate engagement of people at the margins of society working toward social justice. Moreover, participation is sought as a crucial outcome, a collective habit that makes democratic life possible (Welton, 1998). Facilitators are the people who are most directly involved in catalyzing participation. They are crucial members of a social movement for democratic and participatory sustainable development (Chambers, 1997). Between the urgency of the environmental crisis and the passion of the participatory movement, however, lies the practical matter of training. This paper presents results from an empirical study that investigated, among other issues, development of a participatory ethic and skills by extension and grassroots educators who offered programs to farmers in a complex institutional environment. Theorizing about the role of professional development in nurturing commitment to participatory adult education was important to the research. The research findings are based on a 3-year study of a $10 million sustainable agriculture program in Canada called Ontario Environmental Farm Plan.

Theoretical Framework

Participation is an important element of sustainable agricultural education. Sustainable development in the absence of participation falls dramatically short of its potential (Chambers, 1997). Participation in adult education may be considered to be authentic when adult educators and planners systematically encourage people at many levels to negotiate program development through dialogue and shared decision-making (Cervero & Wilson, 1994; Heron, 1989). In North America, participation in agricultural development connects to a history of land-grant and extension systems, and to a strong tradition of farm organizations (Blackburn, 1994).

Boud and Miller (1998) argued at the 1998 AERC conference that we have paid relatively less attention to facilitators than to learners, to the detriment of the field. I intend to spotlight issues of training and development of participatory educators, a task to which I am dedicated in my extension and teaching practice in a university department of agricultural education. Specifically, this paper explores the tensions revealed in professional development programs for facilitators. For example, a program may express tensions related to administrators' analyses of competencies needed by grassroots facilitators. Heron (1989) encourages facilitators to understand psychological theories through human relations training. Chambers (1997) highlights transformation of attitudes toward greater openness, enthusiasm, respect, and humility. Additionally, program planners build assumptions about instruction, including sequence and venue, into program design. Jiggins and Röling (1994), for example, contest the common belief that participatory approaches can only be learned in the field. Boud and Miller (1998) address the issue of training across contexts through development of the concept of animation. Central to their thesis is the idea that educators should dissolve expectations that techniques guarantee success. Instead, Boud and Miller suggest meditation upon context, identity, negotiation, and consent as a basis for action. Cervero and Wilson (1994) echo Boud, pointing out more directly the ways in which program planners bring organizational and personal interests to program design. It is within this political dimension that we can situate certification and "brand name" programs, and other forms of standardization and quality control. Boud, and Cervero and Wilson, argue for a more historical and political view, one which can meet the "explosion of new learning desires and needs which cannot be met in conventional ways" (Boud & Miller, 1998, p. 5).

Background

The Ontario Environmental Farm Plan program was proposed, designed and managed by a coalition of farm organizations (Ontario Farm Environmental Coalition {OFEC}, 1991/1995). Farm Plan encouraged the participation of adult learners (farmers) at multiple levels of the program, including program planning and evaluation. This voluntary, provincial-wide program served 12,000 farmers from 1993-1998 through Canada's Green Plan program. Farm Plan served farmers' social, political and environmental needs as mainstream farm leaders defined them. The leadership of mainstream farmers for Farm Plan was a sharp contrast to defensive maneuvers of farming organizations prior to the program. Farm Plan was about mainstream farmers confronting each other about the environment rather than being exhorted to change their ways (unsuccessfully) by environmentalists, ecological farmers, or government (Grudens-Schuck, 1998). The program fulfilled its goals through policy changes on the provincial level; a participatory education workshop series; and the creation of an environmental farm planning system. The program also offered a financial incentive of $1,500 CDN, modest by U.S. farm subsidy standards. Two types of staff shared program responsibilities: Grassroots program representatives and ministry extension staff. Grassroots educators were men and women employed part-time by a farm organization. Frequently, they were farmers themselves. Many had no prior experience with adult education. Grassroots educators were responsible for participatory facilitation during workshops. Facilitation consisted of: (a) critical reflection sessions directed toward discussion of environmental issues and the political economy farming and environment; (b) goal setting for coverage of technical topics; and (c) group exercises that solicited farmers' local knowledge of environment and agriculture.

Extension educators, on the other hand, were men and women who worked for the Ontario agricultural ministry full-time, adding Farm Plan responsibilities to their work day. Extension staff were specialists from among a variety of technical fields, such as agronomy or fruit production. Extension staff were directed to address "technical only" issues during workshops. Some were seasoned staff and others were newly graduated from university. Both grassroots and extension educators learned participative techniques through a workshop series offered by the Ontario Agricultural Training Institute {OATI}. Grassroots educators, but not extension staff, were required to attend as part of their employment. The workshops were neither theoretical nor ideological. In fact, the workshops had a vocational twist: the training was originally intended for supervisors of agricultural field hands.

Methods

The study used cultural anthropology and participatory action research to produce an ethnography for dissertation research (Grudens-Schuck, 1998). This qualitative approach emphasized interpretive methods, which assist the researcher to attend closely to language, behavior, and the setting

(Geertz, 1973; Lincoln and Denzin, 1994). The research was also intended as an intervention, through participatory action research (PAR), to assist program staff to advance their understanding of democratic features of participatory education, improve professional practice, and test new ideas during the period of the research (Greenwood and Levin, 1998). Ethnographic research methods featured thirty-six interviews as well as participant observation, resulting in fifty-three distinct events over 256 hours of study on farms and at organizational events. I also observed 13 educators in 8 counties deliver Farm Plan workshops to farmers. I used PAR ideas to convene a 5-member research-planning group whose members made selection decisions, gathered data at a PAR session for local and regional staff, interpreted data, planned reports, and participated in the doctoral defense. The research planning group was an effective, compelling, and at times, frustrating, working group. Our discussions put all of us on the spot regarding deeply held beliefs about grassroots education; professionalism; survival in bureaucracies; and the role of hierarchy in organizations.

Findings

This section highlights development of distinct participatory worldviews among grassroots educators and extension staff. Foremost, training made an important difference. Among all interviews and observations in a three-year period, only educators who had completed the OATI workshops used participatory techniques and were able to talk about the concepts knowledgeably. Second, participatory practice varied by organization (e.g., extension or grassroots), but not exclusively. A first group (mainly grassroots facilitators) endorsed participatory educational strategies and used them frequently and consistently. Members of this first group catalyzed lively group dynamics among farmers in their workshops, strategically and to good effect. Facilitators who succeeded at participatory education discussed the role of authentic participation of farmers. An example of this type of dialogue is from an interview with John (not his real name), a quiet grassroots educator who also farmed full-time.

> *It's not my workshop. It's these people's workshop. It's my job to facilitate it. And that's why I do shut up. They do the talking. All I do in encourage them to do the talking. That's the start of it. Then you go into the next exercise, and they talk some more. It gets more pointed at why they're here, and their reasons for being here . . . They're learning from each other.*

Some educators used their farming identity to ease defensiveness. One grassroots educator, Eliot, said his farm was an "environmental disaster" – worse than any of them in the room. In an interview, I asked Elliot about this statement, which had catalyzed cathartic laughter. He said,

> *Well, {I am} worse than any of them would admit! The difference is that I am quite ready and willing to admit it. . . I want to get that message across loud and clear. . . I don't feel at risk. I want them to get that feeling.*

Elliot's strategy was to make himself vulnerable so that participants could talk about hazards associated with modern farming practices. A farmer on Elliot's local Farm Plan committee remarked about Elliot's actions, "Psychologically, I think it's important because you are asking people around the table to put things down {on their farm plan} that they don't really feel comfortable about." Moreover, when individuals in the first group used participatory approaches, their discussions and actions challenged existing power relationships, particularly passivity and dependency of farmers on scientists and government. The research also clarified that it was not always the outgoing personalities who succeeded with participatory education, and that a diversity of types of people succeeded with the process. John, the facilitator quoted earlier said,

> *I wasn't very comfortable with doing this type of workshop for a while. In fact, the first couple of years I wondered why I was there. Now I think I do the important part of the workshop. But it's not something that comes natural. . . . I absolutely hated it {at first}.*

For John, practice made the difference. Commitment developed later. Why did John stay with participatory facilitation despite his discomfort? He said it was because he was hired to do it.

A second group of facilitators (mainly extension staff) used participatory education rarely and tentatively. Moreover, individuals in this group intended effects different from members of the first group, preferring metaphors such as "breaking the ice. " One extension educator said she doubted the utility of participative education because "I'm not convinced that the retention value is any higher." Members of this first groups were more likely to be uncomfortable with affective dimensions of participatory education. This same staff person elaborated her concerns about facilitating participation, "I don't want a bragging and complaining session. . . . ." She imagined participatory education to be both unpleasant and unproductive.

Reflections

The findings lead me to reflect upon three aspects of the case relevant to enhancing use of participatory education worldwide. First, worldviews and practices differed as a set. Research findings suggest that individuals in the first group, composed mainly of grassroots educators, intended to challenge existing power relationships among farmers, government and scientists through participatory education. Moreover, they were technically proficient in leading small group work, and successfully challenged participants to take responsibility for their learning (and for the learning of other farmers in the room) (Heron, 1989). In contrast, it appears that individuals in the second group intended that the purpose of participative education was to prepare learners to receive, rather than create, knowledge in the "banking" model of adult education (Freire, 1970). It would seem that individuals in this second group, composed mainly of extension educators, declined to move participatory techniques out of the dominant theory of extension education, the transfer of technology model (see Röling & Wagemakers, 1998).

Second, worldviews differed despite participation in identical OATI training. As an educator who teaches participatory workshops, this finding is thought-provoking. The comparative data lead me to reflect on the rightness of Boud and Miller's(1998) thesis, which avoids isolating facilitation from historical and contextual factors. For Farm Plan, frequent practice and steady organizational support for participative education were the institutional and political factors that affected persistence and dedication. Recall that it was a specific job requirement for grassroots educators to use participatory education within the context of a program that was self-consciously *farmer-led* and *farmer-driven*. On the other hand, extension educators were discouraged from using participatory facilitation because this was the agreed-upon "split" between ministry and farmer organizations (extension staff were "technical only"). Although later relaxed, extension educators were effectively told that participatory education was the territory of non governmental organizations, not government. As individual educators walked divergent paths, grassroots educators persisted and blossomed; extension educators let go. It is plausible that better workshops (e.g., more theoretical, more intensive) for extension staff would have been tangential and even an affront in the face of institutional pressures. Moreover, better workshops may have made little difference to grassroots educators' competency and commitment. The ironic twist is the fact that success of non governmental organization (NGO) initiative may have been instrumental in dampening, rather than accelerating, dedication to participation among government staff.

Third, the data suggest the importance of mastery of participatory techniques, with some indication that although intertwined, educators do not enact theories of participatory education without developing a set of specific skills that resonate with less hierarchical forms of instruction. Practice seems essential, even as practice does not guarantee a change of worldview. In the adult education literature, there is an inclination to display impatience with tool-centered pedagogy. I, too, have railed against "technicist" approaches in facilitators and in my students. Heron (1989) and Boud and Miller (1998), for example, suggests that educators should dissolve expectations that techniques, or conformity to a particular role, will guarantee success with adult learners. I like these ideas, John's grassroots' experience above stands in contrast to how these scholars' ideas point to action. John was the grassroots educator who succeeded instrumentally first; conceptually, a far second.

In conclusion, I would like to underscore the utility of focusing on structural analysis of professional development because it moves the spotlight from the individual educator to the system in which people create programs. The effect is palliative, softening the individualistic conception of facilitators implicit in this common sentiment, "participative planning and action require, first of all, changes in the thinking of development workers themselves" (Lozare, 1994, p. 238). If this were the only path, the field would be lost indeed. Moreover, the belief prevalent in sustainable development literature may unwittingly pressure individual facilitators to enter practice later than is necessary. A focus on instructors is beneficial, but not to the extent that it argues for purity. The last thing we would want to do it to let organizations and adult learners off the hook, denying them their power and responsibilities. A more democratic strain within participatory education would value diversity of pathways. It would resist erecting roadblocks to the development of participatory adult educators who will teach in a future unknown.

Post note: Additional portions of this study will be published as a book, *Participatory Education for Sustainable Agriculture: A North American Perspective*, by Nancy Grudens-Schuck (Bergin & Garvey, Greenwood Publishing).

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Factors Influencing Active Learning in Small Enterprises

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Abstract: *Small enterprises are not large users of structured training. However, they are often actively engaged in learning. Is there a framework that identifies the sorts of learning they engage in and can this be useful to guide government support? This paper proposes a possible model.*

In the last decade education and training systems in Australia and most other western developed economies have undergone significant changes that aimed to reform and restructure their provision of vocationally relevant education and training. These reforms have often been driven by the principle that they should be "industry-led" in response to the impression that pre-existing arrangements were insufficiently responsive to industry's needs.

In Australia, despite extensive changes in content, delivery and the range of providers, small businesses remain small users of the training provided through the formal systems. Education and training authorities have explored a range of means to address what they have characterised as a "supply-side failure," (i.e., they believe the providers have not been offering the appropriate "products" and correcting this would resolve the problem". This has not been a successful strategy.

This study builds upon a number of earlier Australian studies in an attempt to provide a framework that might inform the relationship between education systems and small enterprises.

During 1995-6, a major Australian study investigated the factors which influence enterprises when they make decisions about training. A significant outcome of that work was the finding that size of enterprise was a critical factor governing the kind and amount of training undertaken (see Hayton et al, 1996). Indeed, the effects of size and industry overwhelmed any other differentiating factor. The study identified a range of other factors that were also influential and suggested that different patterns existed in small enterprises than operated in larger firms.

To explore the nature of those different patterns, Field (1998) examined the extensive literature that looks at small business involvement in learning. He argues that systematic differences among small businesses influence how, and to what extent, they value and encourage learning among their employees. Field's analysis drew on a range of earlier work, especially that of Hamel & Prahalad (1994) and Hendry, Arthur & Jones (1995) but also on a number of case studies that he had conducted. Field reported that:

- The emphasis on learning varied considerably between small businesses. In some, staff are expected to be familiar with systems and technology, and to keep up to date with a wide range of products across the enterprise's various departments. Often in such cases the main basis for competition includes customer service (and involves extensive product knowledge).
- In others, there is very little change in work practices and no technological change at all. Price, location and fast service are often seen as the keys to success. To keep costs low and work arrangements flexible, casual employees and relatives working on a part-time basis do much of the work. In these firms, there is little encouragement of learning beyond doing one's basic job.
- It is possible to make sense of the different emphases on learning by looking at, e.g., the basis for competition, reliance on knowledge, whether staff are permanent or casual, who (in the firm) has the knowledge which contributes to business success, and a range of other factors.
- A range of learning activities may be glossed over if one adopts a narrow "training delivery" approach. At the level of the individual employee, these include discussions with product

representatives; supplier-run seminars; and working in other job areas. At the level of the firm, they include knowledge introduced by staff recruited from competitors or from customers; and new approaches learnt from previous business allies.

This work has been the starting point for our own exploration. We recognise that it is not useful to regard small businesses as homogeneous and that there appear to be clear patterns that differentiate the extent to which new and continuous learning is valued by enterprises and the kinds of learning that are appropriate to them. This is not to say that all enterprises can be neatly described, rather it is to suggest that broad and useful patterns appear to be operating that can guide education providers and governments – and of course enterprises – in identifying services that can assist small businesses to become and remain effective.

Learning and Training by and in Small Enterprises

We know that, typically, employees in small businesses receive less "training" than is the case of those in larger businesses. For example, Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996) data indicates that only 18% of small (<19 employees) provide training, against 98% of those with more than 100 employees. However, when businesses do engage in training, small businesses invest more. Small employers typically offered twice as many hours of training as large employers.

A survey of Australian small business (Coopers & Lybrand, 1994) found that the two preferred methods of learning are "learn as you go" and "learn from peers, other owners or managers." According to the authors, the basis for judgement here seems to be the extent to which a method or program is industry-specific, relevant, practical/hands-on, quick, easy and part of the job.

They found that the main reason that small business managers do not value external training is that it is viewed as "irrelevant" or "theoretical rather than practical." Few small business managers (less than 10%) think of skills as being important to growth & success or as helping them deal with problems and issues. Factors such as employee's attitudes, cash flow control and economic conditions are perceived as much more important (Coopers & Lybrand, 1994).

However, these findings have to be tempered by the often restricted understanding of the meaning of "training." In a North American study of HRD in small and medium-sized enterprises, Rowden (1995) points out how narrow the concept of HRD and training can be: "For people in these companies, HRD means a planned learning situation where participants sit in a classroom and are taught something. They simply do not view all the coaching, mentoring, OHT, informal learning and development that they do as forms of HRD." (p 369)

Small businesses, in fact, can have advantages over larger enterprises in being the locus of learning. For example, Ghobadian & Gallear, 1996 suggest these include: the managing director is usually highly visible, and is therefore better placed to remind people of the benefits of a learning orientation; learning projects and teams find it easier to make an impact and involve people; because there are fewer specialists and fewer layers of staff, multi-skilling occurs more readily; and closer personal contacts creates an environment where critical questioning and suggestions are likely to be heard. Ackroyd (1995) sees potential opportunities in the lack of orthodox structures, the indeterminate organisational boundaries and because organisation strategy and design reflects staff competences and interests.

However, small businesses also face constraints on the extent to which learning is valued. For example, approximately 50% of small business managers had no prior small business management experience when they started the job; and approx. 50% have no post-school formal education (Coopers & Lybrand, 1994). In the small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) studied by Hendry et al (1995), management learning was typically ad hoc. Management learning was consistent with the philosophy of "self-made."

As well being concerned with the learning of individual within the enterprise it is useful to consider the learning of the organisation as an entity. Some of the central learning issues for small businesses relate to survival, adaptation and growth over a period of time. For example, learning and knowledge transfer associated with an individual over time as (s)he moves from company to company or the learning by an organisation as it passes through different stages of development.

The Nature of Small Enterprises

Small enterprises operate in almost every sector of the economy and vary widely in their needs as a consequence. Some industry sectors, for example, have a substantial history of formal training either prior to or in conjunction with the initial stages of employment (e.g., apprenticeship). Others have no history of formal training and, indeed, value independence and individual excellence above formal qualifications. The industry cultures that include these training histories are powerful forces in shaping the nature of the enterprise. Hendry, Arthur & Jones (1995) provide a useful way of conceptualising differences between firms through the seven distinct patterns of skill structures and the supply of skills (Table 1).

Table 1 Labour market segments

Skill/Labour Market	*Characteristics*
Specialised skill	All employees have high level technical skills
Technical process	Two-tiered skill structure (e.g. prof & technical vs. operators & office-workers)
Flexible service	High-commitment & personal investment, strong customer focus
Unskilled mass	Large proportion low skilled, internal labour market
Professional market	Highly stratified, little or no career path, industry-recognised credentials
Flexible casual	Core + high % casual employees
Unstable labour market	Continual high turnover; job design to minimise skill requirements

Importantly, too, family and friends play an important part in the social networks of many small businesses, but this can greatly limit learning. In many businesses, it is important to move beyond these immediate contacts and establish sources of independent information and advice – for example, bank managers, accountants, consultants, and industry groups. According to Callus (1994), accountants are the single most influential source of information and ideas for small business.

A Proposed Framework

We have drawn upon this body of knowledge and our own experience in working with enterprises to propose a possible framework that might guide further research but also the points at which, and the manner in which, governments and providers might seek to interact with small businesses. Importantly, this framework is yet to receive empirical verification.

The framework is built around two key questions. Firstly, "what motivates an enterprise and its staff to seek new or further learning?" And, "what factors shape the kind of learning, its content and processes, that are valued or required?" For each, we suggest some possible implications.

What Motivates Learning?

New employees. New employees require orientation to, and familiarisation with, the enterprise and its products, services and culture. They also bring with them new ideas and new knowledge that can challenge the knowledge base of the existing staff.

Positive indication. For the new employees, the majority of learning will be enterprise-specific and not amenable to being provided by generic training programs. Rather, enterprises need assistance with effective techniques for efficiently transferring "know how." However, in organisations where turnover is high and continuous, more formal training programs, offered on a regular basis, might be possible.

Critical incidents. These situations arise unpredictably and typically require a rapid, problem-focused response. Information gathering and analysis skills are important to effective learning in these situations. Small organisations, being more vulnerable to minor disturbances, experience crises more acutely (and more often) than would be the case in a large organisation.

Positive indication. This suggests that the forms of assistance most suitable to small enterprises would involve preparing them to deal with critical incidents when they arise rather than seeking to assist learning at the time. However, small organisations are typically reactive rather than proactive and rapid response assistance (e.g., help lines) might be a more feasible approach.

Knowledge or Skill-Intensive Products or Services
The nature of some small businesses is such that a high level of knowledge or skill is essential to business success. For example, many professionals operating their own practices depend almost entirely on their own expertise. Customer expectations are important in assessing how important knowledge is to success.

Positive indication. In this case the need to maintain current knowledge or skill implies continuous learning must occur. For such circumstances, regular, short, courses offer an efficient means of assisting learning when the needs involve significant groups of people with similar needs. In other circumstances, effective means of accessing the current body of knowledge could be provided, possibly supplemented by individualised support where required.

Negative indication. Where knowledge is not an important element of business success, then other factors such as speed of service, employee attitude or cost are likely to dominate. In these circumstances, a learning focus is likely to be of less value than strategies such as process re-engineering or improved selection processes.

Rapid Changes in the Knowledge/Skill Underpinning of the Industry Sector
For many sectors, the knowledge base has undergone (or is undergoing) substantial and rapid change. Occupations, products and services have disappeared or been significantly restructured.

Positive indication. In such enterprises, there is once more a need for a continuing process of relearning and updating. In these circumstances similar responses to that of the preceding paragraph seem appropriate.

Operations That Involve Danger or Liability
The importance of having staff who are fully aware of safety precautions and safe-working practices is obvious. Moreover, the increasingly litigious inclination of society now means that staff need to be formally certified as to their knowledge of, and competency in, operations and processes that involve danger to themselves or others.

Positive indication. In these circumstances, it is usually required that externally-provided courses must be completed and, often, that formal assessment and certification is involved.

Learning Orientedness of Partners and Allies
When other closely related enterprises actively engage in learning, this has spin-off impacts on their partners. In some cases, powerful customers are requiring that their suppliers join in their training arrangements and/or require that they achieve certain levels of quality management or other certifications. These, too, demand new learning.

Positive indication. The kinds of learning involved here will vary according to the extent to which the influence is formal or informal.

Changes in the Political, Legal or Cultural Context of the Enterprise
Such changes can be one-off occurrences (e.g. the introduction of new licensing requirements) or more evolutionary such as changing attitudes to environmental sustainability.

Positive indication. One-off occurrences may be best satisfied by centralised, specific training programs, materials or public education approaches. Alternatively, methods including pre-service programs or continuing support for internal learning arrangements could be considered.

Scope to Develop/Acquire New Knowledge
Enterprises vary greatly in the degree to which the acquisition of new knowledge is facilitated. Sometimes attitudinal factors are operating and sometimes the structure or processes of the operation are involved, e.g. in a café with rapid turnover of casual staff, little opportunity exists for staff to develop.

Positive indication. Likely to be responsive to availability of a range of support, including short, tailored courses and public programs leading to qualifications.

Negative indication. Probably little interest in external provision unless other factors operate.

What Structures Learning?

Scope to share knowledge within the organisation. Many enterprises operate around a set of structural barriers to knowledge sharing. In small businesses, the owner/manager often holds all the corporate knowledge. Other enterprises demonstrate formal knowledge-sharing systems, e.g. case conferences.

Positive indication. Learning within the organisation will be valued and the extent to which external support may be required will be dependent on the extent to which useful knowledge exists (and is recognised as existing) outside the organisation.

The Quantity and Characteristics of the Knowledge Used by the Enterprise

The two central features here are the extent to which the knowledge is enterprise-specific versus generic and the extent to which the volume of relevant knowledge is manageable by the organisation. The more the knowledge is generic, or the greater the volume, the greater the contribution that can be made by external training.

The Educational Level of Employees

The prior educational experience of employees can constrain or enhance the range of learning approaches that may be appropriate. In particular, the extent to which autonomous learning is feasible will be affected. Where significant changes to the core knowledge are required but prior educational experience is low, basic educational support may be required from external agencies.

The Availability of Learning Programs

In some industry or occupational sectors, extensive learning programs have been available and are readily accessible. In such cases, it is likely that they will be utilised by small enterprises. However, in other areas, no such provision exists and a culture of "do-it-yourself" or disdain for formal learning may have developed. In these cases, changes in attitude are unlikely to occur rapidly and simply providing appropriate programs is unlikely to succeed.

The Learning Infrastructure Available to the Enterprise

Beyond the availability of programs, some sectors have an established learning infrastructure – the use of pharmaceutical representatives to bring new knowledge about products and processes to doctors and pharmacies, for example. Where these are well established, it may be best to enhance and build upon these rather than to challenge them. Where they are not, it could be useful to explore how support might assist the creation of such systems.

Owner/manager's Attitudes

This appears to be a crucial determinant of the extent and nature of learning in small enterprises, especially. In particular, the owner/manager's attitude towards formal learning and qualifications will shape the enterprise's stance toward any form of structured learning. As well, the owner/ manager's attitudes towards governments will shape the organisation's response to any attempt by government-supported agencies or programs to provide support or otherwise intervene.

Implications for Research

The fourteen factors identified above have been identified on the basis of, both, an examination of the literature, and our experience in working with enterprises. However, there is yet no explicit empirical support for our supposition that they represent the key factors in differentiating the learning needs of small enterprises. Moreover, some of these appear to be equally relevant to large enterprises and may play a more generic role in setting the learning needs of enterprises.

In addition, there is a further need to explore the links between each of these factors and the learning process in small enterprises in more detail. To date, the majority of research examining learning and training in small enterprises has involved either case studies or large-scale surveys. These frequently do not come to grips with the interaction between the characteristics of organisations and the nature of learning within them. A more rigorous but broadly-based understanding of these details now needs to be developed.

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Low-income African American Women's Cultural Models of Work: Implications for Adult Education

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Abstract: *This study investigated how African American women from low-income, single-parent female-headed households conceptualize work and transitions to work, and how these conceptualizations relate to the dominant discourse of work underlying policies and practices in adult education. The findings challenge some prevalent assumptions and approaches in work-related education for low-income women.*

Background and Theoretical Perspectives

Recent sweeping changes in welfare legislation have had a significant impact on the provision of adult education and training for former welfare recipients. This population is disproportionately comprised of low-income single mothers of color, particularly African Americans. Adult education for this population has become increasingly job-focused, geared primarily towards preparing participants for immediate employment and providing training simultaneously with work experience. There continues to be controversy over the most appropriate content for such education and training but in general the emphasis is on job specific skills as well as more general employability skills. Many employers and educators stress the need to help participants develop "soft skills," which include "appropriate" work-related attitudes, values, and beliefs, such as self-motivation and an orientation towards individual achievement. A lack of these attitudes and beliefs has been considered as significant a barrier to successful employment as a deficiency in basic skills.

There have been few investigations of the actual work-related beliefs and attitudes of this population and their relation to work readiness or job success. Furthermore, there has been little attention given to how such beliefs are acquired or challenged in the context of women's lived experiences and life situations. In the past, scholars argued that a "culture of poverty" fostered negative attitudes among economically disadvantaged people of color towards so-called mainstream values and beliefs, including attitudes towards work and education. This culture of poverty perspective seems implicit in many of the directives for adult education provision for this population. However, this deficit perspective has been widely challenged in recent years by other scholars, particularly those informed by critical and feminist theories. From the perspective of these theories, From this perspective, individuals' beliefs and actions must be understood in light of unequal power relationships, which shape the knowledge and opportunities available to different groups within society (Carspecken & Apple, 1992). We were particularly interested in how the women in our study accommodated and resisted dominant cultural models associated with preparation for and enactment of work roles.

Research Design

In this study we used a critical qualitative methodology, drawing on the work of Quantz (1992), Carspecken (1996), Carspecken and Apple (1992), and Gee (1999). Critical qualitative research has been described by Quantz (1992) as an investigative approach designed to "represent the culture, the consciousness or the lived experiences of people living in asymmetrical power relations" (pp. 448-449). In particular, we drew on Gee's (1999) discussion of cultural models and discourse theory as a source of conceptual tools for our analysis.

The location for our research was a large, Midwestern city with high rates of unemployment and poverty. Study participants were identified through referrals from community adult education programs (i.e., job training programs, a local technical college) as well as from other participants. To collect data, we conducted semi-structured interviews with young African American women and their mothers. We interviewed both daughters and mothers in an attempt to explore similarities and differences in cultural models across generations in the same families. Daughters had to meet the following crite-

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ria for inclusion in the study: (a) African American, (b) raised primarily in a single female-headed household (c) that was defined as low income (e.g., the family was eligible for some kind of public assistance such as welfare, food stamps, housing assistance), (d) between 18 and 30 years of age (to ensure a relatively recent post high school transition to work), and (e) employed full time at least six months in a job with a "living wage" or with potential for a self-supporting income. We used employment as a criterion because we wished to explore how the women's actual work experiences might affect their cultural models of work. We completed interviews with 18 mother-daughter pairs and two daughters alone, resulting in a total of 38 women who participated in the study. The daughters and mothers were interviewed separately, typically in their homes, with each interview lasting approximately two hours. The interviews were broad in scope, addressing experiences within the family, school, and workplace. The interview data were analyzed in several stages to identify common and contrasting cultural models of work and the transition to work with particular relevance to work readiness, career choices, and actual employment.

Findings

As Gee (1999) explains, cultural models can be thought of as "images or storylines or descriptions of simplified worlds in which prototypical events unfold. They are our first thoughts or taken-for-granted assumptions about what is 'typical' or 'normal'" (p. 59). Simply put, cultural models comprise people's everyday "theories" about their world. These theories are shaped by and vary according to the socio-cultural groups to which we belong. Our cultural models are typically partial and inconsistent, since we each belong to different groups and are also influenced by diverse institutions, media, and other experiences. Cultural models espoused by dominant groups, as they comprise broader discourses linked to power and privilege, can be used to influence groups with less power in society.

In our study, we identified a variety of cultural models concerning work and transitions to work that had the potential to affect the women's work-related learning and successful employment. Here we will describe three common models or sets of beliefs. Perhaps most striking is how the models reflect – and do not reflect – mainstream beliefs about work and preparation for work. Also striking were the contradictions between the women's espoused beliefs and their actual experience; i.e., what really helped them prepare for work and be successful on the job.

It's Their Choice

"It's their choice" is our term for a cultural model of career decision-making evident in many of the women's interviews, and one that is widespread in career development literature and work-related education. This model was overtly espoused by some women in the interviews and reflected implicitly in the actions of the mothers as well as the young women as they made decisions about their futures. A key belief in this model is that youth and adults can and should make their own decisions about what job or career they wish to pursue. For example, when asked if she ever talked with her daughter about the kinds of work she might do, Elvira responded: "Well, I'm the type of mother that basically likes to let the children decide on their own, you know. I don't think we should make up their minds for them . . . all they got to do is get out there and make their own decisions. And be their own self. That's what I want them to be." Another belief evident in the women's comments is that people should find work that they "like" and that suits their particular talents. Presumably freedom of choice allows individuals to select jobs based on their personal preferences as well as abilities. Lakisha explained that her family wasn't involved in her career decisions " . . . because it was my life. And I had to make sure that I was comfortable in what I wanted to do. This had nothing to do with them . . . I wanted to make sure it was something that I liked."

In general, the women's beliefs were quite consistent with the dominant model of career choice that underlies many education for work programs. According to this model, individuals select their ideal occupation from a seemingly limitless range of alternatives, based on personal preferences, values, and abilities. An implicit assumption in this model is that individuals make independent decisions about work, have access to information about potential occupations, and have opportunities to pursue whatever type of career they desire. Of course, this model is rarely fully realized. The actual work experiences of the young women in our study reflect a reality of limited choices. Typically the women's first work experiences were in whatever jobs became readily available to them, such as fast food restaurants, retail, child care, and custodial positions. Out of economic necessity, some women continued this pattern of taking the first available job after periods of unemployment while raising children or pursuing further education. While the women tended to espouse a model of individual choice, families exerted considerable influence on the daughters' decisions about work, by encouraging them to stay in school, helping them find jobs, and serving as occupational role models. The young women's choices about work were clearly limited by class, race, and gender, though few articulated these limitations. In discussions with their daughters about racism, sexism, and career choices, mothers acknowledged that being African American women might make it harder for their daughters to get the jobs they might want, but they balanced this with strong encouragement for their daughters to believe in their ability to overcome any obstacles. One mother told her daughter "It's all in what she wants to do and you know in her believing in herself that she can do it. Cause I let all of them know that whatever they wanted to do they could do it you know if they wanted to be president of the United States you know they could do that too you know." While this mother's apparent belief in her children's potential might seem wildly unrealistic, it can be understood as a means of instilling in her children a strong belief in their own self-efficacy, motivating them to overcome racist and sexist obstacles to their success in the workplace.

Planning for Life

Many women we interviewed espoused a belief in the value of defining future goals and making plans to achieve them, according to a cultural model we have named "planning for life." When asked if her mother ever talked to her about the importance of making plans for their future, Patricia, a daughter, replied "Yeah, all the time as far as plans about your life, you know. And to make sure we have a good future. You know she wanted us to go to college, you to know to get a good education, to get a good job". In contrast to dominant models of career development that typically give scant attention to the simultaneous enactment of family and other life roles, in the women's conception of "planning for life," career planning was inseparable from plans for family life. Starting a family frequently became a basis for career planning, rather than something postponed until a career direction was well established. Rather than following a sequential pattern, many women lived out a cultural model of raising children simultaneously with working and/or going to school. The combined demands of work and family placed a number of constraints on the women's choices to pursue further education and on the types of jobs they sought.

The dominant model of career development includes the concept of climbing a "career ladder." A number of women in the study espoused a belief in this concept, typically by stressing the process of "working your way up" as a means of career advancement. Layla explained, "You gotta start some place and work your way up, that's like you just don't automatically grow up and graduate from high school. . . you gotta work your way up to graduate and you know take it from there." However, "working your way up" often is dependent on a life situation in which you can put "work first," making family and other life roles subordinate to work. The women in our study typically did not perceive this to be possible or desirable, given their roles as primary caregivers for children. Furthermore, they did not have the economic resources often needed to relocate or obtain transportation to move into better jobs. As a result, the more typical pattern of job mobility among these women was moving from one entry level job to another – lateral moves – rather than upward progress in the same type of occupation. Clearly, linear models of career development do not accommodate the complexity of these women's lives, in which family played a prominent role.

Don't Look at Color

"Don't look at color" reflects a theme that pervaded the women's discussions of racism. While they identified examples of racism and its effects on their work and family, many of the women advocated the strategy of "not looking at color;" in other words, they tried to minimize the effects of racism in their lives by not dwelling on its impact, not confronting it directly in the workplace, and teaching their children a sense of dignity and self-worth. They tended to describe racism as "ignorance." For example, Clara stated that if a "person is that ignorant, to judge a person on the color of their skin, then that person needs to see somebody, cause they have a problem." The women's models of racism as "ignorance" were linked to their beliefs about how to respond to racism in the workplace. They made racism "not a problem" by ignoring it or taking for granted its existence. Clara explained that ". . . it makes me more ignorant to reply to [racist] statements that are made, sometimes you have to overlook them."

The women's stance toward not making racism a "problem" were connected to beliefs that confronting racism in the workplace would likely be ineffective and have negative consequences for themselves and their families. Those women who did feel that racism should be confronted tended to espouse a model that relied on the use of "proof" and the power of higher authorities. Krystal stated that to overcome racism, employees should "do your job, do it to the best of your ability and keep documentation. This is why we git misled and hassled, we don't write things down." Maxine explained "you talk to your boss you don't git the treatment you deserve you need to remember your boss has a boss and you keep going over dere head, over dere head until you feel you git the treatment you deserve or if not den you should choose to leave." However, the women tended to be skeptical about the use of legal procedures to change racist practices. They concentrated on developing a sense of personal worth and dignity within themselves and their daughters, as protection from the destructive attitudes they might encounter.

Conclusions and Implications

Adult education for work programs are typically informed by dominant beliefs that individuals can and should have the freedom to choose jobs and occupations according to their abilities and preferences; that "you can be anything you want to be;" the concept of moving up a "career ladder" by accepting poorly paid, entry level jobs and gradually moving into better positions as a result of good job performance and acquiring new skills; following an "appropriate" sequence of completing a high school or preferably a college education and obtaining employment in a chosen career, and for women, postponing pregnancy and childbirth. The women in our study tended to espouse beliefs consistent with dominant models of career transition, though these models were rarely enacted in the women's lived experiences. While this might be interpreted as a deficiency in the women's ability or motivation to engage in career planning, we argue that career development models themselves are biased towards the life situations of privileged white males. For the women in this study, the combined effects of race, class, and gender inequities rendered such models inappropriate as a basis for explaining or guiding their transitions into desirable jobs and careers.

Our findings suggest that women in the low income African American families we studied have models of life planning and career development that are typically unrecognized or considered deficient. Indeed, comments by the women, such as "things just kinda happened," suggested that their own efforts to set a direction for their lives and careers remained invisible and undervalued by them as well. Far from being passive in light of life circumstances, the women made many efforts to investigate different occupations through education and employment, took advantage of opportunities to develop their work-related skills, and managed their family lives in a way to accommodate work as well as schooling The women's life patterns tended to be influenced by their desire to be responsive to the needs of other people. In contrast, dominant career development models are based on a very "self-centered" approach to future planning, that assumes individuals give priority to their own needs and career interests. Numerous other authors have pointed out that women, particularly women of color, often eschew this individualistic approach (e.g., Caffarella & Olsen, 1993; Deyhle & Margonis, 1995). Mary Catherine Bateson (1989) suggests that the metaphor of "improvisation" might be more applicable to women's career and family experiences than the dominant metaphor of a linear trajectory towards a predetermined goal.. Building on Bateson, we suggest that the women's ability to engage in "critical improvisation" – to continually adapt to changing life circumstances while negotiating the constraints imposed by race, gender, and class inequities – was a strength in enabling the women to combine work and family roles. While some more recent theories have begun to account for the influence of contextual factors on individual's career development [e.g., social learning theory (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1990), social cognitive theory (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1996)], their influence has yet to be felt in most work-related adult education.

Our findings suggest that adult educators should adopt a more critical stance towards the provision of education for work, particularly education linked with welfare reform efforts. The assumption that participants are not cognizant of mainstream cultural beliefs and values regarding work should be questioned. We need a better understanding of how these beliefs and values do or do not serve the best interests of participants and contribute to their successful employment. The notion of "rational" and linear career planning cannot accommodate the complexity of balancing multiple commitments and confronting the effects of social inequities associated with race, class, and gender. Viewing career development as "critical improvisation" might enable educators to broaden their vision of appropriate ways to assist individuals in negotiating this complexity as an evolving, lifelong process. Education for work programs need to give more explicit attention to racism and sexism in efforts to more effectively prepare low income African American women for potential inequities. Rather than placing the burden on individuals to engage in often risky confrontational actions, adult educators, employers and policy makers need to take leadership in creating more equitable educational programs and work environments.

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Rethinking Violence and Learning: Moving Research into Practice

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Abstract: *Drawing on focus groups, interviews and participant observation, we explore the ways discourses of violence and of schooling impede efforts to develop literacy programs which respond to the violence and trauma women learners have experienced.*

This paper draws from an action research study which explores the process of change in literacy programs and their workers when attempts are made to better take account of the relationship between literacy and the reality that many women are, or have been, traumatized by experiences of violence. Many literacy organizations in Canada and the U.S, familiar with a recent study (Horsman, 1999) which examined impacts of violence on adult literacy learning and recommended a radical reconception of adult literacy education to better support all women's learning, are exploring how to create significant change in their programs. This current action research study is providing the opportunity for a detailed examination of the myriad factors that facilitate and hinder introducing change in literacy programs.

Beginning from a commitment to social change, our current research is influenced by particular forms of poststructuralist theory that offer "...a way of conceptualising the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness which focuses on how power is exercised and on the possibilities of change" (Weedon, 1987, p. 21). Through this frame, we are exploring how certain ways of conceptualising literacy, violence, and pedagogy guide particular actions and forms of organization within literacy programs, and thus contribute to or resist dominant power relations. The theory tells us that language, power and subjectivity are important. In this paper we are offering an initial exploration of some discursive practices that appear to impede efforts to address the impacts of violence on learning in literacy programs.

We are drawing from focus groups and interviews with literacy practitioners in Duncan and Vancouver, British Columbia and Edmonton, Alberta. In addition, Jenny Horsman is conducting participant observation research while facilitating a women's literacy group in Toronto, Ontario. This group is involved in an intensive course that allows them time to look at the violence they have experienced and its aftermath in their lives and focus on how to build their strengths as learners. Some participants in each of these sites are also co-researchers with us, engaged in collectively developing in-depth analyses of the dynamics of change when literacy workers and organizations in different settings attempt to alter their practice to develop new trauma-sensitive approaches.

Discourses of Violence and Its Effects

In speaking of violence against women and girls, we are referring to a pervasive set of social practices, often sexualized, frequently taking place in the supposed "safe haven" of the home, usually perpetrated by men on women and girls they profess (explicitly or implicitly) to love. These violent social practices have physical, psychological and emotional effects which may be permanent, but are at least ongoing, affecting all aspects of a woman's life.

In examining the discourses of violence and how they may hinder the possibilities of addressing violence, we became aware of the pervasiveness of silence and the difficulty that literacy workers have in opening up talk about violence. In one focus group session one practitioner spoke about a conversation with a woman about the violence from which the other had escaped. Even though she suggested that she had raised the issue because of a new commitment to speak about the issue of violence directly, she was surprised to realize later that she had not actually spoken of violence but instead had talked about "the situation." This indirectness struck a chord with many of us; a variety of pressures frequently seem to lead us to be less than direct.

Another example comes from Horsman's experience of trying to draw women who have experienced trauma into the aforementioned women's group. It was hard to speak directly of the focus on experiences of violence in case women felt uncomfortable with attending a course described in this way. During Horsman's earlier research she heard from students attending an interview session that they were terrified they might be observed by others. Some said that they wouldn't attend a support group identified as being for trauma survivors, even though they thought they would find such a group useful. Language such as, "if you have gone through tough times, want to move on, but are not sure where to begin" was the only way found to name the experiences of violence without seeming to stigmatize the women who might attend the course.

In spite of the complexity about naming violence in advance as something women in the group would have in common, once the group came together Horsman led a variety of exercises which created opportunities for women to name the role of violence in their lives. Increasingly it became evident that violence is something with which everyone in the group is familiar. Silence appears to be replaced by talk. Yet a new kind of silence appears when the talk also includes tears. Over and over again women in the Toronto program say to each other: "Don't cry." Often too they respond immediately with a story of their own and, implicitly or explicitly, suggest that in comparison with their own much worse experience the other woman's story is not bad enough to justify tears. We wonder about the prevalence and all-pervasiveness of this powerful discourse about not crying, which includes phrases like: "move on", "don't dwell on it", "it's all in the past" and "forget about it." These are clearly very strongly ingrained responses: Although Horsman regularly points out that saying "don't cry" implies that it is not OK to have the feelings you are having, it is still always the women's first response to someone crying.

We are concerned about the effect of this discourse on women who were frequently hurt and then not allowed to cry as children. This response confirms what they have been told and have told themselves their whole lives. It seems to be part of an extremely well-used discourse about the need to "heal," or at least to move on and "put the past behind you". This discourse silences talk about the pain of violence. It also connects to individualized medical discourses about the ill-effects of trauma as illness, which in turn suggests that it is only the individual who needs to change, not the violence of society. In contrast Lewis (1999) offers new language as she speaks of "familiarity with" and "living beside" trauma. Although this may sound like a small change, such reconceptualization makes possible new discourses about trauma as an ongoing experience, felt long after the original incident or incidents have passed. Within such a discourse more possibilities for speaking about the ongoing impact of violence on learning could be revealed.

The extent to which the discourse about violence is overwhelmed by the well-learned need for silence on the issues is visible in another way in our work. When taken seriously at all, violence and trauma are often framed as barriers to women's learning. Women can't learn whatever it is the programs are trying to teach them, because the issues of violence are too predominant in their minds. Often women can trace the moment when they stopped "learning" as a child, or the particular things they didn't "learn" at school, to episodes of violence in their childhood. We do not want to deny that this is a problem; indeed, our work is based on this premise. But what is missing in the "violence as a barrier to learning" discourse is any reference to just what women ARE learning, either when being abused or when struggling to overcome the damages. "Learning," we would argue, does not in fact stop in the midst of violence. Instead, what is learned is not speakable, not nameable. Enforced silence around issues of violence and trauma mean that some women and girls appear not to learn while learning an enormous amount. The discourse of barriers to learning also preserves an unproblematic sense of "normal" students, who don't have barriers, and "other" students with barriers. These "others" will, at best, be recognized as having "special needs", and at worst, will be judged as not ready to "learn," needing first to go away and "heal" their "disorders," seen as the job of the medical system rather than of education. In this theoretical framework not only does societal violence not need to change, neither does the education system; only the individual must learn to behave differently and leave the impact of violence behind her. In this way, discourses of schooling and education interact with those about violence.

Discourses of Schooling and Education

Even for those who have not done well at school, or who have spent little time there, the discourses defining the "correct" ways to be a student or a teacher are well-known. As Heald has written elsewhere, such discourses "do not so much describe as attempt to DEFINE identities, setting the limits of what can be done within the subject position, by whatever incumbent..." (1991:137). In defining "good students," the discourse by default defines "bad students." Because the discourse appears neutral, one's competence as a student appears to be a function of the presence or absence of personal qualities, rather than biases concealed within the discourse.

> Other elements which appear 'neutral' aspects of education include a separation of knowledge and opinion; a belief that the only proper and useful knowledge is rational knowledge; an understanding that schooling requires tactics aimed at credentials rather than the learning which credentials are supposed to represent; a sense of earning one's way through some combination of hard work and talent; a sense that the only question to be asked about educational knowledge and training is whether the students are adequate to the tasks set, not whether there is a problem with the tasks. (Heald, 1991, pp.137-138).

In spite of their lack of success in occupying the category "student," then, literacy learners are positioned within this discourse.

Educational discourses also define what is appropriate to learn, how students should behave, how teachers should behave, and the boundaries marking the kinds of things that are appropriate to talk about at school. For example, academic subjects are considered to be the "real" work of school. This is true, in spite of years of research in the sociology of education (e.g., Bowles and Gintis, 1976) which shows that the social importance of schooling has much more to do with sorting people into categories deemed "appropriate" to their class, race and gender status, as well as teaching some people the importance of assembly-line related skills (showing up on time, following instructions, being deferential to authority, etc.) In our research, we can see how the dominant discourses of education supercede committed workers' and learners' sense of what is important and appropriate for them to pay attention to and spend time on in class. So, for example, one instructor commented that although she thought it important for students to "talk[] about themselves as students", she felt it was not legitimate to insist on discussions and lessons on these topics. This was in contrast to her math teaching where she felt able to be "quite directive about what will help and what needs to be worked on." (E-mail correspondence, Evelyn Battell, 12.17.99). We all thought that this hesitancy was at least in part a result of the ways "learning math" is seen to be a clear and important educational goal, while "learning how to be a student" is hidden beneath the assumption that the category student is both natural and neutral.

Jenny Horsman notices something similar in her group: There are women who go to the math, computer or reading groups instead of always coming to the group. It seems as if they think of the other groups as the "real" learning, and the women's course, focusing on building their strengths as learners, as something other than the "real thing," yet they say that the work they do in the group is important and useful. We are concerned with how this reaffirms the need for silence around violent experiences, with the ways it leaves untouched the notion that "schooling" defines what it is important to know, and with the idea that "real learning" involves a separation of mind from heart and body.

Discourses of education also call for a clear separation between teacher and student which many in literacy programs find problematic at the same time as they reproduce it. Noticeable in one focus group was what we came to call the "dealt with it discourse." Many of the workers stated that they had "dealt with" any traumatic experiences in their own lives. They implied that they thought workers had to have "dealt with" their own experiences and put them behind them to be an effective literacy worker. To a certain extent this may be true, but it also reinforces a we/they dynamic anathema to much literacy practice. We relate this to dynamics of professionalism and social class, both of which work to define acceptable behaviours. Working class people/learners/non-professionals get to present/expose themselves as in need of this kind of help; middle class people/workers/professionals need in all ways to be much more together, composed, keeping issues in private. Indeed, participants in one focus group commented that they were surprised at how much they had talked about themselves (something not obvious or problematic to us), and went on to have, for the first time, conversations with co-workers about the violence in their own lives. This "dealt with it" discourse excludes discussion about difficulties instructors may have when, for example, they find stories of violence, tears, or other student behaviour difficult to cope with, and leaves unasked the question whether there is such a state of having "dealt with" trauma. Being a "helper" seems to involve the exclusion of the whole person of the teacher or facilitator. Thus it may be hard for her to notice her own needs, or attempt to find a balance between her own needs and those of her students. The helper's own needs will seem insignificant in the face of the greater needs of her students. Rather than facilitate the work of "familiarity with" and "living beside" trauma (Lewis, 1999), discourses of class, professionalism and helper reinforce silence about the pervasiveness of violence, the commonalities between students and teachers and the dynamics which made learners "non-learners" in the first place.

If there was widespread recognition of the ongoing impact of violence then the need for attempts to create a safer environment for learning could be clearly revealed to be a basic necessity for learning in educational settings. Instructors are frustrated by the lack of an everyday discourse about "safety" which inhibits the possibilities for even imagining change that instructors can carry out. In one group interview in a community college instructors talked about the central importance of creating some sort of safe setting for learning and talked of the impossibility of the individual teacher doing so because there is no administrative or institutional awareness of the need for safety. What would learning institutions look like if a priority was given to creating safe and relaxed settings for learning? And what would it take for such a concern to become a priority for organizations and instructors alike?

In the absence of any institutional discourse about safety the prevalent discourse seems to be one of the responsibility of the teacher to cope with whatever happens in her classroom. Several instructors in college settings were firm that there was no support available from the institution, and there were limits on what they could take on in the classroom to address issues of violence in the absence of support.

One instructor illustrated how the discourse of responsibility of the teacher to teach all students and the lack of a policy about the importance of safety structured how she addressed a situation where one male student was loud and angry. The instructor talked about worrying about the impact of this particular student and putting much energy into trying to "defuse him." She checked with colleagues about this student but was told he had "come a long way." Instructors are left struggling with the question what they can do to prevent such men from impeding the learning of others, particularly those who have experienced trauma and are extremely uncomfortable with such violence in the classroom. Although instructors know that many women have experienced violence, instructors do not often hear the details of how students are silenced and unable to learn. In this instance only after the situation had improved was some indication of the impact on other students' learning revealed to the instructor. This instructor suggested first that she should have checked with other students earlier, then said that she "should have known" that many of the other students have experienced violence and so might be expected to have immense difficulty with this man's behaviour. Then she realized that she "did know" because she frequently hears disclosures from her students. Yet in a discourse where the teacher is responsible to teach everyone and where there is no institutional support or policies that would allow one student to be excluded to enhance the learning of others and create a safer learning situation, such instructors may be almost unable to allow themselves to "know" that students who have experienced violence may be retraumatized in the classroom. In the absence of a discourse that recognizes the complexity and importance of creating a safer learning environment there is little opportunity for an instructor to discuss possible responses to problem situations with colleagues without implying that she is unable to cope. Instead the instructor who seeks to create a situation where all her students can learn what she is seeking to teach is left with few options but to stretch farther trying to manage an often enormously difficult classroom situation, trying to make the classroom work for everyone.

In many conversations with instructors, whenever the possibilities of opening up issues of violence and its impact on learning in the classroom is broached, instructors begin to talk about their concern about not "crossing the line" into therapy. Frequently instructors are firmly instructed in institutional policy that will not allow them to engage in any counselling. This discourse preserves the assertion that there is an obvious demarcation between the two areas. While educators try to support women's learning they are blocked by an injunction not to be a therapist, in spite of the lack or inadequacy of counselling supports for students or instructors. There is little or no support in the educational system for exploration of what the teacher's role might usefully include in the face of the pervasive experience of trauma for workers and learners alike.

We were left questioning the way institutions benefit from those instructors who take up more of a counselling role, while also framing such work as something they shouldn't really be doing. Instructors are left with no facilities, such as private space to meet with their students, unsupported by the institution, unable to ask to process the issues that are raised on paid time, unable to influence an inadequate counselling department, somehow at fault for their level of exhaustion and burn out. The sensitive, caring instructor then gets framed as the problem while carrying much of the load of seeking to support students who have experienced violence.

A further feature of educational discourse relevant to understanding how literacy programs clash with themselves in trying to work with survivors of trauma is the notion of "learner-centred" literacy work. Within this framework, curriculum, discussion topics, ideas for programs, all must come from the students themselves. One Edmonton instructor spoke about wanting to address issues of violence in her program, but believing that it was inappropriate for her to do so unless learners asked her to make this a focus; otherwise she thought she would be imposing her own agenda. Yet a student spoke eloquently in the same focus group about the importance for her of beginning to believe that she could speak in the literacy program about her abusive marriage and its legacy in her life. The student said that an interview session during Horsman's earlier research, where violence was named as the focus, helped her to believe that violence was something that could be spoken about and that someone was ready to hear what students had to say. This comment reaffirms our belief that discourses cannot be radically changed through this method: Waiting for students to begin talk about violence must surely contribute to maintaining silence about violence. Change requires offering new discourses within which to re-understand experience (Weedon, 1987). People can, of course, choose to accept or reject new discourses, but we believe that this level of "imposition" or intervention is required.

In conclusion, then, we have begun to suggest ways that various aspects of these dominant discourses about violence and its effects, and about schooling and education contribute to ongoing silences and struggles for literacy programs trying to deal adequately with the violence in learners' lives. We are at early stages of this work, and are continuing to explore further how these and other discourses work to obscure the extent and effects of violence in our society, and the relation between violence and learning.

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Note: It seems to us that what is learned through violence is both consistent with and in contradiction to what counts as "learning" in the mainstream. This is a point we are developing further, but which goes beyond the scope of this paper.

The Unpaid Piper Calls the Tune: Popular Education in the Face of Bureaucracy

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Abstract: *Reflecting on possibilities for realizing social change through popular education, this study examines the promise and reality of Paulo Freire's legacy in the context of an urban literacy center for Latino immigrants.*

Background

In 1984, I completed an action research project that traced the evolution over a nine-year period of a "grass roots" literacy initiative modeled after the work of Paulo Freire in Brazil and Chile. The project, supported by the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education, focused on a struggle between a multi-campus community college system and a local community wanting to assume responsibility for its own adult education. The issue underlying this struggle was community-control versus efficiency in a highly centralized and bureaucratically administered, citywide adult education system.

The project grew out of mounting tension between Centro Latino, an urban center for literacy and basic education, and its principal fiscal agent, the City Colleges of Chicago. Students, teachers, and other community leaders sought to better understand the roots of their discontent and deep felt frustration. They had achieved success in meeting the educational standards of a state-sponsored bureaucracy while at the same time failed to achieve the emancipatory goals of their Freire-inspired program. Having worked closely with the community in creating this center, I was invited to facilitated focus groups and conduct group and individual interviews over a period of fourteen months. The research redounded into action as the community discovered the conflict at the core of their relationship with their financial sponsor. Local emancipatory goals—dealing with unemployment, gentrification, inadequate housing, and poverty—were inconsistent with the narrow, competency-based focus of the City Colleges.

This earlier research project ended with the community center proclaiming its independence at a cost of more than $250,000 in annual funding. But the story did not end there. In May 1998 Centro Latino celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. One of more than fifty Freirean programs established in the United States during the 1970s, this center is one of the few remaining as an independent, "grass roots" center for popular education.

Purpose of the Study

This current inquiry took up the earlier project where it left off, looking at the same organization through the eyes of students, teachers, and community, seeking to determine whether the program's emancipatory aims have been realized now that the City Colleges no longer calls the tune. The broader implication of this study has been to reveal those factors that militate against our nation's efforts, now chiefly invested in systems of schooling, to eradicate illiteracy and promote basic education among adults.

Conceptual Framework

Both the original and this recent inquiry are grounded in the conceptual framework of Paulo Freire's work, beginning with his exposure to U.S. educators in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) until the time of his death in 1997. In the early '70s, while Freire was slowly emerging within the academic world as a scholar, his writings circulated widely among "grass roots" educators, especially in the Latino communities of New York, Boston, Chicago, and cities in southern California. Even after his death, Freire continues to inspire educator/activists who plan their political-pedagogical strategies in the belief that "to change things is difficult but possible" (Freire, 1998).

Popular education is linked with productive social movements that redress the social inequities of race, gender and class (Lovett, Clarke, & Kilmurray, 1983; O'Sullivan, 1993). A national movement for civil rights, the organization of residents in public housing to take over management of their homes, the mobilization of parents for school reform, a "grass-roots" neighborhood group combating gentrification—each of these and hundreds more serve as contexts for the development of popular education (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). On the other hand, educational professionals, employed within specialized, self-defined neutral, educational institutions, are more likely to promote the functional goals of the institution and thus, however well intentioned, maintain the status quo.

In popular education learners organize their own learning around local agendas. When people organize learning on their own behalf they seek to improve the conditions of their lives. They "name enemies" (Newman, 1994) and encourage a movement from learning to action (Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990). The pedagogy they nurture is imbued with the passion to "make a difference" not only in their own positions of advantage within society, but in society itself (Simon, 1992). This is the framework within which Centro Latino was conceived, and the framework in which this research views its programs.

Research Design

This study, begun in January 1999, was initiated as part of the 25th anniversary celebration at Centro Latino. I was again invited to organize an action research project that would examine the sustainability of popular education in the face of growing dominance by large educational institutions and organizations in the practice of adult education. Toward that end, I organized focus groups, each comprising a combination of the center's various stakeholders. These groups continued to meet monthly. In addition, interviews (and re-interviews) were conducted – both individual and small group – with eight representatives of the broader educational, political, and philanthropic communities, including persons who have provided grants to the center. Transcripts of these interviews were summarized and made available to the focus groups.

The focus groups allowed reflections on the center's work (popular education) and its emancipatory goals to take shape as they would in the program itself – that is, through critical discourse. As focal points converged thematically both within and between groups, these points become provisional conclusions to be further tested in subsequent meetings. The process involved participants in both the generation of data[1] and in its analysis with a view to determining immediate and long-term strategies for action.

In addition to these interactive and participatory modes of inquiry, I became a participant-observer in six classes and also reviewed available documentation, including proposals, reports to funders, and publications of student writing.

Emerging Themes

Rebuilding the Barrio

Giroux's construction of "right-wing nationalism" sheds light on the disorientation, destabilization, and alienation experienced by immigrants from Latin America. Giroux describes this as "the project of defining national identity through an appeal to a common culture that displaces any notion of national identity based upon a pluralized notion of culture with its multiple literacies, identities, and histories and erases histories of oppression and struggle for the working class and minorities." (2000, p. 69) Mainstream literacy programs continue to emphasize "Americanization" (without using the term) and adaptation to the norms and rituals of an assumed national culture. By remaining neutral in relation to cultural issues, mainstream programs background the normative framework of their literacy curriculum and perpetuate the illusion of national homogeneity. Freire's challenge was to break this cycle of seeing ourselves through another's eyes and to reawaken in learners their right and ability to "make culture."

Centro Latino is not simply an educational program; it is a center of culture that reflects the multiple cultures of its learners. There are frequent potluck suppers, dances, and holiday celebrations of Puerto Rico, Mexico, Guatemala, and every nation of the community, providing opportunities for families and friends to strengthen community ties across ethnic borders. On a daily basis, coffee and shared food provide students with an informal and relaxed environment for conversation about their personal and social lives. Many people get to know and trust their neighbors. "It's changed my life," Marta noted. "I have friends I never knew before, people in the next building I never talked to."

The convivial atmosphere of the center, reflecting the interlocking cultures of Latin America with its multiplicity of struggles and political options, resonates with many voices. For the adults who participate in classes, the journey to the New World begins from their home, learning builds with understanding the strengths and oppressions of the *barrio*.

The Politics of Assimilation

The strength of Centro Latino lies in its Freirean understanding of literacy as only peripherally about reading words; at its core it is about reading the world. Beginning in the '70s, when there was little or no support for Spanish language literacy in the United States, the center's staff realized many of their adult learners were not only acquiring a new language, but also learning to read for the first time. This double handicap made learning torturous for adult immigrants enrolling at the center.

The center pioneered Spanish literacy classes as a first step to learning English. These classes, the value of which is now widely appreciated, build on the native language strengths of the learners, reaffirming prior knowledge and culture. Together with the fiestas and other cultural celebrations, acquiring Spanish language literacy further underscored the significance of each learner's heritage.

There is a critical edge to this reaffirmation of culture, juxtaposing Latin American roots with day-to-day experience in the U.S. "I thought I was getting away from poverty," admitted a young woman from Mexico, "but the poverty came with me. Sometimes it is harder here because we are surrounded by so much riches." Another Mexican day laborer noted how he came to find work in Chicago, but found "all the jobs have gone to Mexico."

While the center's staff are divided in their understanding of appropriate strategies for introducing immigrants to the culture of work in the U.S. (see below), through cultivation of partnerships with small and mid-sized corporations that hire Spanish-speakers, there is little question that employment is the ultimate goal of the program. Unfortunately, there is little available hard data on the success of the program in this regard.

Giving Voice

Freirean pedagogy dissolves the borders between teachers and learners. Students at the center share what they know with their peers and with the teacher. There is initial resistance to this blurring of the teacher's authority. "I felt I was being called out all the time," complained one student. "I didn't think what I knew was important, but then I saw others respected what I said – the teacher too!" Learners in several classes read one another's journals and worked collectively to strengthen and clarify the writing.

Despite collaboration, however, a teacher's voice is still privileged in most classrooms. Learners take notes only when the teacher speaks, reflecting an ingrained assumption that only professorial utterances impart important information. Other teachers counter this privilege, remaining silent and allowing all discourse to come from the students. This leads to a problem frequently encountered in popular education – what some have termed the "tyranny of structurelessness." Sometimes such structureless classes are bogged down in trivia, while a teacher waits for cues from the students; at other times classes that are going well take a sudden turn because of a learner initiated digression.

The classes at Centro Latino use no text books, emphasizing instead the writings of learners who have produced and published a variety of thematic anthologies, many focusing on local issues – housing, schools, jobs. These "texts" become readers for subsequent learners, who then go on to produce their own texts. Over time, funding sources have influenced the selection of these themes. For example, the Illinois Family Literacy Initiative funds publication of writings on family values, thus moving the focus of attention to less political concerns. In subtle ways funding, even in a scaled back Centro Latino, continues to shape the agenda.

Instrument of Social Change?

Structural Barriers

The center is rooted in the work of Paulo Freire for whom education was a means to transforming society, not merely imparting knowledge and information. The most critical challenge to this commitment at Centro Latino is the wide range of interpretations of the goals and mission of the organization among staff. Some have a functionalist approach, helping immigrants adjust to the language and culture of a new society. One five-year teaching veteran stated, "We [Latinos] don't know how to fit in, we don't know how to act in a way people here respect."

While some staff members have a transformative approach consistent with Freire, most take a more liberal view of their work. They focus on attitudes rather than structures, the individual rather than the group, on personal growth rather than social and political transformation (Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, & Thomas, 1991). The evident success of Centro Latino, its longevity and reputation among educators and community members alike, is wholly consistent with this liberal model of schooling. There is little evidence that the center or its alumni, despite their commitments, have contributed significantly to changes in the social or political conditions of day-to-day life in Chicago. A few graduates are known to have achieved success in their personal careers—one even became an alderman, of questionable value to the community. It should be added that little has been done to keep track of alumni, so the achievements of graduates might well be greater than is known.

But as for the Freirean goal of social change, there are easily identified structural barriers that keep Centro Latino from succeeding. The most obvious of these is funding. The lion's share of funding is locked into providing ESL and literacy education. Staff must show measurable outcomes in these areas, siphoning time from organizing efforts around community issues. "How do you recruit adults into an English class," asked one teacher, "and then use the class to promote generative themes or a community issue."

Another structural barrier is the schooling model which many popular education centers adopt. Schools recruit individuals, one by one, each with his or her own agenda and interests. In contrast, social action organizations are built on the common agenda and interests of groups. A teacher who taught at the center during the '70s observed that "students here have all kinds of agendas, and the only thing that you're likely to get them together on is the agenda of the school itself. That's what happened in the early years when Centro Latino was under attack [by the City Colleges]. Then there was social action." It is rare that a chance group of individuals will discover common cause in classroom discussion worth the investment of time and energy for social action, even when discussion is focused on community issues. This is true especially when the individuals have already been marginalized by underemployment and isolated by language.

Competing Purposes: Learning a Language vs. Organizing

While Centro Latino's commitment to the community is widely known and respected, most adults enrolling in classes come for individual, not social reasons. Most are monolingual Spanish speakers and are frustrated in their search for employment. Miguel had been in Chicago for two years working sporadically as a bus boy, mostly for meager tips, but never for longer than two weeks at a time. "I'd be out of there first time somebody tried to get me to do something I didn't understand," he said. "So I went to Centro Latino and applied."

Most center staff are committed to grounding language acquisition in reflection on the day-to-day realities of the neighborhood. The commitment of these teachers is evident to learners – a commitment that is consistent with learner goals, even though tangentially. One learner noted, "What I see is that the teachers care what happens to us, not just jobs, but the whole community. I don't see that in other schools."

The fact that most adults who go to Centro Latino are struggling to learn English militates against their involvement in complex and meaningful discussions of social change issues. Efforts at dialogue are slow and frustrating, especially when change must be negotiated with people whose only language is English. In contrast with Freire, who worked with people in their native language, one teacher expressed her frustration, "This is a very slow process. So much of it is learning words, and trying to keep a thread of conversation going at the same time you are learning the words… well, it's just very slow."

Despite this, many participants and teachers expressed frustration at the inconsistent attendance by students, due in part to the pressures of poverty, the lack of childcare, and acquiescence to the erratic demands of employers and service providers, especially case workers. But other activities of the center – meetings, assemblies, and field trips –also made competing demands on student time, resulting in inconsistent participation in class and a consequent disruption of the flow and continuity of lessons.

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Conclusions and Implications

Several themes emerged from the research:

- The development of a liberatory praxis continues to be stifled by public finance and the school-based models which public funding requires. Conditions required for local control render such programs marginal in relation to well and usually publicly funded educational organizations that demand standardization and efficiency.
- Teachers, however well intentioned, who lack grounding in local struggles to improve social conditions flounder in their attempts to promote liberatory goals.
- Popular education efforts in the United States suffer from the absence of social vision, exacerbated by a lack of viable social movements for change.

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[1] Data in this instance is, of course, an articulation of the prior analysis of participants in the study. Their analysis thus becomes "data" in the sense that it can be reflected upon and subjected to further collective analysis.

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Global Consciousness of Human Resource Development and Organization Development Practitioners

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Abstract: *This study describes changes in human consciousness, characterized by a move to holistic thinking informed by ecology, social justice, and spirituality, and were people-centered and purpose-driven.*

Walsh (1988) suggests that human beings are in the midst of a difficult and crucial stage of evolving to a new state of consciousness, meaning the complex attitudes, beliefs, and sensitivities that influence the way we construct meaning from experience. We are moving away from a prevalent industrial/scientific paradigm that has dominated many of our ideas and philosophies, ways of doing business, social structures, values, and ways of living. The existing paradigm, characterized by materialism, competition, and individualism, is losing its cultural legitimacy in light of overwhelming evidence of environmental degradation, displacement and exploitation of people, species extermination, and the disassociation of people from the community and earth that sustains them (Capra, 1996; Daloz et al, 1996; Elgin & LeDrew, 1997; Harman & Porter, 1997; Henderson, 1996; Kegan, 1994; Korten, 1999; Lifton, 1993; Maynard & Mehrtens, 1993; Ornstein, 1991; Walsh, 1988; Wheatley, 1994). The emerging sense of what some are calling *global consciousness* offers the ability to understand the connections between seemingly unrelated problems and issues, such as environmental degradation, the increasing poverty and displacement of people around the world, alongside increasing wealth for a few, backlash against immigration and minority rights, increasing fundamentalism, and many other ills visible today. This global consciousness is characterized by 1) a more inclusive worldview and the formation of allegiances beyond the local, 2) an awareness of the interdependence among humans and between humankind and the earth, 3) an ability to cope comfortably with ambiguity, and 4) a valuing of complexity and diversity. Those who write on the subject are calling for changes in the way we think, the way we relate to the rest of the world, and the way we identify with all of humanity.

It is important to differentiate between the global economy and global consciousness because the existing economic and emerging holistic paradigms of globalism differ in their essential goals. At the heart of the economic and holistic paradigms are different worldviews. While business ruthlessly in search of profit has been responsible for many of our social and environmental problems (Hawken, 1993; Henderson, 1996; Korten, 1995), there is some evidence that changes of consciousness in society are being mirrored within the business world. Concern for environmental sustainability, citizen participation, and social justice is replacing a preoccupation with individualism, competitiveness and consumerism. Business, arguably the dominant institution in our present society, has the resources, mobility, and power to dramatically affect the lives of people worldwide, for good or ill. Some evidence exists that suggests that businesses are expressing more interest and commitment to social responsibility and what might be called a global consciousness.

Human resource development (HRD), the education and training arms of the business world, is a potential leader in the dispersion of global consciousness. While originally recognized as the purveyor of classroom-based training, HRD has come to be responsible for organizational learning and development. HRD practitioners influence many people within the organization in which they work, and even the goals of the organization itself. Yet, little appears to be known about the global consciousness of HRD and OD practitioners or their attempts to embody it in their practice. To date, "there does not appear to be any scientific effort to identify HRD practitioners who are either on the edge of a new paradigm or creating it as they work. If there are such individuals, and the law of averages would support the belief that there must be, what is different about what they do?" (Willis, 1991, p. 63). Accordingly, this study described the characteristics of HRD/OD practitioners who subscribe to global consciousness.

Methodology

A phenomenological approach was selected from among the various traditions of qualitative inquiry. How people make sense of their experience to create a worldview and the structures of consciousness in human experiences are of central interest in a phenomenological study. In order to conduct the study, a purposeful sample was selected. For the purpose of identifying potential participants, some work activities were identified as manifestations of global consciousness in action, including support for and involvement in participative forms of management, systems thinking, spirituality in the workplace, corporate social responsibility, environmental sustainability, and/or social justice. Participants were employed in human resource development, either directly by an organization or serving as a consultant. They are responsible for training, staff development, organization development, and general HRD functions. Intensive, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 individuals. These individuals represented a diversity of types of HRD and OD practice, backgrounds, and geographical location.

Findings

Several major characteristics of global consciousness were described by the research participants, the most important of which seemed to be holistic thinking informed by ecology, social justice, systems thinking, global awareness, and, for some, global transformation. The research participants also presented themselves as being people-centered and purpose-driven.

Holistic Thinking

The human resource development practitioners I spoke to portrayed global consciousness as a holistic way of thinking. Holistic thinking includes the properties of being informed by ecology, social justice, systems thinking, and global awareness, as well as consciousness of impending global transformation. In addition to holistic thinking, global consciousness is characterized by being people-centered and purpose-driven.

Informed by ecology. Some of the research participants referred to biological processes and ecology as a principle that informed their thinking. Ron epitomized this idea. In addition to being responsible to shareholders and to the people who were its employees, Ron asserted that the corporation has the obligation to "look at the earth from space and say, 'Am I doing anything to damage or how can I do my work while doing the least damage or no damage and maybe the enhancement of the globe?' which is the only thing we've got."

Holistic thinking seems to be connected to an awareness of the processes of life and affected the metaphors people used to describe their understandings of organizational life. Several research participants contrasted their organic models with traditional organizations based on images of machines. They critiqued the deficiencies of outdated, traditional models of structuring organizations and rejected the use of mechanical analogies for large organizations. John suggested that "We most often think of them as mechanisms, and as a kind of boxes and lines and wheels meshing and those kinds of images." When I asked if he was drawing a parallel to ecology, John told me he felt he offered clients a new perspective:

> *a more organic perspective is useful. It's useful to think of organizations as organs and having organs and related to, wonderful, funky, wet words like orgy and orgasms and organs and all of that, organisms, all that stuff that is so life filled and vital and mucky and swampy and fertile. It's really useful for us to think in those really fertile terms.*

Informed by social justice. Practitioners were informed both by ecology and by a concern for social justice. Speaking of the corporation's relationship to the community in which it was situated, Marina believes that corporations have a "responsibility to support the community in whatever ways it can." As she works for a manufacturing and distributing firm that is located in a primarily black district, Marjorie had particular reason to be aware of both environmental and social concerns, in fact she saw them as intertwined. She was cognizant of environmental racism and felt that her firm was successful in avoiding activities that would designate the black community where they were located for disproportionate pollution or inequity in hiring, in comparison to well-to-do, primarily white communities.

Informed by systems thinking. Taking a broader perspective that utilized systems thinking was important to the research participants in their understanding of both the organizations and the culture they are part of. Many research participants draw on systems thinking in their practice; some spoke of it as basic to their work, and others indicated that it permeated their practice. Some even described using concepts drawn from advanced scientific research such as chaos and complexity theory. According to the research participants, an integral part of utilizing systems thinking in their work involves taking an unbiased view and being non-judgmental. What is unique about their thinking is that they focus on the relationships between interdependent, interacting elements within a whole system rather than on individual, independent parts of that system.

Describing his approach as akin to Buddhist philosophy, Dan defines general systems thinking as "all things are things in themselves, but they are also parts of others and nothing exists in and of itself." According to systems theory, Dan feels it is important to "define the boundaries of what you want to look into," but he avoids using systems terminology with managers because it sounds too abstract. Instead, "you just say what's going on here is both the cause and effect of a lot of things that are going on in your environment." Depicting science as responsible for changing our conceptions of the way life is organized, Kim asserted that she was thinking beyond systems thinking to "chaos theory and the new sciences and more additive, synergistic views of life." She connects quantum physics and even some of the explorations "on the edge of that" to Taoistic views which look at the flow of life. Kim dismissed mechanistic models as reductionistic and having little value. "Somehow we have to create more fractal-like organizations."

Informed by global awareness. Yet another characteristic of holistic thinking is a global view of culture. Many participants indicated that cognizance of global connections informed their work and led them to become more holistic thinkers. This was partly a result of international travel and the challenges posed by forming effective relationships with colleagues in other countries. During the time he was employed by a multinational company, Dan described "working worldwide in a lot of cultures" for seven years. He could think of horror stories, times of "doing things I thought were absolutely right and only years later realizing that I was busy stuffing my foot in my mouth within that particular culture." From this experience, he believed he had developed a better feel for cultural differences and recounted an example of correcting a younger, less experienced colleague who said to him, "Oh, you'd be surprised, Dan. Singapore is a very modern city." His reply was that he didn't care what the buildings, buses, or trolley cars looked like, "those people, those families are very different than we are . . . you cannot assume that just because they look outwardly like us that they have the same values and speak the same language. They don't." Even when speaking in English, words such as leadership and teams take on different meanings and "you've got to be very, very careful about that. I think international HRD is a very exciting field. I think it would be very interesting to go into, but keep in mind – don't dabble in it."

Even though she had global clients with projects all over the world, Jane told me she finds developing relationships with overseas clients difficult. She described experiencing a "profound humbling" because "I've come to realize how little I've known about other cultures in a way that's helped me do more than stereotype them." It takes so long to learn enough to understand about the "clues we missed." Her travels inspired Marina in "looking at the interconnectivity of everything that happened and how it impacts, you know those things that come before and after and I think from a global perspective . . . that's a very difficult thing to do." Marina asserted her experiences had taught her there was a connectedness.

Awareness of global transformation. Some research participants had a sense of emerging global transformation. Marjorie liked my description of global consciousness, but to her it entailed "shifting from individualism really to thinking as part of the whole." Learning to understand the process "by which people transform themselves and the world and their local conditions" was important to Jeff. It informed his work and studies. Dan described himself as "very involved" with global consciousness, but he doesn't "believe it's widespread." While he might be reading "David Bohm or Fritjof Capra," many of his colleagues "are still reading competitive things. However, when he looks outside the business sector, Dan perceives more interest in global consciousness. Most people are becoming aware that the world is a larger place, but to "talk about interconnectedness . . . of our social energy" represents a flight of fancy for many of his colleagues in the business world. Despite the doubts he expressed, Dan has adopted the idea of a global culture posited by Elise Boulding "as my own personal catechism."

Jane differentiated between her concern for ecology and the planet and "global consciousness, the emerging spirit that I do believe is a global one, I believe that when you think about the events in chaos theory that we can't deny that we are, that there is an evolution, a progression, there's something going on around the world that engages our experience in larger ways that any of us probably imagine at this moment." She couldn't tell me exactly what this new vision looked like or where it came from, but was absolutely certain that it existed.

People-Centered

Many of the HRD practitioners I spoke to expressed respect for people and their potential. They believed that people had the knowledge, capabilities, and skills to make a valuable contribution in their work settings. They also trusted in and valued the goodness of the people with whom they worked. Believing in the value of people led Marjorie to characterize the role of HRD as one of the champions for people in the organization. "I think the finance person has their filter on dollars . . . the marketing person's filter is always that of what's going to be good for the brand image. And I think that the HR person's filter is on people." Her perspective differs from her peers in that they focus more on the business side of the equation, while she is more concerned with "what makes sense for the universe and for what will happen for longer than the next quarter." When asked what beliefs inform her practice, Carol responded thoughtfully: "I guess first and foremost is that people in business know everything they need to know to make the business better." Although employees understand the business, they might not always understand the process of change. She utilized a collaborative model of consulting so that she could unite people's knowledge of the business setting with her knowledge of change processes to create a better situation. Rather than referring to the values that drove her consulting business, Jane chose to reveal what guides her practice by telling me that she feels that "people were all in a state of becoming" and that a great service that HRD can provide is to help people free their own spirit.

Purpose-Driven

Several people described experiencing a sense of purpose and even a sense of obligation or mission about their work. This resulted in feeling called upon to make a contribution to people and society, taking responsibility to make changes, utilizing their skills in community service, and making sacrifices in order to remain true to their purpose. Sometimes the research participants connected it directly to their spirituality. For some, this sense of purpose leads to activism and community service especially in regard to environmental and social issues. This service is not limited to their work lives; even in community work, their same skills of teaching and learning were often used. This sense of purpose is so strong that several participants chose to sacrifice some financial remuneration either as a consequence of working less so they can devote more time to community service, or by leaving the corporate sector and instead working with nonprofit agencies. Glen negotiated with his company so that he could perform pro bono work for community organizations on company time. He asked for this time rather than receive a raise or bonus.

Karen made what she describes as a tough values choice not to continue working for Fortune 100 companies despite the financial consequences for a single woman contemplating retirement. Instead, she chose to take a job with a well-known charitable organization. After a few years she left to accept her current position with a nonprofit association for rural cooperative agencies. She describes her work as a chance to educate people about cooperative values. Community service was also important to Lynn who uses her facilitation skills with cancer support groups, women's shelters, and women's groups in her local community in addition to her job in a nearby city hospital. None of this was paid work, rather it was an expression of her convictions regarding social justice. "Being more conscious of what you are here to do" was Lynn's way of expressing what she felt was her lifework, to help people grow and develop. She also believed that if she helps to develop herself, it would spread to others, "world peace starts here type of thing, then it is a ripple effect."

Implications

What this study demonstrates about the implementation of global consciousness is that the practitioners who participated in my study held people as their central concern. They tried to create meaningful work environments by creating participatory structures, nourishing collaboration, and making room for spirituality. Dissemination of these findings could bring attention to issues important to global consciousness. Discussion of ecology, social justice, systems thinking, internationalism, spirituality, values, and even changes in human consciousness, need to be better integrated in the HRD literature and curriculum. Innovative definitions indicate that the focus of HRD should be on supporting people's learning and development and creating the conditions and structures in the social setting that foster this. Bierema (1996) advises us that "adult educators and human resource developers are uniquely equipped to research, design, and implement new models of workplace development with the individual and learning as top priorities (p. 227). Discussion of new roles for business emphasize purpose, human relationships, values, and spirituality. Kahnweiler and Otte (1997) articulate a need for HRD to develop greater maturity. A foundation of personal and professional values would undergird this.

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Menacing Feminism, Educating Sisters

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Abstract: *Transsexuals are engaged in a profusion of learning dynamics, critical education, oppositional practices and sense making. Male to female transsexuals (MTFs) especially struggle to define the boundaries of what it means to be a "woman." The result is an emerging new feminism, called transfeminism that challenges the institutionalized gender system in a way that other discourses cannot. Transfeminism is part of a social movement that is taking up trans/gressive acts and constructing learning communities built on gender-identity difference.*

Background

Western society is structured such that there exist: *women by chance* (genetic/biological; women-born-women), *women by choice* (transgendered and *transsexuals*, i.e. persons whose core gender identity differs from what is culturally associated with their biological sex at birth), and *women by force* (*intersexuals* whose anatomy is assigned at birth by coerced "normalization").

Numerous individuals have engaged in the construction of feminist ideology since the 1960's, producing strands identified as liberal-, radical-, socialist-, Marxist-, black-, lesbian-, cultural-, postmodern-, critical-, and cyber-feminism, to name a few (Whelehan, 1995; Brooks, 1997). This research unearths a new genre of feminism, constructed by *transsexual* and *intersexual* women, termed "transfeminism." Transfeminism is a product of the trans- and inter-sexual communities constructing new meanings from their lived experiences. Transsexuals and intersexuals, nominally included in the queer community, are arguably the most marginalized group of gender outlaws (Feinberg, 1996). Hate crime violence is rampant against this segment of society. There is currently a powerful surge of trans-struggles positioning them within the borders of new social movements working for social change.

Methods

This qualitative research investigated the ways that transsexual feminist knowledges are produced, used, and distributed in their contest for collective identity and control over their own lives. It also explored the relationships of trans-people to "non-transsexual" feminist discursive practices. Theoretical frameworks, upon which this research was based, included new social movements as sites of learning where a pedagogy of contestation and rebellion are carried out; identity as a source of meaning and experience; and critical postmodern analysis to explore power asymmetries. Methods included a literature review of texts with subsequent analysis, a critical ethnographic qualitative survey, and the unique use of the Internet for survey/interview purposes.

Twenty-six transgendered folks were initially interviewed. Informants were selected from organizations dedicated to transsexual/transgender education and through "snow-ball" techniques. Respondents represented more male to female (MTF) transsexuals than other groups. Interviewees were culled to ten key trans-respondents who participated over a one-year period. Formal interviews, informal discussions, and other noninvasive techniques (snagging public email messages posted on the Internet) were used to capture data which were coded and analyzed for themes related to adult education in the transsexual community.

Findings of the Literature Review

A review of the literature revealed several themes, including: transsexual/intersexual communities are engaged in a profusion of learning dynamics, oppositional practices and sense making. As women, MTF trannies struggle to write their own narratives, called *difference feminism* (Shalit, 1999). It, in part, rejects marginalization at the hands of society, including "Othering" from the straight, gay, and lesbian communities. Some respondents saw this new menacing feminism as the latest development of feminist thought. Trans/actional learning included educational dynamics within trans communities, and outreach to "non-trannies," especially to "mainstream" women feminists who frequently reject male to female transsexuals' identity claims. Trans respondents noted that few people ask, "Who counts as a woman?" The literature produced by transfeminists revealed a battle over identity and naming.

Data show that: numerous organizations exist for education, support and advocacy in the transgender communities; the mainstream lesbian and gay communities have been obstacles to transsexual liberation; many "traditional" feminists have been especially troubling for and troubled by transfeminists; the transfeminist community is actively creating a narrative space not yet recognized in feminist theories; and, transsexual educational efforts are often specifically oriented as outreach to "our sisters."

The transgender movement is polyvalent, encompassing enormous diversity within a unifying field surrounding gender. The antagonistic tendency of new social movements to produce and simultaneously deconstruct group identity (Gamson, 1998) is operative in the transgender movement. A tension exists between creating stable collective identities through an essentialised educational discourse on one-hand and blurring/deconstructing identity boundaries on the other.

Interview Findings

Education was universally posited by the transsexual community as indispensable in the struggle for identity, acceptance and building an equitable society. The terms *education* and *learning* emerged as key words in transcribed interviews; concepts related to them dominated.

To the Rescue: Trans/itional Sites and Trans/Actional Education

The research located multiple transsexual sites and opportunities employed in the struggle for cultural authority against the hegemony of transphobic discourses. One wrote about the relationship between female transsexuals and other women, "There is no enemy. This is not war. This is a rescue mission." It is a sortie to liberate their sisters. Another penned, "I will not fight [them]...I'll do my best to educate them...." The education was trans/actional; one male-to-female transsexual wrote, "The women who socialized me taught me that sisterhood is fierce, not demure." Another MTF extolled the virtues of sister-space saying, "After thousands of years of patriarchy, we have found a special value in a place where women can be seen without the male gaze, and speak without the male ear." Feminist music festivals with women-born-women-only admittance policies were major arenas where the struggle for acceptance and identity-recognition occurred. Educational programs and grassroots activism were key tools at these. Yet, not all transsexuals agreed to resist womyn-born-womyn policies at festivals, saying it is "a mistake for the trans movement to target [them]; they do not have the kind of institutional power that male establishments have. The real enemy…should be the patriarchal system rather than womyn-only events."

One of the prospective educational avenues cited by a respondent was course work in "trans feminism." Feminism itself is a difficult term to describe. As Whelehan (1995) writes, "Feminism is itself problematic, because the theories that inform it are heterogenous (p.25)." Yet, she has discovered that "all feminist positions are founded upon the belief that women suffer from systematic social injustices because of their sex and therefore, 'any feminist is, at the very minimum, committed to some form of reappraisal of the position of women in society'" (Evans, in Evans et al. 1986, p. 2).

Koyama (1999), a respondent, wrote, "transfeminism cuts through all of the major themes of third wave feminism: diversity, postmodern identities, body image/consciousness, self-definition, and female agency." It has been pointed out that this "is not merely about merging trans politics [with] feminism, but it is a critique of the second wave feminism from third wave perspectives." Koyama also points to the diverse strands of "transfeminism." Trans feminism has at least two distinct expressions in the trans community. One is the application of feminist perspectives to trans discourse, aptly called "transsexual feminism." Transsexual feminism is premised on an extrinsic acceptance of transsexuals as women. A second manifestation is "transfeminism." This strand is more than a transsexual reading of feminism. It is about establishing transfeminism within the mainstream of feminism with specific content that relates to transsexuals' experiences, but which is applicable to all women. Transfeminism has characteristics unique and special to the trans community. Both strands of trans feminism challenge the rigorously policed links between biological sex and gender. When articulated, these trans/visions make the family of feminisms richer.

A Menacing Feminism

In a flier distributed at a women's music festival, two gender outlaws with divergent beliefs wrote, "in defying [a rigid, destructive, and archaic gender system] we learn to convert fear into anger [and] this makes us dangerous (Dobkin & Wilchins, 1995)." Califia (1997) notes that, "Nothing upsets the underpinnings of feminist fundamentalism more than the existence of transsexuals. MTF trans members are engaged in informal education for control and ownership of the meaning of "woman." They are employing transfeminist discourse as a counter-hegemonic practice. Transfeminism, a menacing feminism, is *pro-feminist* (supportive of) as well as *proto-feminist* (archetypal; a prototype of feminism). Transsexual feminists articulate that transfeminism exemplifies the kind of self-determination that is a prerequisite of feminism. It is proto-feminist in that it critiques mainstream notions of masculinity. It is profeminist in that it takes up the sentiment that women deserve equal rights and that gender is a patriarchal social construct used to oppress women.

Education as a "Right to be Myself"

One wrote, "The mission of [several organizations cited] is to educate society about Trans/Intersex issues." Targets of educational campaigns varied. In some instances it was "the feminist community," while in others it was education at "women centers." At times participants built trenches of resistance and survival in the emergence of identity politics. Other times, they built new identities that redefined their social roles while seeking social transformation. Pedagogical trans-tools, in addition to collective action at music festivals, differed widely. Strategies involved: dialog; effective use of the media, such as appearances on talk-radio and TV shows; authoring columns for the pulp press and on-line journals; networking (especially electronically); linking with sympathetic non-trans organizations; "camp behavior;" political activity, election to community Boards of Directors; joining peer groups at sexual minority centers; forming panels/speakers bureaus; Websites; and permeating reading groups at commercial bookstores. Many paralleled Gramsci's "war of position" (1971) in order to counter or replace the dominant hegemony. Outreach education to trans youth has become an increasingly important endeavor as well.

Education as a Rite to be Themselves

For MTFs, education in the trans community is a rite of passage into female adulthood. This is especially important given the absence of intervening stages that most genetic women travel during their childhood and adolescent development and female social enculturation. For some adults, it is a crash course in the pursuit to appear like they feel–as a woman. Educational literature is replete with advertisements to assist a transitioning person to be the woman of her dreams. Topics for self-directed learning projects include voice lessons and instructions in femininity such as contemporary women's fashions. To be "style-clueless" is a trans/gression to be avoided. The group *Renaissance*, an education and support organization, is one of many that are educating transsexuals. Their newsletter stated, "keep in mind some of our overtly feminine gestures and postures we affect as part of our own ritual are actually designed to attract...partners" (Amberle, 1996, p. 8). Many MTFs challenge the feminist objection to becoming an object of desire; the art of promenading is a ritual that allows the actor to gaze and to be a spectacle, an object of another's gaze.

Some MTF transsexuals exaggerate traditionally feminine traits–traits that some forms of feminism have repudiated. "Passing" is critical to the process of transitioning. As a result there is contention in expressing notions of beauty, femininity and the construction of the "female body" between some feminists and some transsexuals. Certain feminists challenge cultural and ideological formations of "the feminine" and reject the marginalizing status of femininity. Not so many transsexuals. Some seem to worship normalized female beauty as they struggle to make their appearance coterminous with their self-perception. In her book *Crossing*, McCloskey (1999) points to many reasons why MTF transgender individuals learn stereotypical feminine gestures. Her answer is simple: it's an act of deployment! To the charge that the gender crosser is perpetuating offensive clichés, she replies, "It's to keep from getting murdered, dear. Get it!" (2000).

Being Out: A Pedagogy of Presence; Reaching Out: A Pedagogy of Praxis

Being "Out," was regarded as a quintessential educational device. This particular approach to adult education was not located in specific places or sites, but instead was based on a set of common understandings and principles precisely taught through exposure to new ideas, dialog and the shared experience of presence. One person opined, "the best gender-education...[is for trans-people to become] more common images."

Most respondents agreed that in addition to being-out, "reaching-out" was essential. Reaching out was about making connections to communities. One claimed, "As the partner of an MTF, everyday is like educating the public just walking down the street." Out/reach was a key activity used to: become known; ease fear; advocate for social change and challenge medical policy; provide or receive medical information; access information on constructing femininity; and seek justice and safety. The role of education in the emergence from gender confusion to personal responsibility was sometimes cited. Of significant concern to the transsexual community was the frequency of hate crimes, including violent death, to which members were subject. Out reach often surrounded this theme.

Balance and Unity

Multiple, and at times contentious, meanings emerged around the construction of a stable trans group-identity that was produced for consumption and distribution in the public sphere. The term, "educating our sisters" thus had various expressions and a fuller meaning than to provide learning opportunities for non-tranny feminists alone. It also meant educating MTF transsexuals. After an activist event one wrote, "[This] was an important education for me about TG [transgender]/TS [transsexual] issues, and started me on my own path to transition." Calls for unity were exemplified by the claim, "Being gender-different is not just a 'trans right,' it is a women's right too...Discrimination against any woman must always be contested." The simultaneous intersection of collective identity and difference adds to the critical-postmodern theorization of transsexualism.

Differences

There were frequent remarks about generation differences; some self-identified "older" transsexuals attributed progress to the attitudes of younger generations. One wrote, "I notice that my younger friends accept gender-bending of all kinds more readily, so I think that there is generational change coming." This belief was echoed by a 41-year-old self-described MTF transitioning lesbian feminist, "Younger dykes play with gender with a breathtaking forthrightness which I find invigorating."

Regionalism appeared to play some role in the type of education in which transsexuals engaged. One transsexual, writing from North Carolina stated that "here, there is no education [going on]...education is something that occurs in larger cities with more diversity."

Although this study did not examine class and economic issues, some respondents' comments–and trans community literature suggests–that both topics merit deeper exploration. For the economically disadvantaged, seemingly a disproportionate number who are people of color, money for identity and body reconstruction is often out of reach. As one interviewee wrote, "economics is a central theme in any trans activism."

Trans/Actional Adult Education

Adult education has a venerable and long history and commitment to political action and social transformation. This study, in part, positions direct action as a pedagogical tool, locates transsexuality as a site of learning in adulthood, and situates it as a place for knowledge- and meaning-making. It captures an under-investigated new social movement that has taken up trans/gressive acts and constructed learning communities built on difference. Too, mainstream adult education has been heavily influenced by feminism(s). Only recently has it been challenged by the postmodern project of "messing" with the boundaries of sexual orientation (Hill, 1995; 1996), but it has yet to address gender orientation in any significant way. bell hooks (1994) reminds us that the feminist movement has been notorious for its censorship and exclusionary behavior, and proposes that it will grow and mature only to the degree that it passionately welcomes and encourages, in theory and practice, diversity of opinion, new ideas, critical exchange, and dissent. Eisenstein (1991) criticizes feminism for becoming respectable, drifting from its radical roots. Transfeminism opens up new possibilities for feminist debate; it will help mainstream feminisms to regain their lost rebellious center and subversive quality.

Too, it will reshape the impact of inclusionary feminisms on adult education.

A Postscript on Electronic Trans/mission

The Internet and web-based learning play vital educational roles in the transsexual community. Electronic bulletin boards, listservs, and chat-areas are central to the construction of new knowledges. Because cyber-activism is critical to trans education, it is a ready-made tool for researchers. This study opens up the possibility for an additional computer application in adult education: interactive, computer-mediated communications as an interview technique. While the use of the Internet in ethnography has been explored in a limited way elsewhere (Markham, 1998), this study suggests that on-line data retrieval and computer communications are underutilized instruments for data gathering with action-oriented subjects. Electronic telecommunication networks have not been thoroughly critiqued as new ethnographic tools for qualitative research. Advantages of screen-based techniques include: communication at unprecedented speed; adult educators are unbounded by physical location or certain personal limitations; and meaningful expansion of social interactions. Disadvantages of electronic communications encompass the filtering out and alteration of much of the nuance, warmth, and contextuality that seem important to fully human, morally engaged interaction (Sclove, 1997); and the interviewees' environments, often read as a text by critical ethnographers, are missing. Additionally, only those on the wealthy side of the "electronic divide" in society will be reached.

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Life Situations and Institutional Supports of Women University Students with Family and Job Responsibilities

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Abstract: *This empirical study focuses on Canadian women studying adult education, social work, and nursing, while managing paid work and family roles. Qualitative data illustrate survey findings on the contribution of life situations and institutional supports to role strain and stress experienced by these non-traditional university students.*

The increasing presence of adults in universities challenges educators and policy-makers to reflect on institutional responsiveness to non-traditional student groups. This issue is pressing because the adult university student population is becoming more diversified, as new clienteles attempt to increase their marketable skills (Apps, 1988). Women with family responsibilities are one such group, whose needs differ markedly from traditional populations universities were designed to serve. Not only do these women retain primary responsibility for family work (Napholz, 1995), but many must also continue their employment in an era when public spending on higher education is decreasing. As a result, these students may be caring for young families or elderly relatives, while continuing to be sole providers or co-contributors to their families' well-being (Lewis, 1998). It is not surprising that women drop out of university more often than men for non-academic reasons (Merdinger, 1991) or that multiple role women are more vulnerable to role strain (Marlow, 1993).

Personal and institutional support can reduce role strain (Mikolaj & Boggs, 1991) and make the difference between continuing participation and dropping out (Lewis, 1988). However, it is not clear to what extent university adaptations designed to ease the work-study interface are helpful to women seeking to accommodate family needs (Miles, 1989). As there is little research indicating which life situations and institutional supports make a difference, it is difficult to adapt services to these students' needs. This paper presents findings from a survey of adult women with family and job responsibilities, who are studying adult education, social work and nursing in Canadian universities. Excerpts from interview and focus group data are used to illustrate and enrich the findings, on the contribution of specific life situations and institutional supports to role strain and stress.

The study's theoretical framework revolves around four key concepts. **Role strain**, a felt difficulty in meeting role demands (Goode, 1960), is made up of role conflict (from simultaneous, incompatible demands), overload (insufficient time) and contagion (preoccupation with one role while performing another). Role strain can lead to **stress** if demands are perceived as taxing a person's resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1986). Researchers have identified some **life situations** which may influence these women's vulnerability to stress and strain. These include occupying a job with long, unpredictable or inflexible hours in an organisation which is intolerant of interference from other roles (Lambert, 1993). Increased vulnerability can be related to demanding family situations, such as single parenting, having younger children (Mikolaj & Boggs, 1991, Voydanoff, 1993), or lower income (Sands & Richardson, 1984). Number of children, full or part-time status as student and/or employee can also influence vulnerability (Koeske & Koeske, 1989, Schmidt & Scott, 1986).

Affective and tangible support can reduce the impact of stressful life situations (Krahn, 1993). The researchers examined **tangible supports** in universities and the workplace, which the literature and the authors' previous qualitative work suggested might be beneficial. These include university supports which increase student control of time, pace and place of learning or increase access to needed resources (Long, 1983, Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985). Distance education offers more flexibility and control than evening or part-time accommodations, which can be difficult for women with families (Miles, 1993). Student services can be helpful in facilitating time management, peer support and financial and dependent care assistance, if they are accessible outside of traditional times (Coats, 1989, Copland, 1988). Workplace supports such as schedule flexibility, leave provisions and financial support can also be helpful, even though they were developed primarily to enhance productivity of a increasingly diverse workforce (Lambert, 1993, Voydanoff, 1993).

Methods

This research combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Interviews with 30 students were analyzed to identify key variables to examine in a subsequent survey of multiple role women in Canadian universities. A purposive sampling approach was used to select 17 adult education, social work and nursing programmes, reflecting linguistic and regional diversity, as well as differing degrees of adaptation for an adult clientele. An estimated 87% of eligible women in the sampled programmes participated. All respondents were at least 23 years old, employed a minimum of 9 hours weekly and caring for children or other dependent relatives. Respondents were enrolled in a final undergraduate year, a Master's degree or a post-RN programme. The instrument was a self-administered questionnaire, comprised of some existing and adapted scales as well as some new scales developed from the qualitative data. A panel of experts and two pre-tests ensured good content validity for the new measures, all of which demonstrated satisfactory reliability. Readers are referred to Home (1998) for further information on the measures.

The researchers wanted to ensure they understood the practical implications of the overall survey findings, while making the latter accessible to a wide audience of potential users. An adapted focus group method was used to present preliminary findings in four regional feedback sessions. Over 100 representatives of diverse interest groups (unions, workers, students, employers, policy-makers) heard a summary of key descriptive findings before participating in one of nine focus groups. Data analysis focused on implications for educational institutions and the workplace, including strategies for coping with obstacles to change (Home, 1996). Summaries were distributed to participants for local action, while aggregated data were combined with survey results to produce two bilingual publications which featured a data summary along with practical strategies (Home, Hinds, Malenfant & Boisjoli, 1995).

Further analysis was carried out, to identify which independent variables were related to role strain or stress. Two types of independent variables were examined. Life situations included variables pertaining to the respondent (age, ethnic origin), her family (caregiver status, parenting responsibilities, income), her work and student roles (full or part-time status, type of programme). Tangible institutional supports included those used in the university (such as distance education, part-time study, study skills workshops) or the workplace (study leave, cost reimbursement, workplace equipment). A two step procedure was used to **analyse the quantitative data**. First, analysis of variance allowed the researchers to select those life situations or institutional supports associated with the dependent variables. Next, multiple regression analysis was carried out to determine how much each of these variables contributed to stress or role strain. Using a hierarchical, stepwise method, the researchers first entered the life situation variables, followed by the institutional supports. The final model showed how all entered variables together explained stress and role strain respectively.

Findings: Characteristics of the Sample

Eighty-five percent of the 453 respondents were part-time students. Three fifths worked in full-time jobs and studied at the Master's level. The majority (80%) had a family income over $40,000 (Can.) and lived with a partner and children but 16% were single parents. Two-thirds had one or two children under the age 13 and 27% were caring for an adult or a child with disabilities. Nearly a quarter of the respondents were studying adult education, a third were in social work and 43% were in nursing. The adult education students were different from the other groups in some respects. Fewer were single parents but all were studying at the graduate level. These women had higher family incomes, perhaps because they tended to be in managerial and professional positions or self-employed. The nature of their work meant they reported more irregular work hours, although they saw their job demands as being less intense than the nursing students, who were obliged to do on-call and shift work. Compared to social workers, adult education students felt less preoccupied with student concerns while performing their work or family roles.

Findings: Impact of Life Situations and Institutional Supports

Multiple regression analysis was done separately for stress and role strain. Low income was the most important life situation predictor, in that women with lower incomes had significantly higher stress and role strain. Once income was controlled, no other life situation variable made a unique contribution to stress. Students were at higher risk for role strain, however, if they were involved in course work (rather than practicum or thesis), had children under age 13 or had caregiving responsibilities.

With respect to the institutional variables, some differences were found between predictors of stress and role strain. Regardless of income, students who were in distance education or had paid study leave experienced less stress. Surprisingly, two other supports appeared to increase students' level of stress. Women who participated in study skills workshops or had assignment date flexibility in emergency situations reported higher stress. All these variables together accounted for 13% of the variance in stress. In the case of role strain, only two institutional support variables made a unique contribution, once life situations were controlled. Students able to use workplace equipment or data for their assignments reported less role strain, while those benefiting from flexible assignment dates experienced higher strain. These variables, along with the four significant life situation variables, accounted for about 10% of variance in role strain.

Discussion and Conclusions

While multiple role women are coping with many difficulties, low income seems to be most problematic. Full-time students and single parents are at no great risk of role strain or stress once income is controlled, suggesting that it is the lack of financial resources which makes these life situations most difficult. Not only do low income women live "in terror of having a broken appliance," but they also have to expend enormous amounts of energy "scraping money together", as one women put it. Without enough income, these women have to cut corners by decreasing such expenses as child care and day camps, or by increasing time spent in their paid jobs. Both of these choices reduce time available for studies, which then "seem to stretch on forever". If we wish to prevent these women dropping out (Merdinger, 1991), adult educators need to advocate for increased access to adequate financial assistance for students who must continue to support their families (Lewis, 1988), even if they are "spread too thin" (Home, 1993).

Lack of choice around financial and family obligations was a theme which permeated the interview data. Not only must they work "to pay the rent and feed the family", but they must also be ready to drop other responsibilities when family crises occur. It is not surprising, therefore, that mothers of younger children and caregivers are at higher risk of role strain. These women need to be available to provide regular care (after school, and during holidays), as well as for frequent school and medical appointments. In addition, however, women are still expected to be the primary carers (Baines, Evans & Neysmith, 1991) if care arrangements break down or someone gets sick. Choosing between caring for a sick child and writing an exam would make anyone feel "pulled apart" by role conflict. The university and the workplace still expect that family responsibilities will be looked after without impinging on studies and with very little need for institutional adaptation. This study suggests that this expectation should be questioned.

The data on university and workplace supports challenge adult educators to re-examine the usefulness existing supports for diverse subgroups of adult students. For example, distance education can reduce stress but is often available only to students who are geographically isolated, instead of being an option for any student whose life situation makes class attendance difficult. Paid study leave reduces stress, probably by reducing the number of hours students must spend in their jobs, but very few workplaces offer it. Finally, this study suggests that some adaptations designed to help adult students may not work for women juggling family and job responsibilities. For example, extending assignment deadlines gives temporary relief, but students still feel stressed, as they must find time in their overloaded lives to complete the accumulating work. Further research is needed to identify which policies or practices may help different adult student groups. It is hoped that the issues raised in this study will raise awareness of the specific needs of one such group, with a view to enhancing access to appropriate educational provisions and services.

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Wyrd Questions: Re-framing Adult/Community Education

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Abstract: *There is a growing body of popular literature associated with 'new paradigm' research, the development of the Gaia hypothesis, and the meaning of 'spirituality' in today's society. This paper suggests why adult/ community education should be re-framed within this context; and looks at some implications for model-building.*

What's Wyrd?

In the fifth century BC, Lao Tzu spoke of a ripple effect extending from each individual through family, community and nation into the cosmos (Heider, 1991, p. 107). Holistic principles of this nature underpin most of the world's great wisdom traditions. These evolved out of the desire of humankind to understand its place in the cosmos and, in Huxley's (1946, p. 8) terms, "to know the spiritual Ground of things." In the ancient Hindu text, the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the "spiritual Ground" is *Brahman*, that which contains and sustains everything that is manifest and known in the world (Prabhavananda and Isherwood, 1953). Similarly, in the old Anglo-Saxon concept of *wyrd*, the interconnectedness of the spiritual and material worlds was understood as a vast web of invisible fibres: any event, anywhere in the web, would ultimately affect every other part of the web (Bates, 1996).

Recent research, such as that on 'the participatory mind' (Skolimowski, 1994), in co-operative inquiry (Heron, 1996), and within deep ecology (Capra, 1997), points to the need for a re-conceptualisation of education founded in the notion of interconnectedness rather than, as is so often the case at present, of separation. This will require educational practice to be envisaged and researched in the context of the farthest reaches of the ripples that it generates. I suggest that imagery associated with the wisdom traditions, together with an emerging new world-view that is linked to them, may help in framing the right questions to ask in such a context. Adult/ community education (ACE) is well-placed to ask them but existing discourses seem largely inadequate for the purpose. If, as adult/ community educators, we are to keep pace with new understandings being developed elsewhere, we may need to 'think *wyrd*' and collectively consider the concept and place of spirituality in relation to our work.

Why Now?

To date, the wisdom traditions have largely been packaged into the creeds and rituals of particular religions. The ripples spreading outwards from these to create the diversity of the world's civilizations and cultures have often clashed, and either obliterated or absorbed one another in the process, but they have moved comparatively slowly. Now that global communication is almost instantaneous, and the possibility of destroying the planet an ever-present threat, it seems more important than ever before for humankind to recognise the potential consequences of the ripples of thought and action that emanate from different belief systems.

Western science has been one of the most influential belief systems of the past two centuries. Originating in the need for ideas to develop unfettered by primitive superstition or religious doctrine, this has sought to separate the study of matter from that of spirit. It owes much to the work of Descartes and Newton. The associated world-view, of a clockwork universe governed by mechanistic principles, gave rise to the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution and underpins the present economic and political world order. It relies upon the imagery of power and control – and of society itself as a vast machine where people are little more than cogs to be moulded, used, or discarded in the machine's service. With a few notable exceptions, education has traditionally been utilised as a moulding tool.

During the latter part of the twentieth century, new scientific developments challenged the governing principles of the clockwork universe (and, by extension, of the 'society machine'). In particular, the exploration and findings of (sub)atomic physics have more in common with Eastern concepts of a continuous cosmic dance than with Newtonian building-blocks. An alternative world-view has now begun to emerge. It has been heavily influenced by Lovelock's (1979) "*Gaia hypothesis*" which, shaped by ecological and systemic principles, also challenges many of the old scientific orthodoxies about relationships between processes, people, and planet .

Lovelock's juxtaposition of modern science with ancient belief through the invocation of the name of the once-revered Earth Goddess has had wide appeal. Attention has been paid not just to the scientific implications of his work but to its more 'mystical' interpretations (see Joseph, 1990; Russell, 1991; Thompson, 1987). It has subsequently become associated with so-called 'New Age' literature, much of which is giving deliberate impetus to the emerging world-view.

A basic tenet of such literature is that people should be enabled to break free of the impositions of 'machine-think' in order to develop their true potential. The success of texts ranging from Ferguson's (1988) classic *The Aquarian Conspiracy* to Redfield's (1999) current best-sellers in *The Celestine Prophecy* series testifies to an increasingly wide demand for, and resonance with, ideas about the possibility of personal and social transformation. Such ideas often seem, as in the two texts just cited, to be couched in terms of an understanding of spirituality as a deep interconnectedness between individuals, and between people and the cosmos.

The imagery used to envision these connections has changed from the naturalistic *wyrd* web to a more modern depiction, long familiar in science-fiction, of a shared, all-encompassing, energy field. Nevertheless, the understanding of how the connections work remains much the same: individual thoughts and actions cause ripples of further thought and action to extend, *ad infinitum*, beyond the boundaries of what superficially appear to be separate encounters; and they are, in turn, affected by ripples initiated in other parts of the web or energy field. In Skolimowski's (1994) terms, we live in a truly "participatory universe." Adherents of the new world-view seek to make this participation a conscious process.

Because ACE has such potential for creating ripples of thought and action in the lives of individuals and their communities, it seems particularly important to be able to locate it within, and to examine its consequences for, the emerging world-view. A theoretical framework is thus required which will admit a spiritual discourse into debate and practice in ACE.

Such As?

Extending a Typology

Martin's (1987) three-model typology of ACE in the UK was designed to show how distinct philosophies about the relationship between education and community were translated into different kinds of practice. These were based on different premises about society being, respectively, consensual, pluralist or rooted in conflict. It was subsequently extended to incorporate radical feminist and black perspectives. Using the same format, it is possible to construct another extension in which the implicit model of society is essentially holistic. It draws on ideas and educational activities that have become popular outside the formal education system and which are associated with developing understandings of spirituality (see Figure 1).

Implicit model of society/ community	Unity within diversity.
Premise	Interconnectedness at a subtle (spiritual) level.
Strategy	Awareness/consciousness-raising groups and techniques; encouraging articulation of 'felt-realities.' Honouring full spectrum of human experience and consciousness. Holistic approaches, with celebration of difference. Acknowledgement and understanding of inter-relationships between group/social processes and individual learning
Initial focus	Personal development groups (including T-groups, Encounter groups *etc.*).
Key influences	Aldous Huxley ('Perennial Philosophy') James Lovelock (*Gaia*). M. Scott Peck ('Community making'). John Heron (Research into the human condition) James Redfield ('Insight' work)
Twentieth-century origins	Ecology movement: interdependence of living systems. Popularising of Eastern philosophical traditions/practices, esp. meditation. 1960s: 'youth culture,' including experimentation with hallucinogens; esp. development of shared language to describe associated inner experiences.
Dominant themes	'Whole-person' growth ('Know Thyself') Global village ('Think global, Act local') Recognition of personal and group responsibility ('As within, so without')

Figure 1. A model of community education incorporating ideas and activities associated with the development and understanding of spirituality *(in the style of Martin, 1987).*

Combining Typologies

Although this model extends the typology in a way that allows discussion of spirituality to be incorporated, there is something of a contradiction in considering a separate model if spirituality is to be understood as an appreciation of interconnectedness. My recent research draws on five major typologies of ACE in England. It suggests that, though none of these, individually, encourages debate about spirituality, when they are brought together to form a composite model they can be understood in the context both of the 'Great Chain of Being', which underpins the perennial philosophy of the wisdom traditions, and of new ideas about a participatory universe.

The typologies were developed in the 1980s in an attempt to theorise the complexity of practice that was then subsumed under the umbrella of ACE. Developed, respectively, by Martin (*op.cit*); O'Hagan (1987); Fletcher (1987); Clark (1985); and Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983), each typology has a different starting point and contains between three and five separate models.

As in Martin's initial typology, O'Hagan also proposes three models which he labels 'Efficiency', Enrichment' and 'Empowerment': reflected in the names, he claims, is the purpose envisaged for education. Fletcher's three models are concerned with the nature of the relationship between community educators and the local community. Clark's analysis of practice revealed five 'levels' of interpretation of community education's purpose. These range from the pragmatic, cost-effective use of plant, to overtly political education and social action. Lovett's four models cover similar ground but focus on the differences between, and advantages/ disadvantages of, community "organisation," "development," "action" and "social action."

Despite their distinctive nature, when these typologies/ models are set next to one another, it is possible to discern within them three quite distinct discourses which have clearly informed the practice and analysis of community education. I will not try to illustrate the parallels between the typologies diagramatically here - but picture, if you will, a summary of the five different analyses placed one below the other. Since Clark's five levels can be reduced to three without losing much in the process, and Lovett's community and social action can be merged for the purposes of discussion, all five typologies can be depicted in three columns. Each of these columns represents a discrete model comprising very particular ideas and approaches to practice.

Those in the first column are largely concerned with *economics, individuals* and *specific places*. For example, education is seen as an economic tool and the cost-effective use of buildings and services is an important consideration. Provision, generally in the form of traditional classes, is made for individuals and often shaped by the Enlightenment tradition of developing intellectual capacity in order to create a better-informed citizenry. Activities are generally located within a specific place such as a school or community centre.

Key ideas underpinning the second model are of *social justice, individuals-in-communities,* and *place linked to lifestyle*. Education is viewed largely as a means of redressing imbalances in society by "compensating" groups of individuals who have been forced to adopt particular lifestyles because of an apparent lack of earlier or current opportunities. The purpose of community education is to address the perceived needs of deprived or alienated groups by helping them to adjust better to life in the wider society. The possibility that the wider society itself might need "adjustment" is not addressed.

By contrast, the possibility (and often deliberate encouragement) of *political challenge* is an important feature of the third model. Additionally, the locus of control moves from 'providers' of education to members of local communities who, acting collectively and drawing on the expertise of community education facilitators, are expected to be able to effect change in the conditions, including the educational awareness and opportunities, of their own communities. Such *communities* are not necessarily (though they could be) located in a specific place but may be representative of shared interests, orientations or cultures within a single country, or even across the world. The term *"Unplace"* is useful to indicate the non-specific location of some of the communities – such as "working class," gay or black – most often associated with this approach.

Three underpinning discourses can be identified by reading across the columns. In the preceding description I have italicised the key dimensions of these discourses. They seem to me to become progressively wider in terms of the social perspective they encompass, and increasingly dynamic in their *modus operandi*. I have termed the discourses "Economic-Political," "Psychological-Sociological" and "Geographical-Ecological."

The first opens out from discussion of cost-effectiveness in what is regarded as an essentially homogenous society to encompass the notion of social justice in, and the 'enrichment' of, a plural society; it culminates in an overtly political interpretation of community education as a means of challenging and changing existing social structures. The field of consideration within the Psychological-Sociological discourse also expands as emphasis shifts from the individual as a consumer of educational provision to the impact of community action on educational and social structures. The third discourse, rooted in the specifics of place, moves into the more abstract notion of lifestyle, and ultimately encompasses the "unplace" of the symbolic dimensions of community.

Associating Imagery

Within the wisdom traditions, there is an assumed hierarchy, commonly referred to as the 'Great Chain of Being' (Wilber, 1998). In descending order, the links of the chain represent spirit, mind, body and matter. The discourses I have identified can be represented diagramatically to correspond to the lower four links: the Economic-Political discourse at the level of mind; Psychological-Sociological at "body;" and Geographical-Ecological at "matter." Such a theoretical representation clearly begs the questions of how the spiritual link has been severed, with what consequences, and how it might be reinstated.

The "opening out" of the discourses, as described above, can also be mapped onto Skolimowski's imagery of a participatory universe as a cone opening outwards. The walls of the cone represent the sum total of knowledge. Knowledge itself is represented by a spiral inside, and sustaining, the walls of the cone. The walls "become adjusted, reassembled, rebuilt, reconstructed" as the spiral of knowledge expands (Skolimowski, 1994, p. 82).

The discourses described above may be depicted as the outer walls of ACE's own "universe," sustained by a developing "spiral" of what is known in practice and articulated through theory.

We can then ask whether the spiral of existing practice and theory is likely to expand of its own accord to incorporate an understanding and articulation of spirituality. My feeling at present is that there *is* an important expansion taking place under the aegis of the "popular education" movement. However, this seems to be couched primarily in terms of social reform and global politics. Instead of leading to a society transformed because it consciously understands and works with its deep interconnectedness, there is a danger that, like some of the old radical forms of community education, it could simply perpetuate the ideas of separation, power and control that have shaped the Western world-view for so long.

So What?

To consider the full extent and potential consequences of the ripples from our practice, we need to be able to see and ask questions in a way that the clockwork universe has not permitted. Thus:

> We need to reassemble our world-view in a new way. We need to create new perspectives and visions to comprehend afresh this fabulous universe of ours. We need a deeper and better understanding of the subtle expanses of our inner selves, of our complex relationships with all other forms of creation in this cosmos (Skolimowski, 1994, p. xi).

If our questions are to guide us in the creation of such a wonderful new world, I invite you to consider whether we also need, and how we can help ourselves and others to gain, a new theoretical and practical understanding of the *wyrd*.

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Edge of Empire: The Civilizing Mission of Adult Education in Vancouver and Early British Columbia, 1858-1918

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Abstract: *Throughout the British Empire, an educational mission was established under imperialism's patronage, to study and categorize the new world, and to bring civilization and culture to the colonies. Nineteenth and early 20th century British Columbia was no exception. The civilizing mission of colonizers was to bring to British Columbia some of the finest of British and European cultural sensibilities – to make British Columbia British.*

> British Columbia may be said to have a standard comparable, at least in essential features, with the most highly developed social organization elsewhere. Its communal characteristics are not, it is needless to say, evolved from local and primitive conditions, but transplanted from the most highly civilized parts of the British Empire. . . With . . . churches, schools, lodges, social forms, old-time recreations– all re-established on former lines[--]it is often a surprise to newcomers, who have associated life in the "wild and woolly West" with bears, cowboys, Indians, bowie-knives and desparadoes [sic], to find that they are still far away from the danger of being eaten up by wild beasts, tomahawked and scalped, or shot at sight. They find a state of society almost identical with that which they left. (R. E. Gosnell, Year Book of British Columbia, 1897)

R. Edward Gosnell, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, and Secretary to the Premier of British Columbia, wrote the *Yearbook* as his part of the campaign to establish British Columbia as a place of note on the map of the still expanding British Empire. A well-known British Columbian, he was altogether a newspaperman, a civil servant, and founder of the Provincial Bureau of Information. He was also an historian, an ardent imperialist, and a founding member of Vancouver's premier amateur learned society, the Art, Historical and Scientific Association (AHSA). Like many others, he firmly believed that British Columbia's destiny lay Aas a greater Britain on the Pacific, where British arts and institutions will expand under fresh impetus, "where the British flag will forever fly" (Gosnell, 1897, pp. 413-414).

This idea of a British destiny, needs to be placed squarely into the geopolitical context of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Barman, 1996). For nearly four hundred years, Europeans had been colonizing huge parts of the world. By the mid 19th century, the British were pre-eminent among the imperialists. British colonies were established in all regions, on all continents of the planet. British Columbia was one such colonial outpost.

During this period, with its Manifest Destiny reawakened, the United States also began to build its empire. By mid-century, it was expanding north and west. In 1846, the Americans annexed British territory to the south of modern British Columbia, down to the Columbia River in Oregon. Later, in 1867, on the day after Canadian confederation, the United States purchased Alaska from the Russians. British Columbia found itself flanked by the United States on two sides. Moreover, in 1858, upwards of 20,000 prospectors had shipped out of San Francisco for the Cariboo gold fields, swamping the small non-aboriginal population of British settlers. Few of these prospectors were British. Aside from the colonial government, the Royal Navy in Victoria, the Royal Engineers in New Westminster, and a few British settlers, there was little to forestall eventual annexation. With British Columbia as the land bridge between the abundance of the new Alaskan frontier and a rapacious American empire to the south, the question at the time, in many minds, was, will – and can – British Columbia remain British?

Central to the imperialist project was the role of education, and particularly of adult education, in the process of colonization. Throughout the colonized world, a

> wonderful spectacle . . . of learning, from arboretums to zoos . . . were established under imperialism's patronage, it [being] not difficult to argue that the whole venture had about it something of a great public education project intent on bringing the world together under the roof of European learning (Willinsky, 1998, p. 4).

According to Willinsky (pp. 26-27),

> the intellectual interests of imperialism could be characterized as reflecting a particular 'will to know.' At its root was a desire to take hold of the world, and it was the equal, in its acquisitiveness, to any financial interest in empire . . . This will to know became an integral part of the economic and administrative apparatus of imperialism, and in the process I was too often dedicated to defining and extending the privileges of the West.

The imperialist agenda, according to Edward Said (1995), was about "power using knowledge to advance itself" (p. 4). Learning and education would serve in the Europeanization of the world.

Educated European and especially British immigrants, on foreign shores, would bring with them what Said (1978) has called their "imaginative geography" of the world. In that geography, Europe was the centre of civilization. The rest of the world, in contrast, was less civilized--or uncivilized; it was mysterious, barbarous and savage. Arriving with their imaginative geography, and their dreams of economic gain, these immigrants came to civilize this alien world, this distant other. In the face of backwoods brutishness, despondency, and Canadian whisky, there was among them an educated contingent who came with their middle-class and upper-class tastes and sensibilities. They worked, often tirelessly, in the new colonial homes to reinstate the literary, athletic and scholarly pursuits of the "old country." In short, they tried to recreate best of "Home" in their new environment (Cole, 1996; Harris, 1997).

The competition between political, economic and cultural ideals has been captured by Cole (1996), Harris (1997), and MacDonald (1996) in their analyses of immigrant life in the early life of the province. British Columbia's rich yet rugged geography drew the vast majority of settlers, hell-bent on establishing themselves economically. Old world skills meant little; there was only limited agricultural land and there were few factories. New yet more rudimentary skills were all that were necessary in the extraction and primary processing of timber, fish and ore. Home ties, including regional culture and class position, were difficult to maintain in a polyglot population. Capital was king, and labour was its consort. Conflict – both labour and racial – was the norm. In contrast, in some special "Edenic" places in the province, notably Victoria and the Saanich Peninsula, the Gulf Islands, and the Cowichan, Comox and Okanagan Valleys, British Columbia offered something akin to the setting and climate of Home, in the British Isles. Immigrants of more refined tastes and ideals found in these places, and in Vancouver, a more suitable environment in which to promote the high standards of British culture and civilization. Vancouver's place is especially important as it was here that capital and culture met.

My research focuses particularly on Vancouver. As the province's new metropolis, the situation in Vancouver echoed the competition of ideals found throughout the province. Born in the 1860s, of continental North American (as opposed to British) business interests (MacDonald, 1996), the nascent metropolis of the new Canadian province became the proving ground for the establishment of a civilization at the far edge of the British Empire. During the period until World War I, tens of thousands of newcomers streamed into the city, seeking adventure, prosperity, and new lives. The settlers were predominantly British (from the United Kingdom and from central and eastern Canada). Many certainly came from the British middle classes that Gosnell had hoped to attract. The majority of residents, before the Great War, were male, although the numbers of women and families were increasing rapidly, pushing the demand for a more civilized environment. A few Americans also continued to migrate north into British Columbia, after the initial influx during the Cariboo gold rush. Several thousand Asians, particularly from China and Japan, added to the city's makeup, in addition to the aboriginal Coastal Salish inhabitants. In fact, the Asian and aboriginal inhabitants were set outside the city's social boundaries. For most European residents they were beyond the pale of civilization. They were "other."

Adult education in the early life of Vancouver and British Columbia took on a primary mission of cultivating British literary, aesthetic and scientific tastes and skills amongst the immigrant population. In the years before World War I, such adult education was primarily of the nonformal variety, involving mutual learning in private associations and organizations. For example, in addition to the earliest literary and mechanics' institutes, there were Gosnell's Art, Historical and Scientific Association (AHSA), the Burrard Literary Club, the Arts and Crafts Association, the Women's Musical Club, the Men's and the Women's Canadian Clubs, the Naturalists' Field Club, the British Columbia Mountaineering Club, and the YMCA and YWCA. With its lectures and conversaziones, and its public museum, the AHSA was one of the earliest, and was the leading, of such organizations, in the development of Vancouver.

In the upheaval of transplanted lives, ideas were discussed, debated and tested in their new environment. Here, individuals in mutual association, worked to inform, indeed to form, the semblance of an aesthetic, historical, scientific, and civic culture in their new towns and cities. In some cases, "English for Foreigners" and job skills were taught as part of both cultural and Christian missionary work. Socially fragmented and isolated, far from home, these educational missionaries, these "devoted few" (Gertrude Mellon, AHSA, 1909) stood and advanced their beachhead of British civilization and culture. They worked together, through their intellectual, scientific and cultural organizations to make and to keep British Columbia British. This study examines the values and interests that drove the formation of this variant of British civilization.

Culture, however valiant its mission, faced formidable foes. Indeed, as early as the beginnings of the City of Vancouver, after the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1887, the missionaries of culture and civilization stated quite clearly who their foes were and what was needed. For Gertrude Mellon, prominent social activist and "mother" of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association, it was the "usual concomitants of all the nationalities." For Mellon, they were "all bent on one goal, the participation in the wealth and natural advantages of a glorious heritage not yet encroached upon by the hand of man." If not restrained, she said, "a harvest of corruption and unhealthy surroundings" would be the natural consequence (Gertrude Mellon, AHSA, 1909). Restraint for Mellon, as for others, meant civilizing and refining, for inspiring taste and a spirit of inquiry, and for providing rational (i.e., healthy) forms of recreation. Restraint also meant consciously including as members both socially active women and the more prominent of one of the city's "barbarian" groups, the Japanese. In recognition of the role of women in the formation and management of the association, the AHSA elected women to both the vice-presidency and presidency. And significantly, until the City built a public museum for the AHSA collection, in 1905, the association counted a few Japanese diplomats and clergymen among its executive membership.

Among other such foes, targeted for the civilizing mission, were professionals, businessmen, and skilled workers – "all sorts and conditions of men and women who regard their daily vocations as something higher than mere wage earning drudgery" (Robert Mackay Fripp, AHSA and Arts & Crafts Association, 1900). At risk of the seamier parts of boomtown life, the YMCA and YWCA targeted those "Young men [and women]... way from home and moral restraint . . . on the downward road to destruction" (Vigilant, author of a letter-to-the-editor in support of a YMCA, 1886). For young adults, a "social resort" was required for protection; rational recreation; moral, intellectual and vocational training; and spiritual uplifting. Businessmen and corporate leaders, so moved by "that American spirit which keeps us all moving under high pressure" (H. J. deForest, AHSA curator, 1906) were another object of attention. So were professionals whose tastes ought to be more refined– "a people apparently so devoid of excellence in the practice of the Art [Architecture]" (Robert Mackay Fripp, AHSA/Arts & Crafts, 1899). All were targets of the civilizing mission. Even the oft-feared "great masses of people" were to be included. For the "great masses," the AHSA created a public museum – a necessity of every highly civilized community," designed to provide them with a place for "recreation and happiness . . . to think and study and from such casual visits [to] carry away a desire and intention to further investigate and receive educational benefits from" (Will Ferris, "HSA curator, 1911). What sort of education depends on how one understands and values the artifacts and curios on display, the "spoils of the empire," as Willinsky

(1998) would say. Finally there were those in the environment who as "savage and uncivilized peoples [local First Nations peoples]" (Charles Hill-Tout, AHSA, 1917) were not to be included, except as objects of study. As Hill-Tout said, in his address to the AHSA, and particularly to the business community, these savages "reveal to us the steps and stages by which the advanced races of the world have reached their present intellectual position and attainments, and because they show us the origins and meaning of many of our own customs and beliefs."

Now it must be pointed out that these educational missionaries were not of a single group; they represented separate, though often overlapping constituencies, and they conveyed somewhat different messages. The AHSA held the premier position in the local society, and its membership reflected that of the most educated and the most prestigious citizens, including executive members of the CPR. Similar memberships could be found in the Women's Musical Club, drawing especially from the new Tudor Revival mansions of Shaughnessy, and to a lesser extent, the Canadian Clubs with their businessmen and wives. The Arts and Crafts Association, on the other hand, incorporated the more Romantic and communitarian philosophies of John Ruskin and William Morris. It included as members anyone skilled in the arts and crafts, from architects and photographers to bakers and cabinet makers. A contingent of women artists, supported by a constitutionally guaranteed vice-presidency, rounded out this daring group. The natural history associations also reflected more cosmopolitan memberships, including stenographers and school teachers. The membership of these clubs and societies generally reflected the dominant English and Anglican elements of the local population. Finally, and in contrast, an even more modest and inclusive membership filled the ranks of the YMCA and YWCA, as well as the Burrard Literary Club (BLC). While their leadership represented the business community, the Y's and the BLC general membership were more Canadian, Scottish, Irish and Welsh, and more middle-brow Protestant (Presbyterian, Methodist). Their members included a preponderance of skilled tradesmen and apprentices, clerks, and in the case of the BLC, at least one Japanese diplomat. The popularity of the 'Y' idea is such that other 'YMCAs' also existed in Vancouver: the Chinese YMCA, the YMCA (Japanese Branch), and the Jewish Young Men's Christian Association [sic]. The leading clubs and societies, such as the AHSA, were quite English and Anglican. Regardless of social position and organizational goals and programs, the message of all the associations always pointed towards the value of mutual learning and enlightenment, art and nature, culture and civilization.

Hear, for example, the inspirational words of Reverend Norman Tucker, rector of Vancouver's Christ Church (Anglican) Cathedral. He is addressing the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, at the opening of the 1894 Exhibition of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association. Note his references to the issues of both race and greed. His words are Romantic and a touch Utilitarian. As Tucker tells his audience, the AHSA aims

> to cultivate a taste for the beauties and refinements of life; to pursue studies that raise the mind above the materialising struggle for existence; to surround our community with the works of taste and beauty; to inspire our minds with the great deeds of our fellow-men and especially of our Yellow-countrymen; to explore the mysterious treasure house of nature and to admire and to utilize the marvellous forces concealed in her bosom – In one word, to appeal to our higher instincts and to develop our higher powers.

As uplifting and inspiring as Tucker's words are, the link to the Empire is clear. He was speaking to the Governor-General of Canada, Queen Victoria's official representative. Thirteen years later (1907), in his inaugural address at the formation of Vancouver's Canadian Club, the next Governor-General, Earl Grey, directly links the ideals of Empire with the goals of learning and civic enlightenment. Earl Grey also points to the need for reorientation away from London, towards Canada: "Use your Club as a window through which the best and the purest light of the United States, of the Old World and of the New, can shine upon the life of your town, and by the warmth and brightness of their rays contribute to the enlightenment of your city." By 1913, however, President Elizabeth Rogers (Women's Canadian Club) strongly reasserts the link between learning, Empire and the highest of civilization:

> [T]he splendid vision grows and unfolds an ideal such as no people, from the earliest dawn of time have beheld, the ideal of a great and multiplied and extended British civilization, which we here, and men abroad may unite in declaring to be one of the most beneficent instrumentalities ever given to the world.

Behind these statements is the noteworthy fact of overlapping memberships between the AHSA and the two Canadian Clubs, and the struggle over patriotism and allegiance.

The link between learning and Empire was not just at the most obvious geopolitical level. It was also apparent in the origins and actual programs of learning within the whole array of mutual enlightenment associations. All of the associations, except possibly the Canadian Clubs, exemplified British models. They were founded largely by British immigrants. And they concerned topics and issues in common with British and colonial needs and activities.

Willinsky (1998) points out the Imperial goals of collecting, classifying, displaying and educating others about the natural order of the world. In addition to the public exhibitions of the AHSA and the Arts & Crafts Association, it was also important to bring to Vancouver an understanding of the world. To wit, the AHSA program in 1909, for example, ranged widely, from "The Early Bibliography of the N.W. Coast," "Huxley's Life Work," "Ancient Cities of the Euphrates Valley," "Moral Significance of the Fine Arts," "A Trip through West Africa" and "Wireless Telegraphy." And at home, there was a need to acquire a Aknowledge...of the fauna, flora and geological formations of this negihorhood [sic]" (Naturalists' Field Club, 1906). Put more eloquently in his 1912 lecture before the B.C. Mountaineering Club, Provincial Biologist and member John Davidson intoned:

> Keep on! And show us that your mental faculties are equal to your physical powers, that you are able to force your way through the dense bush of elementary botany, ascend to the summit and obtain the wider view which results from your overcoming obstacles, and rising to a higher level than that which you started.

Similarly, in a plea for literary societies, W. R. Dunlop in 1914 argues that:

> The Literary Society . . . apart from the social function it may fulfil, has too often been regarded with a passive complacency by the majority.... Yet it deserves practical recognition. If not a brilliant electric light it is at least a lamp; and its members, like [R. L.] Stevenson's lamplighter, are helping to 'knock a luminous hole in the dusk.'

In all the associations, questions arose over the utility of intellectual and aesthetic cultivation in the rugged, undeveloped, capitalistic West. Each association addressed the issue in its own way, with lessons provided in arts and crafts, scientific research, historical study, music, and debate and public speaking. It was not an easy balance, but a necessary one, particularly if the more noble ideas were to survive rather lean support and to find expression. In the most practical and commercial of the mutual learning associations, the YMCA, with its emphases on sport and spiritual development, the question was answered this way: "The higher purpose of the work is to make possible a larger life, a broader mental horizon and the development of a manly, Christian character. It is at the same time specially adapted to increase the immediate efficiency and earning capacity of the students" (*Annual Prospectus*, 1909). Vancouver's YMCA started the city's first public program of adult vocational education in 1906. So successful was this experiment that, in 1910, the Vancouver Board of Education took it over.

In conclusion, associations for adult education in British Columbia were formed and worked diligently to place their stamp on the formation of the new colonial civilization. While they could not fully recreate Gosnell's British life on Canada's North Pacific coast, they did play a prominent role in articulating and shaping the social actions of many elements of the city's population. And while the press always seemed to be towards utility and American-style "efficiency," there was modest success in creating local exemplars of what may be seen as the 'light' of British civilization, in the 'darkness' of rainforest and rough streets. Sadly, the boundaries of class and racial distinction were also re-asserted. Indeed, the cultivation of the higher elements of British civilization served to legitimate the link between cultural competence, status and social distinction, and to distance in the public's mind the links to business and power.

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Researching Adult Learners' Reading Histories and Practices

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Abstract: *This paper presents the results of an empirical study which explored the reading histories and practices of mature women students on a UK Access to Higher Education course. Such courses provide an alternative route to Higher Education for adults who left school without achieving University entry qualifications. The paper considers a relatively neglected aspect of research in adult education – research into students' reading practices. It argues that such research can enable us to support more effectively adult returners whose approaches to texts may be dramatically different from those of individuals who have experienced a conventional education.*

Purpose of the Study

Reading is central to study in Higher Education; all teachers are to some extent teachers of reading. Yet teachers' understanding of their adult students' reading histories, reading practices and beliefs about reading is usually limited. Reading is an hermeneutic rather than a technical act – an interpretive and intertextual process, shaped by the reader's expectations and experiences and by the social contexts in which it takes place. These expectations and experiences significantly affect how students read the texts we as teachers present to them. The more we understand about how, what and why our adult students read, the more effectively we can work with them to enable them to engage with different kinds of reading, to become confident, critical readers. This research sought therefore, to discover what reading meant to two groups of adult students and to link this understanding with their approach to their learning and the texts they encountered and debated during their course of study.

Research Design

Thirty-six students from diverse cultural backgrounds, ranging in age from 21 to 57, participated in this study. All were women as the course in question was designed specifically for women returners. The gendered nature of the sample was taken into account in the research design and analysis both of which recognised that reading practices can be shaped by gender as well as by other factors. The fieldwork took place over a two year period in order to enable work with a different group of students each year. I interviewed the women in depth at the beginning of their courses using a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, in order to understand their reading and other cultural practices (cinema and TV viewing, in particular). These interviews asked students to recount childhood memories of reading, to indicate who had influenced their reading at different stages in their lives and to describe what kinds of reading (if any) they undertook currently. I then spent three hours a week for a year with each group of women observing class sessions in which they studied a range of popular and literary texts and concluded the research via unstructured interviews exploring changes resulting from the period of study. Students kept learning journals, also available as research data, in which they reflected upon their classroom studies, their reading and any connections they made between the course and their lives. An element of triangulation was provided by using the observation notes of class teachers. The data were open coded and grouped into categories prior to analysis using an interpretive approach drawing on textual and literary criticism.

The students' accounts were shaped by their histories, perceptions and beliefs and sometimes also by popular myths and narratives. By the time I had analysed and coded them and written them up as a research paper they had become doubly textual – my story about their stories. The research cannot therefore present participants' experiences in some essential and uninterpreted sense. It does, however, offer highly situated interpretations which make it possible to consider the complexity and intertextuality of the reading process. As Usher et al have noted, the generation of knowledge from this kind of research "is concerned not with generalisation, prediction and control but with interpretation, meaning and illumination" (Usher, Bryant & Johnson, 1997, p. 181). For these reasons, the paper offers contextualised accounts of women's reading histories and practices rather than a more abstract and generalised summary of the findings.

Reading Theory and Adult Learning

A consideration of intertextuality and of reception theory can help to illuminate our understanding of the adult student's relationships with reading. Theories of intertextuality insist that texts are not self-contained systems. They incorporate other texts – those the writer has read and those the reader has read. Such theories may concern themselves with a text's relationship with other written texts; they may also define texts more widely, suggesting that, "at the very least – the 'textual' and the 'extra-textual' inhabit each other, or that – more radically – the 'extra- textual' is another kind of text" (Worton & Still, 1990, p.33). Reception theory takes up a range of positions from the extreme subjectivity of Holland's argument (1968, 1986), that reading is primarily a recreation of the reader's own identity, to those which admit the rhetorical and affective properties of texts. Iser (1978) distinguishes between the artistic text, that created by the author, and the aesthetic text, its realisation by the reader. He draws attention to the fact that texts are never complete in themselves but consist of pauses, spaces and gaps which require completion by the reader who must make connections and bring aspects of her/his own experience to the act of reading. For Iser a literary text is a "gestalt" (1978, p.279) produced by the reader's active striving to make something coherent from the words on the page. Fish (1980) introduces the importance of context, which always restricts the possibilities for reading without absolutely determining them. He identifies the existence of shared, but not monolithic or stable rules for interpretation and this allows for the influence of history and culture in shaping interpretation.

McCormick (1994) creates a useful synthesis of reading theory which gives due weight to the text as a structure but also acknowledges the role of the reader. She argues that meaning is made between the general and literary repertoires of the text and the general and literary repertoires of the reader. The literary repertoire of the text consists of factors such as form, plot and characterisation; its structural and rhetorical properties in effect. Its general repertoire is composed of the morals, ideas, values and beliefs to which it refers and which help to construct it. The text's repertoires are not static, but shift in relation to the reading context. Readers also have repertoires and are "inhabitants of particular socio-cultural formations, with particular *literary* and *general ideologies*, who appropriate from their society, both consciously and unconsciously, their own particular *repertoires*" (McCormick, 1994, p. 71). These theoretical frameworks suggest, therefore, that students' relationships with reading will be shaped by their cultural, social and personal experiences, inseparable from their sense of subjectivity and social belonging.

The constructivist approach taken by reception critics and by explorations of intertextuality is compatible with Freire's (1972, 1997) writings on liberatory education. Reception criticism insists that reading is a creative process. Freire promotes a pedagogy which encourages learners to create their own worlds rather than to receive them ready made. This is precisely what happens when students are encouraged to recognise their active roles as readers, rather than to absorb a static and idealised text supposedly representing the author's consciousness. Moreover, Freire sees people's engagement with popular culture as "an integral part of the culture of resistance" (1997, p.106) and emphases on the active reader are particularly significant when thinking about popular culture, so often presented as a powerful, brainwashing phenomenon. Freire's ideas about the use of "generative themes" in education lend themselves readily to a reflexive, intertextual engagement with popular texts. If teachers and students can identify the "generative themes" which permeate students' lives, then these can be studied through the concrete examples of cultural products. Those explorations can be used to develop a critical and creative consciousness. Similarly, it is possible to connect adult education work on transformative learning with intertextual approaches to textual study. Once the reflexive nature of the reading process is accepted, the potential of literature as a transformative educational medium is clarified. It has the capacity to introduce the reader to "disorienting dilemmas" (Mezirow, 1981, p.7) in the form of concrete literary examples. These dilemmas are understood intertextually, are interpreted reflexively in terms of the students' own life experiences and consequently the exploration has the potential to challenge existing meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1991) and promote transformation.

Families Like Mine

Women talked about using books to find out more about the world, to learn and understand more. Although this *sometimes* involved exploring wider social and historical issues, it almost *always* involved reading to explore issues and situations pertinent to their own lives. They tried to understand better those cultural and social factors which shaped their own family and domestic situations. They looked for heroines facing difficulties like their own. Women used their reading to explore a wide range of issues including race, gender, class, violence, anorexia, body-image and sexual pleasure. I want to illustrate this process by focusing on one of these – class and the family. I consider two aspects of this – how women used their reading to explore class and the family and the impact of their own class and family situations on their attitudes to reading.

One of the main reasons women gave for disliking some types of popular romance was that these were out of touch with the financial realities of their everyday lives. In spite of the commonplace assumption that popular fiction is escapist, these women were fairly clear that they liked it to have a strong realist dimension. Brigid, a married woman in her thirties, who felt she had become middle class over the years, explained that she felt her relationships had been made and strengthened through difficulties; the everyday realities of raising a family, coping with illnesses and crises and making the money go round. She preferred authors, like Cookson, Binchy, and Marion-Fraser who enabled her to identify with families struggling against oppression and poverty: "I see a lot of family life, especially Maeve Binchy's books, things that you can relate to, everyday things [...] It was probably people's love for each other that helped them through hard times." Very few women chose "escapism" as their reason for reading and were much more likely to say that they read "in order to learn more about people and the world." They spoke about their reading in terms which suggested that they saw it as something which taught them about their own social and political histories, for example:

> *I think a lot of the historical romance and family sagas I do read .... I like to read sort of novels based around the um, sort of Hitler regime in the second world war, um, not always sort of factual. I mean a lot of it is based on factual evidence. Basically, because I think it's things that children should be aware of nowadays.* (Brigid, interview)

> *Cos I'm very interested in actually when they come from, um, really sort of background working-class and things and they work themselves up, like the coal miners and things like that [...] those are the ones that I always go for, that they pull themselves out of the ... like the working class that lift themselves and get on with it sort of thing. That's the type that I'd look for* (Becky, late twenties, cohabiting, no children).

Fowler (1991, p. 175) talks about the Cookson's romances as "the dream book of the family" for those "enmeshed within the confines of kinships and still dependent economically on men" and something of this comes through in these interviews. Women often chose stories featuring hardship in small communities and families, focusing on romance and relationships as they struggle against their situations. They used their reading to consider the family as a restrictive regime, confining women in a class-based patriarchal system, but also as a protective institution, supporting its members against the oppressive middle and upper classes and the exploration of these contradictions could be very productive. The family was seen, too, as the place for deep feelings and group solidarity. Popular romantic fiction's private, personal, emotional focus on the nuclear family may be one reason for its low status, reflecting the feminised and relatively low status of the private sphere in contemporary society. Women expressed their embarrassment at enjoying emotionally expressive writing. It could be argued that the books they preferred actually combined the public and the private. The romantic sagas so popular with this group often deal with broad social issues and may have a historical and political backdrop, but still focus on an individual and her romantic and family relationships. Again, these contradictions were useful, leading to critical discussions about the relative merits of public and private roles and the significance of the split itself.

Reading was used to learn about and reflect upon the way different fictional families worked, but that reading was itself influenced by real family attitudes. Women reported the attitudes of their families (including parents and siblings as well as partners and children) towards reading. Many who defined themselves as working-class encountered mixed or negative attitudes to reading when children. Their own partners and children also demonstrated suspicion of this activity, a suspicion which many of the women had internalised. Reading was classified as a form of self-indulgence (taking time for oneself, often done in the bath or in secret). Jessica, a young married mother, always felt it should be combined with some other activity (such as keeping an eye on the children in the garden). Others needed to knit, or watch television at the same time. Sandra, a cohabitee in her twenties, with no children, had had an active rural upbringing with a strong emphasis on self-reliance and physical labour. Reading was not work: "I can't sit down in the middle of the day with a book. ... I've got to be like doing something. It's me. I can't, I can't sit down. ... I never sit in the front room during the day at all." The reference to the "front room" places reading as a leisured activity; the work of the house went on in the "back kitchen".

Fewer women described themselves as middle-class, but these too found that their reading was regulated by their families. Reading for pleasure, and reading popular fiction was often suspect. Middle-class partners were more likely, however, to encourage "serious" reading and even to try to change their partners reading behaviour. Lena, a married woman in her forties, commented that she read the books of her choice to escape and relax but "if I do start reading my husband always says I switch off everything else, and you know there can be chaos around [...] I will read *anything* if I can get into it [...] if I can read the first few pages and enjoy them or understand them I will carry on, erm if not I tend to put it down and not persevere." Her husband took an entirely different attitude to heavier reading: "my husband's always giving me books to read (laughs) I don't always approve of his collection." In general he strove to improve her cultural pursuits: "my husband's a great one of trying to educate me ...well not educate me broadly and sort of takes me to see all sorts of things ... " It seems as though reading was acceptable if it hurt, but not if it was undertaken for pleasure.

Overwhelmingly, however, regardless of class, women read primarily popular fiction and primarily for pleasure. Moreover, they shared books extensively with other women, swapping, recommending and discussing their reading. Many had been introduced to popular fiction, especially romances, by mothers or other female relations and many continued to share books with these same people. For most readers, then, there was a shared female reading culture, in which they shared reading about intimate, emotionally charged family relationships with their own close female family members. For all these women there was a dichotomy between the popular fiction they read and shared with each other and "legitimate" literature, approved by educational institutions and, in the case of the middle class women, by their families. All reading was suspect in some families but some could be justified if essential for college.

Implications for Practice

Women were extremely interested in exploring the restrictions created by class and poverty; interested in cultural and racial oppression and occupied with thinking about issues such as depression, anorexia, sexual pleasure (or the lack of it), rape and male violence. Neither their reading matter, nor the way they reflected upon it was trivial. But it was pleasurable. They liked to deal with issues in context and in narrative. They wanted to explore how issues might work out in practice, for fictional families and heroines and to compare these situations with their own. Although there is a considerable amount of data from each woman, this was a small case study (36 women altogether), the sample was not standardised nor were there any men in the study. Within the limits of this study, however, there is evidence that readers are connected with books as individuals and as members of families and communities. Books are part of their worlds and the way they make sense of those worlds. Their identities as members of family and friendship groups are constructed in part through reading processes and their identities as readers are constructed in part by their family and social situations.

As teachers we encourage the exploration of new forms and encourage students to critique those they already know and love. This is essential if we want students to grow and develop, to have an extended repertoire at their disposal and yet it is a risky business. Wholesale disapproval of the popular fiction which forms the substance of many people's reading matter still emanates from some English teachers. If this disapproval is accepted by the student that student faces repudiating her reading past and the reading culture she currently inhabits. The students I worked with showed they had the capacity to operate as immensely sophisticated readers, capable of enjoying and critiquing works simultaneously. This, combined with the emotional commitment made to reading, confirms the importance of approaching the teaching of reading with care. I drew two main pedagogical inferences from the research. Firstly, the research confirms the value of working with students' own reading interests, to create opportunities to explore the reading matter they have always enjoyed in order to build on the insights they have already developed. Such approaches need to be critical. The intention is not to stay with current experience but to use it to develop critical capacities, for "starting with the knowledge of experience had in order to get beyond it is not staying in that knowledge"(Freire, 1997, p. 70). In these cases, the awareness students showed of the contradictions inherent in popular fiction created the opportunity to work towards significant shifts in meaning perspectives and belief systems (Mezirow, 1991). This kind of critically reflective, experiential learning enables students to expand their understanding of literature without the wholesale abandonment of their previous tastes. Secondly, when we introduce our students to new works, particularly those which subvert conventional forms and expectations, we need to remember the importance of making connections with their existing understandings. Even apparently straightforward writing seems strange if encountered after a couple of decades of reading family sagas and popular romances, for example. I was astounded by the hostile reaction of many of my students to the opening chapters of *The Magic Toyshop*. One student, Jessica, summarised her sense that the novel had behaved improperly: "We all agreed it was a surprising introduction because of its explicit detailing of what Melanie was doing. I personally disliked the introduction as it was a shock to me. I felt it should have started with more background knowledge of Melanie first. If I had been reading the book for pure leisure I would probably have put it down." In class Jessica, a keen Cookson reader, explained that books should begin more gradually, explaining and introducing the characters and their settings. Her expectations had been violated.

As teachers, we usually do an excellent job of situating texts in their literary historical context. We may need to think more constructively about helping our students to situate the texts within the personal reading histories they have established for themselves.

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Race and Adult Education: A Critical Review of the North American Literature

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Abstract: *The paper critically evaluates the North American literature showing how race has been treated historically and presents three perspectives on race that inform contemporary research.*

Adult education mirrors the world in which we live and can play a significant role in reproducing or changing the status quo. North American society is a place replete with hierarchical systems that privilege some and deny others. While the stated goals of adult education have consistently been set forth (Cunningham, 1988) as aspiring towards leveling the playing field for all adults just the opposite often occurs. This unacknowledged and unintentional mis-education occurs along many lines of demarcation that confine a disenfranchised populace by race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. By discussing race in this paper, we do not imply that it is the only salient issue affecting our society. However, it is our contention that race can serve as a consequential lens through which to view other oppressive systems.

The paper is framed by two points about race. First, race is a social construct that has no basis in biology (Gregory & Sanjek, 1994). Anthropologists and biologists have long recognized that the human form cannot be examined through visual or scientific inspection to definitively determine a person's race. It is, at best, a fleeting notion established by an arguable set of physical characteristics. Secondly, although race is a social construct, its effects are real in terms of social power and privilege (Giroux, 1997). Race is an invisible presence that helps to determine how society functions. This ordering of the world occurs because, as a person is categorized as belonging to a race, that person is also accorded all the privileges and baggage that accompanies the classification (McIntosh, 1995). To be White in the United States and Canada is to be the norm and this ability to blend in is the currency of access to all things better in society. The President's Commission on Race (One America, 1998, p. 46) defined this currency as the "institutional advantages based on historic factors that have given an advantage to white Americans. ...we as a nation need to understand that whites tend to benefit, either unknowingly or consciously, from this country's history of white privilege."

Our position is that to discuss race in adult education, we must recognize the ever–absent concept of whiteness (Giroux, 1997). The purpose of this paper is to critically evaluate the literature from this position by examining: 1) how race has been treated historically in adult education and 2) three perspectives on race that inform contemporary action in adult education.

Race and Adult Education:
A Historical Perspective

As historical documents that were written to define the field, the eight Handbooks published from 1934 through 1989 provide a useful lens for examining how race has been conceptualized in adult education. We take the Handbooks as representative of how leaders who have defined what matters in the field understand key issues. Even though these texts span 55 years of American history, they tell a surprisingly contemporary story about how issues of race have intersected with the practice of adult education. Although race is a central location for the negotiation of power and privilege in education and in society, it has never formed the focal point of a single chapter in the entire corpus of eight Handbooks. The way that race has been socially constructed in the literature over the past half century has been remarkably stable. This view is that the White race is the norm against which all other races are to be compared. Although race is a central location for the negotiation of power and privilege in education and in society, it has never formed the focal point of a single chapter in the entire corpus of eight Handbooks. The way that race has been socially constructed in the literature over the past half century has been remarkably stable. This view is that the White race is the norm against which all other races are to be compared. This perspective is so deeply embedded in the social fabric and language of U.S. and Canadian cultures that there has been little discussion of adult education for Whites even though the White race has constituted the vast majority of the population for adult education. The exception was one brief mention made by Rowden (1934) in her article, "Adult Education for Negroes" in the 1934 Handbook in which she compared the adult education efforts for Negroes as lacking when contrasted to that provided White students. In other Handbooks, there is no mention of race at all (1960, 1980), while the rest discuss adult education for Negroes (1934, 1936), American Indians (1948), and racial and ethnic minorities (1989), meaning Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Whenever race is discussed in the Handbooks, then, it is conceptualized as non–white. Of course when one group is normative, the others are viewed as abnormal. This leads to the obvious conclusion that separate chapters would be needed to discuss the specific educational efforts being made to address the needs of these "special" populations.

Although race is a social construct, there is no doubt that its effects are real in terms of the distribution of power and privilege in society. The authors who spoke to issues of race throughout the 55 years covered in the Handbooks support the view that non–White groups have disproportionally little power and access to material and cultural resources. In an early Handbook, Locke (1936a, p. 126) argued that adult education for Negroes was being driven by the "idea that it is important as a special corrective for the Negro's handicaps (underprivilege and social maladjustment)." A similar view is expressed in the most recent Handbook (Briscoe & Ross, 1989, p. 583), which selected Blacks, Native Americans, and Hispanics because "all three groups have experienced inequality in educational opportunity and participation," largely because of racial discrimination, economic disadvantage, and de jure and de facto segregation. While the Handbooks are clear that discrimination against non-White groups is an important social problem, three different educational solutions were proposed.

The first proposed educational response is what we now term "multicultural education." In the1948 Handbook, Locke noted (p. ix) that: "Group education for social, intercultural, and international understanding looms up from the context of today's living to become the paramount problem and primary concern of the educator." This education was to serve the interest in producing a "sound society," by providing all people with "training for citizenship and for full and willing participation in a democratic society" (p. ix). This group education for democracy would come from an education that stressed a knowledge and understanding of all groups that make up society. "It would seem that a much better chance of promoting unity and understanding is promised through the cultivation of respect for differences and intelligent interest in group achievements and backgrounds, and through preaching and practicing reciprocity instead of regimentation" (Locke, 1936b, p. 226). This multicultural theme has carried through to the most recent Handbook with Rachal (1989, pp. 5-6), who says that: "Adult education's greatest responsibility may well be a fostering of social tolerance and interdependence."

Kotinsky proposed a second practical educational response to discrimination, which she argues results from prejudice: ". . . a mounting threat is abroad in the land, irrational hate among persons and groups–a problem which, it would appear, is ultimately soluble by educational means alone" (1948, p. 101). Like Locke, she supports intercultural education that seeks to develop "attitudes of understanding and respect among groups and individuals of different backgrounds, whether racial, religious, nationality, or socio–economic" (p. 101). Unlike Locke, she does not believe that knowledge is sufficient to develop this understanding. She believes that educators must see that "race prejudice is closely related to the emotional needs of the individual...For some it provides compensation, making up for severe inferiority feelings. ...others find in a minority a target on which they can release their rancor without suffering too much social disapproval" (p. 106). Thus, she calls for the need for "emotional re–education" for those in the dominant racial group, which she implies but does not name as Whites.

London (1970, p. 13) echoes the theme of discrimination by concluding from census data that: "Negroes and other minorities are subject to many disadvantages which have their roots in discriminatory practices, inferior education and the particular occupational distribution that reflects inferior status and limited opportunity." However, unlike other authors, London specifically locates the problem in the "insidious character of white racism that infects our society" (p. 13) using the famous quote from the 1968 Kerner Report that: "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it" (pp. 13-14). London believes that "Adult education can have a significant role to play in the attack upon racism and discrimination" (p. 15). However, unlike Locke and Kotinsky, London argues that: "providing improved educational opportunities . . . is not sufficient to deal with the unequal distribution of life chances in our society [because] piecemeal attack upon the problem of discrimination is insufficient to influence the drastic changes that we must secure if this problem is to be reduced or eventually eliminated" (p. 15). Thus, in a third form of educational response to discrimination, London pushes for a comprehensive social and political effort, alongside the educational opportunities, "supported by our government, our major institutions and the responsible leadership in our society" (p. 15).

Current Educational Responses to Issues of Race

We have divided the many contemporary perspectives on race in adult education into three broad categories that are associated with different forms of practical action by adult educators.

Color-blind Perspectives

Although not named in the literature as a form of educational response, the most widely used approach to race in adult education is one that is unnamed, which we refer to as the color-blind perspective. Generally, race is not discussed directly in the adult education literature and it can therefore be assumed that race is not a significant topic or one that impacts the field in any serious way. However, the missing discussion on race means the exact opposite. Race is of consequence to our practice and by omitting the topic we assume that there is a normative race.

Color-blind perspectives are manifested in two ways. First, most of the literature on theory, research, and praxis sets forth norms that appear not to be based on any one group. However educational sociologists (Sleeter & Grant, 1987) agree that most of these norms are based in middle class white Protestant values that are considered the foundation of North American culture. These values emphasize individual merit and rights, competition, and freedoms (including democratic ideals). Examples of agreed upon norms are abundant in the literature. For example, most of the praxis literature which discusses how to use small group activities is predicated on the idea that individuals, as learners and teachers, will speak and act freely in sharing their opinions. But what happens when the learner's culture places more emphasis on the community than on the individual and therefore encourages the individual to refrain from sharing personal ideas or concerns? If the group contained Hispanics, African Americans, and Native Americans whose group cultural values are community based (Banks, 1997), climate setting could be compromised. The second way that the color-blind perspective is manifested is in its prescriptions for adult education practice. Nearly all discussions of teaching in adult education simply avoid the racial dynamics that are omnipresent in the real world (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1997). Such a script presents the view that all students are equal and all teachers are unbiased. By stripping learners and teachers of their place in the hierarchies of social life, this view assumes that we stage adult education where the politics of everyday life do not operate.

Multicultural Education

A central idea that is shared by all types of multiculturalism is that one culture is seen as dominant and therefore the educational need is to teach the importance of values and beliefs that are held by other cultures. Therefore from its inception multicultural education has called for recognition and inclusion of the contributions of other cultures in the literature, research, and praxis. According to Guy (1996), the idea of multicultural education was first introduced in the adult education literature by Kallen in 1915 and expanded on by Locke in 1925. Locke represents a segment of the field that champions the multicultural argument by making known the causes and worth of certain groups. He expressed a belief in the redemptive powers of multiculturalism (Locke, 1936b), a view that remains constant in contemporary adult education.

Martin (1994) describes five types of multicultural education (assimilation/acculturation, cultural awareness, multicultural, ethno-centrist, anti-racist) that are present in the adult education literature. Guy (1999) expresses a cultural awareness viewpoint in setting forth the belief that recognizing and valuing African American vernacular English is one way of improving delivery of literacy services. Another frequently held position calls for making changes based on the anticipated population increases of people of color. Ross-Gordon (1990) suggests that we examine the cultural underpinnings of our field and begin to keep pace with the changing face of society. Another multicultural perspective, ethno-centrism, which asks for the recognition of non-dominant groups is widespread in current literature (Hayes & Colin, 1994; Martin, 1994) and is predicated on the belief that if the merit of the group and the significance of their contributions is known then attitudes toward the group will be favorable. While this belief is rarely stated overtly, it seems the logical outcome.

Social Justice: Issues of Power and Privilege

The social justice perspective ask adult educators to live by the mission of the field which is to democratize the citizenry (Cunningham, 1996). Addressing not only the difference between groups, but highlighting how power is exercised in favor of one group and to the detriment of another, is the foci of the literature that addresses power and privilege (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1997, 1998; Rocco & West, 1998). When the discourse on whiteness or privilege occurs in the literature, it usually involves the following: a recognition of privilege (Cunningham, 1996), an examination of classroom practices (Johnson–Bailey & Cervero, 1997, 1998), and examples of curriculum and or texts that reproduce privilege. A large segment of the literature in this category deals with the interlocking nature of race, gender, and class (Flannery, 1994; Tisdell, 1995). Cunningham (1996) states that until we act on what we know to be right and fair, "...adult educators are complicit with these political and economic arrangements" (p. 157) that keep the current system in place. Tisdell (1995) also discusses and critiques the interlocking nature of systems of power and asks that adult educators deal with these issues through curriculum design and praxis. Her recommendations call for direct involvement and action on the individual level. This view is also expressed by Flannery (1994, p. 22): "The valuing of the universal in adult education must be changed. New perspectives must be developed to overcome the racism and sexism inherent in universal understandings of adults as learners. As adult educators, we must engage in an honest critique of our theories and our practices." Flannery suggests how power can be re-negotiated to challenge and eventually change the structure.

Conclusion: A Vision for the Future

We hope for a future when the missing discourse on race is absent because it is not needed. This would replace the current situation where the discussion on race is absent because White is considered the norm. In this future it would be very easy and quite natural for our foundational theoretical principles to include a conversation about race. Our dream for the future also includes an adult education where our classrooms, programs, journals, and conference participants mirror the diversity of our society. Indeed, it would be a time when the discussion on race flows instinctively and does not make adult educators uncomfortable. How can we get to that future? Our conviction is that adult education cannot continue to follow a color-blind or multicultural perspective. These views suggest that if we act as if there are no socially-organized barriers, the barriers will somehow disappear or that if we learn to truly appreciate each culture, parity will be achieved between all peoples. In contrast to these two beliefs, we are most aligned with the third perspective, which asks us to see teachers and learners not as generic individuals but rather as people who have differential capacities to act based on their place in the hierarchies of our social world. Our adult education practice must be based on an understanding that the power relationships that structure our social lives cannot possibly be checked at the classroom door. There is no magical transformation that occurs as teachers and learners step across the threshold of the classroom. We need to name the racial barriers that cause some learners to be over-privileged and others to be under-privileged. Thus, we believe that rather than a no-barrier thinking, we need barrier-thinking in adult education so that we may construct a future where race does not matter.

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Towards A Generic Approach to Assessment in Adult and Continuing Education

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Abstract: *This paper offers a theoretical model for the assessment of student learning which centres on the nature of the evidence we use in order to carry out these assessments. It addresses questions of how we can identify what learning has taken place and what evidence is acceptable for such an identification.*

The context in which this paper is written is one where many educators feel that government policy on education in the UK is driven by theories from the study of management rather than education. Practitioners, however, are increasingly accepting that in the information age, with a knowledge explosion which threatens our capacity to remember what is available and relevant, the educational endeavour is about the processes of education much less than the content. As Klenowski argues (1996), there has been a move from a banking model of education to a process based model. In a similar vein, Benn and Fieldhouse (1998) suggest that "if learning is seen as the continuous act of making sense and fitting into experience rather than the absorption of pre-ordained knowledge, then teaching is the provision of opportunity to make sense . . ." This paper explores issues of assessment within this process based context, though it may also have relevance to those involved in other forms of educational activity.

I am not concerned here with the ultimate purpose of an assessment. I am not concerned whether the purpose is to rank students in order of merit or to measure them against some criterion or other, as described by Alison Wolf (1993). My concern is with the processes of making judgements. As Rowntree (1987, p.5) suggests, "all these shades of assessment can be practised without any kind of measurement that implies absolute standards; it may be enough simply to observe whether, for each student, some personal, even idiosyncratic, trait or ability appears discernible to a greater or lesser extent than hitherto."

The ideas in this paper started to germinate over twenty years ago. At that time I was involved in research looking at the way in which teachers in Britain assess and evaluate creative art classes in continuing education. In this discussion I am adopting the convention of using the term *assess* to refer to the process of making judgements about student learning and the term evaluate to refer to making judgements about the success or otherwise of a course of study; one assesses students and evaluates courses.

At that time the conventional approach to assessment was to have an exhibition of the work completed by the students with portfolios of drawings available for inspection. Judgements about success or otherwise were based on an appraisal of this work. At the time it seemed to me that the judgements made about the work were entirely subjective and aesthetic in nature. They said nothing about the learning that had taken place. Indeed, if students had been working creatively, what they produced could well be outside the experience of both teachers and assessors.

The prevailing philosophical basis for this approach to assessment was a belief in aesthetics; a belief that it was possible to make objective aesthetic judgements about works of art and establish their value in absolute terms. The ability to make these judgements depended on training in the prevailing ethos of the time and acceptance into the academy of those who were the arbiters of taste.

To many of us at the time it seemed that this approach ignored the reality of what went on in the art world. Even a cursory look at the history of European art was enough to demonstrate that standards in the arts were not constant. There was a history of avant-garde movements that challenged the established orthodoxy, eventually gaining critical and public acceptance before becoming the new orthodoxy. There were, and still are, fashions in the arts.

We had all been to exhibition openings where a skilful gallery owner would promote the works of a young new painter. The work of the artist would be launched like any other commodity. Influential people would be invited to the opening, critics would be invited to make favourable reviews, press releases would be sent out and attempts made to attract publicity. This was a commercial enterprise where the promoters of this particular artist sought to persuade the art buying public that this newcomer produced work of a high standard that was collectable. Faced with such evidence, it was impossible to say that values in the arts were absolute.

So, if there were no objective standards in the arts, how could one possibly assess students on the basis of making some sort of aesthetic judgement about their work? At best one would be saying that their work conformed to some predetermined view of what constituted 'good art'. But this idea of what was 'good art' was the product of a particular culture and located in a particular time and place. Views of what was good or bad were certainly not international. There was a trend towards internationalism in the art world but this was only amongst a fairly elite group of connoisseurs. I have demonstrated elsewhere (Jones, 2000) that the great majority of the population of the UK often had very different views. They had a different value system. They liked different sorts of art. And so did people in other cultures. There was no absolute aesthetic value system accepted by everyone, including those people from different cultures both in Britain and abroad.

The prevailing value system in the UK art world was white European and driven by that academy of professional arbiters of taste which persuaded us that the work which they themselves esteemed was of high value and status and superior to what the rest of us liked.

This questioning of the prevailing value system can now be seen as part of that philosophical movement which has become known as post-modernism. It was the beginning of that shift from a belief in absolute values to an acceptance of the relativity of values in the arts.

The challenge that this change of perspective presented to educators at the time came to focus on questions of how, in the absence of an absolute aesthetic value system, could one assess the work of our students. Faced with this problem, it became necessary to go back to first principles. Just what was one trying to do in this assessment process?

Reflecting on this it was realised that what we wanted to do was to identify the learning that had taken place and to compare this to expected outcomes. These learning outcomes were derived from an analysis of how artists create, the processes of the creative arts. This model of creative activity had been devised in a research project aimed at developing approaches to assessment and evaluation in creative adult art classes.

During the course of this research I became aware that there were four areas of development with which teachers were concerned. I have written about these more fully elsewhere (Jones, 1988) but will refer to them briefly here. They were:

1. *The development of visual perception*
2. *The development of an ability to exploit the potential of a medium of expression*
3. *The development of an ability to become involved in the creative process*
4. *The acquisition of relevant knowledge*

In terms of conventional educational thinking these could be seen as aims. A list of objectives could be derived from each aim. There were areas of discretion. What counted as 'relevant' knowledge, for instance, was open to debate. What should be noted is that this formulation represents a shift from a statement of learning outcomes based on the content of learning to one based on developmental processes. I will return to this point later. This shift from content to process was referred to earlier as a way of restating the adult curriculum (Benn and Fieldhouse, 1988).

Having arrived at this formulation, it became necessary to develop ways of finding out if an ability to become involved in these developmental processes had been learned. Interestingly, at the time, I didn't think of this as assessment. I simply asked myself the question, how will I know if my students can become involved in the creative process. I realised that simply looking at the paintings they had produced was not enough. I needed more evidence. "Evidence" is the key word here.

During the course of my research, and subsequently, I have collected information about the evidence used for assessments. In the beginning this was in the field of the visual arts but more lately it has been extended to other areas of teaching and learning. As a result of this I have been able to classify the evidence used for assessment into three types. They are

a) *Evidence which comes from an examination of what students have produced*
b) *Evidence which comes from watching students working*
c) *Oral evidence.*

The first type of evidence is product based and is, in a sense, where I started. One has to ask what we can tell about students' development from looking at what they have produced. Initially I was concerned with paintings and sculptures and other artefacts but similar evidence can be collected from essays and assignments, from videos or audio-tapes, from performances or from field-work, even from answers to examination questions. The focus is on the products of educational endeavour as a source of evidence on which judgements can be made about student learning.

The second source of evidence, that which comes from watching students working, is often neglected. Many teachers of art say that they can tell when students are creatively involved just by looking at them when they are working creatively. In areas of education that involve the learning of practical skills this is also true. But one can also obtain valuable information from watching how students participate in a seminar discussion, or go about planning an essay or conducting an experiment or tackling a problem in mathematics.

The third type of evidence, oral evidence, obtained in conversation with the student is of equal importance. One can learn a lot about students by simply talking to them. The viva voce examination is obviously an extension of this approach to the collection of evidence. But evidence does not need to be collected within the framework of an examination. If opportunities are found to enter into a dialogue with individual students, then the teacher/assessor might gain valuable insights into the thoughts, the mental and psychological processes of that student.

It struck me that all these sources of evidence should be available to those who are making an assessment of a student's learning. For any learning outcome, we can decide what sorts of evidence will be most appropriate.

But before one can begin to collect evidence of these three types, one needs to ask a more fundamental question – what counts as evidence? What counts as evidence that a student is more perceptive? What counts as evidence that a student is working creatively? What, in other words, are the indicators of creative activity? How do we know when it is taking place? It is one thing to recognise it in ourselves. It is a quite different undertaking to recognise it in other people. It became clear that the next step was to identify the indicators of creative activity.

What emerged from this enquiry was a sequence of steps that formed the basis of an assessment strategy for creative arts classes. Having subsequently discussed this with people both inside and outside the world of arts education, it has become clear that many educationalists from a range of different subject areas see this strategy as having relevance to their work. It is for this reason that I have come to think of it as a generic model of assessment. I want to go on now to outline the stages in this model that have been identified so far.

The model begins, then, with an identification of desired learning outcomes. There is nothing new in this, other than the fact that we are thinking in terms of the processes of learning rather than content. I prefer to express these in developmental terms but they could just as easily be expressed as aims and objectives or as competencies, though this latter term poses problems when applied to anything other than the most basic of skills. There is a danger that the creative process, a process which many people regard as having a spiritual dimension, is reduced to the level of a manual skill. Creating is not the same as making.

We then ask what indicators will tell us whether or not students have attained these outcomes. We may need to go to the literature for this. Psychology and sociology may both help us to identify the indicators for which we are looking. We may also ask practising professionals how they recognise in others the skills and abilities they themselves need for their professional work. How do they tell if another person is competent in their profession? These are the indicators that we need to know about.

We then ask about what sort of evidence we should collect to enable us to make a judgement about whether or not students have achieved the desired learning outcomes. Evidence can come, as suggested earlier, from three sources and we must decide which sources are most appropriate for our purposes. One could draw a matrix with learning

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outcomes down one axis and sources of evidence along the other with check marks in the boxes to indicate appropriate sources of evidence. The following example might help to explain.

Learning outcome	a. Evidence from products	b. Evidence from observation of students working	c. Oral evidence
1. The development of visual perception	✓		✓
2. The development of an ability to exploit the potential of a medium	✓	✓	✓
3. The development of an ability to become engaged in the creative process		✓	✓
4. The acquisition of relevant knowledge	✓		✓

It is obviously important to ask *who* carries out these procedures. At any of the stages mentioned above the process can be undertaken by individuals or by groups of individuals. Ideological considerations may ensure that some teachers will want to make these decisions in consultation with students. In other cases an academic board or a group of subject specialists may want to undertake the planning process.

In many institutional settings, and especially when validation and certification are concerns, the question of *who* makes these decisions is important. So far we have addressed the question of *how* to arrive at a procedure for assessment and indicated that choices can be made about *who* designs the procedures, just as they can be made about *who* carries out the assessment. As well as teachers, one must consider what part students can play in an assessment as well as what part external examiners might play. The answer to these questions usually depends on the purpose of the assessment. One must also make some judgement about *when* these assessments take place.

Conventionally assessments are either diagnostic, formative or summative (cf. Scriven, 1967, Daines, Daines &Graham 1992). These are seen as reasons *why* an assessment is carried out, but more importantly they dictate *when* it is carried out. They can take place at the beginning of a course if diagnostic, during a course if formative and at the end of a course if summative.

Two of the criteria that are usually used to judge the effectiveness of assessment procedures are concerned with *validity* and *reliability*. The *validity* of an assessment procedure depends on being able to demonstrate that the procedure measures or identifies the learning which it purports to measure or identify. This may seem obvious but it is all too easy to devise procedures that do not do this. The procedure for assessing art students outlined at the beginning of this paper is a case in point.

The *reliability* of any assessment depends on having procedures that ensure a fair and accurate description of a student's ability and which can be replicated to give the same or similar results with different cohorts of students. The more reliable an assessment procedure is, the more likely it is to give us an accurate picture of student progress.

The model that I am proposing can accommodate concerns about reliability and validity. Indeed, by drawing on several different sources of evidence, it can optimise validity and reliability. If, for a given learning outcome, one can collect evidence from two or three different sources, then one can arrive at a sort of consensual verification that this outcome has been achieved.

This model has been tested in creative art classes and proved to be useful. I am proposing here that it can also work in other areas of educational activity. Having developed the model at a theoretical level, it now needs testing in the field.

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Educational Technology that Transforms: Educators' Transformational Learning Experiences in Professional Development

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Abstract: *Research conducted among 175 teachers engaged in learning educational technology reveals that transformational learning provides insights into their experiences of learning to use technology in their teaching. As facilitators and themes of perspective transformation are presented, recommendations for faculty development in educational technology are discussed.*

Purpose

Technology innovation is offering an opportunity for adult education to impact teachers' learning and practice. As changes in technology engulf us, we strive to find ways to keep pace and incorporate the new technology meaningfully and efficiently in our personal and professional lives. Like other professions, the field of education needs to respond to the demands technology innovation brings with it. This study presents grounded adult education research that can serve as a basis for making educational decisions about professional development of educators and their classroom practice.

A striking observation is that as we look at the need to incorporate technology into the education experience at all levels, adult education can play a critical role (King, 1997, 1999; Lawler & Wilhite, 1997). Adult learning theory and principles can provide a framework for examining and understanding the adult learning experiences of teachers learning educational technology, and recommend meaningful, effective, and andragogically sound guidelines for such experiences. This research study was undertaken with transformational learning theory as the perspective from which to examine educators' learning of educational technology. Research among educators and teachers-in-training learning educational technology provides answers to four research questions: 1) How many participants identified their experiences as transformational learning? 2) What do the educators recognize as promoting this experience? 3) What are the themes of this transformational learning? and 4) How might these learning experiences be characterized within the transformational learning framework?

Theoretical Framework

This research examines teachers' professional development as adult education. Therefore, just as Cranton (1996) introduced the concept of professional development as perspective transformation, this adult learning theory may be used to reveal new insights into educators' professional development in one timely and specific context, learning educational technology (King, 1999). Perspective transformation has dominated the adult learning theory literature in recent years (Cranton, 1997; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Taylor, 1998). This theory explains the process whereby adult learners critically examine their beliefs, assumptions, and values as they acquire new knowledge and experience a "reframing" of their perspective of circumstances, issues, and subsequent actions (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 1994; Taylor, 1998).

Since Mezirow first articulated the concept of transformational learning in the literature in 1978, there has been much discussion about the model in the field of adult education (Taylor, 1998). Recognizing that it has been difficult to delineate an all-encompassing definition of perspective transformation, Mezirow's definition (1990) is used in this research to offer a foundation for the initial examination of faculty development in educational technology. This on-going transformational learning research aims to further inform our understanding of educators' experiences of learning technology and its many consequences.

Research Methodology

This study was conducted with a convenience sample of 175 educators and teachers-in-training in private a graduate school of education in New York

City. A third of the participants were not matriculated in degree programs, but were participating in the courses through a subsidized program for teacher development. This distinctive afforded the investigation of the professional development experiences of teachers beyond the usual scope of traditional, matriculated graduate education students.

The participants were taking Master's level education courses where they learned, practiced, and discussed technology applications to the classroom. The courses were conducted in formats that included discussions, small groups, journal writing, synchronous and asynchronous on-line conferencing, presentations, and "hands-on" experience with technology. In addition to the 175 completed surveys, the participants wrote a total of 633 journal entries, and 19 reflective essays about the professional development learning experience. An adapted survey instrument (King, 1997, 1999) was used to initially identify those who had experienced a perspective transformation and to select 45 respondents for in-depth interviews. The final analysis of these data included individual effects, frequencies, proportions, and coding of free responses and interviews. While a causal-comparative model was used to identify effects learning activities (e.g., critical reflection, lab exercises) might have on perspective transformation, a phenomenological perspective of identifying emergent themes through constant comparison (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996) was used to analyze the substantial data source of survey free-responses, follow-up interviews, journal entries, and reflective essays in order to understand the adults' learning experiences. This research design of incorporating qualitative with quantitative methods offers a powerful means of examining these transformational learning experiences.

Participants

In order to fully understand and interpret the findings of this study, the participants are described by several demographic characteristics. These descriptors will assist in determining similarities and differences to other groups of educators. The sample was predominantly female (75.4 %, 132/175). Racial identification followed the distribution of White, non-Hispanic, 71.3%, Black, 10.9%, Hispanic, 8.4%, Asian or Pacific-Islander, 6.6%, and other, 2.4%. The mean age range was 30-39. In addition, prior levels of educational achievement were primarily distributed among Bachelor's degrees (55.5%), Master's degrees (38.7%) and Doctorates (2.9%). While 34.6% of the participants were in their first semester of study at the university, 69.2% were in their first three semesters and a cumulative 91.2% were there six or fewer semesters. This demonstrates that the sample was composed of primarily new students as would be expected in Master's degree programs and courses. The mean number of years teaching was M = 10.334, with the range extending from 0 (teachers-in-training) to 40 years.

Findings

The following captivating quote is excerpted from a participant's reflective essay about her experience of personal and professional change while learning educational technology.

> *For the past five years, I have attempted to become familiar with computers. I wanted to learn about the Internet and bring its resources in the classroom but felt anxious about developing these skills. Needless to say, deciding to take a course in technology proved to be difficult because I was concerned about taking the risk and finding myself lost in technological jargon. At the beginning, the textbook readings were difficult to understand until I started doing my readings after our class discussions. I found that class discussions helped clarify many misconceptions I had about technology by allowing me to ask questions. Based on the challenging experience of writing the proposal, I learned to utilize and evaluate educational technology. I also learned to plan and use technology to enhance the curriculum through software and the Internet.*
>
> *As a result of these changes in my understanding and views of technology and education, now I use technology in the classroom, help the children and their parents engage in internet based activities and provide them with web sites that correlate to the texts we use in class. I work with the children who do not have computers at home. I am beginning to display their "Story Soup" activities inside and outside the classroom. I have observed teachers and other students reading the stories. This is good! Hopefully by next year, the*

> *children, parents, and teachers will be involved in several technology projects over the course of the year. Now I can share what I know with my colleague who is in the same situation I was four months ago, only now it won't be the blind leading the blind so much . . .*

This teacher describes her personal experience as she confronted her "disorienting dilemma" of learning technology and participated in the graduate education course. There were many results from this experience, but notably they include changes in how she involves her very young learners and their parents, plans her teaching and the curriculum, and seeks to assist her fellow teachers in doing the same. This educator aptly captures the experience that was recounted by many of the participants in this study.

Perspective Transformation

Analysis of the initial screening data suggests that 89.1% (156) of the 175 educators and teachers-in-training indicated having experienced a perspective transformation in the context of learning technology for educational purposes. At the very least, these findings indicate that some prominent aspects of perspective transformation are frequently experienced among this specific group of adult learners, teachers learning technology. Examination of these learning experiences from the perspective of transformational learning can assist us in understanding the profound changes educators experience in this setting and what facilitates the transformation.

Facilitators

Perspective transformations may have many contributors, however this study gathered information about three major categories of facilitators that were relevant to the teachers' learning and teaching experiences: learning activities, people, and the teaching situation. Participants indicated which learning activities contributed to their perspective transformation at the following frequencies: class discussions (40.6%), special computer-based projects (38.3%), "hands-on" lab experiences (37.7%), reflective activities (32.0%), assigned reading (30.0%), class exercises (28.0%), and below 25%, class presentations, journals, structure of the class, self evaluation, writing, and papers. (Please note that the respondents could indicate more than one contributor, therefore, the total of percentages exceeds 100%.)

The educators repeatedly mentioned that the exchange of ideas among learners and professor were critical in revealing new possibilities for using technology in education. They learned a great deal by reading and hearing how other educators use technology and benefited from the opportunity to discuss possible applications for themselves. Such discussions and reflective processes were facilitated through several means including class discussions, electronic journals, reflective essays, small groups and online postings. In these ways, and as illustrated by our first quote, it is evident that the learning activities might not have impacted learning individually, or as discreet units, but instead worked in synergy to facilitate reflection, assessment, and transformation of views and perspectives.

Themes

The predominate theme of the educators' perspective transformation was empowerment. The teachers gained great confidence and expertise in using technology for educational purposes and the result was an excitement and empowerment in teaching.

> *Now that I'm comfortable with the Internet and have your web page as a guide I find myself investigating all sorts of educational sites - I've found some great sites for my teaching and I'm bookmarking them for myself. I also find myself looking ahead as to how the computer could be utilized in different educational scenarios.... I really liked the idea put forth in one of the articles we read where the author describes the computer not as just a "tool" but as a learning environment. I think that kind of describes the leap I made in this class - it can really be more than a tool - it's a challenge for educators to use technology this way - and I'm glad that I got to see that.*

Based on the participants' accounts, learning educational technology truly transformed many of them into empowered professionals who look at the many tasks involved in teaching from a new frame of reference. Their journal entries, essays, and interviews confirm several themes of perspective transformation regarding educators' educational preparation, research, choice of learning activities, objectives, and their worldview of education. Notable among these are three areas: an increased emphasis on both critical thinking skills and learner-centeredness, and a broader scope of education. As the accounts of these teachers are examined, it is evident that they are embracing a new perspective of their classrooms and the learning process. Educational technology is a means for them to transform their teaching from what they term "traditional," "teacher-centered," or "restrictive" to teaching and instruction that challenges students to explore, examine, and construct new knowledge. These teachers repeatedly state that technology is much more than a "tool" and instead affords a new way of thinking about and practicing teaching. As an adult educator, it is exciting to see that what we value in the andragogical model is not only being experienced by these teachers in their educational technology courses, but also being incorporated into their teaching practice.

Additionally, the theme of a changed worldview, or perspective, of education was prominent in the respondents' accounts. Rather than viewing technology as just an entryway to accessing information, one teacher points out that she sees a whole new world of opportunity: "My view of technology and the Internet has changed radically. I saw it as a highway, now I view it as a landscape." Related to this, many of these teachers see technology as the opportunity to not only bridge, but also immerse their classrooms in real life applications; their goals and practice of teaching are shifting as they explore the means to do this.

> *I am attempting to get more inside the heads of students and I am also teaching them that there are alternative points of views, I am attempting to prepare them for the real world. I am spending more time counseling students and see this as more of the teachers' responsibilities. I am trying to teach the students more real life experiences through the use of technology. Technology has opened the doors for me to do all of the above.*

Characteristics

The respondents widely identified with Mezirow's stages of perspective transformation as represented in this study. As mentioned, some find that the challenge, even fear, of learning technology creates a "disorienting dilemma" in which they are overwhelmed and intimidated. The act of taking control by enrolling in courses to learn educational technology is a first step to overcoming these hesitations. As they carefully explore new technologies in a supportive environment, they engage in "trying out" new teaching strategies and teacher roles. Beyond this level of expertise and comfort lies the opportunity of "finding new ways" to incorporate their new knowledge of technology, their teaching methods and teaching styles. Reflective activities and class discussions appear to be critical in assisting the realization of the changes they have experienced. The respondents frequently voice great surprise and pleasure at the immense changes in their perspective and practice of teaching.

Discussion

Through the examination of teachers' professional development in educational technology, a unique and timely setting for the perspective transformation of adult learners is revealed. Standing, as many adult learners do, on the brink of new experiences, many educators hesitate and turn back from learning technology. However, for those who confront the uncertainties, an environment of support, exploration, and dialogue can contribute to a new perspective of their teaching and broad-based changes in their practice. While perspective transformation is a deep, fundamental change of one's frame of reference and worldview that is not commonplace, the tension and urgency of technology learning is apparently distinctly fertile ground for such experiences. Given this state of disequilibrium, professional development that incorporates hands-on learning, substantial content, collaborative inquiry, peer-to-peer dialogue, and reflective practice can facilitate transformational learning experiences.

For many years, administrators, professional associations, departments of education, accrediting organizations, and teacher educators have desired to see classrooms incorporate student-centered learning and cultivate higher order thinking skills. Based on this research, learning educational technology appears to be an effective way to promote these changes through the teachers themselves. By participating in specifically designed professional development opportunities to learn educational technology, educators can gain insight into new teaching objectives, teaching strategies, and their worldview of education. Educators participating in such settings lucidly describe how their teaching and classrooms are transformed because of what they have learned. Fundamental changes in these aspects of the educational process suggest far-reaching consequences that merit further investigation.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

Examining the educational technology learning experiences of educators from the perspective of adult learning generates implications for theory and practice. As we examine educators as adult learners, we begin to view professional and staff development not just as an institutional requirement, but as an opportunity to transform practice. Understanding educators from this vantage point also reveals the needs and concerns that they have in facing the sometimes intimidating challenges that technology brings to education, from students who are more technology knowledgeable, to meeting technology standards imposed by administrators. As we understand the needs and possibilities for educators, we are laying a foundation to bring adult education research, and practice into faculty development for teachers of all grade levels into the *21st Century* with best practice. These findings can change the way those responsible for professional development perceive teachers as adult learners, conduct classes, and plan programs.

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Mediating Meaning-Making: The Process of Symbolic Action in Transformative Pedagogy

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Abstract: *Conditions for fostering transformative learning within the formal learning setting were examined. The paper focused on the role of the text and the use of symbols and images in construction of meanings associated with the content being studied.*

Over the last 20 years, the idea of transformative learning has emerged as a way of characterizing a deep form of experience in adulthood. Approached from several different theoretical traditions (Dirkx, 1998a; Clark, 1993; Taylor, 1998), making sense of one's experiences is a common theme across these different views of transformation. Discussion of transformative learning, however, has focused primarily on meaning-making as critical reflection (Mezirow, 1991), suggesting that transformative learning is mediated largely through cognitive and rational processes within the individual. Such conceptions lead to particular ways of fostering transformative learning in formal settings (Taylor, 1998). Less well developed are notions of transformative learning as an imaginative process, mediated through images, feelings, and emotion, and reflecting deeper, spiritual movement in adult lives (Dirkx, 1998b). Referred to as a mytho-poetic view, this perspective suggests that meaning in transformative learning is apprehended and understood through symbols and images. Pedagogical strategies grounded in this view of transformation place more stress on emotion and affect in the learning process and attend to images and symbols, which come to characterize instructional cultures.

In this paper, we explore how these symbols and images foster the construction and reconstruction of meanings associated with the content being studied.

Conceptual Background

Through a growing body of research and theory, we are developing a deeper understanding of the various psychological and socio-cultural processes that characterize transformative learning. In addition, numerous publications outline ideal conditions for fostering transformative learning and instructional approaches which may contribute to this educational aim (Taylor, 1998). One of the themes emerging from this body of research is the importance in transformative learning of the socio-emotional environment of teaching. Yet, few studies focus on the specific contribution that content or subject matter makes to the transformative learning process or how that contribution is mediated through particular instructional strategies. About the text, Palmer (1998) argues, "[W]hat we teach will never take unless it connects with the inward, living core of our students' lives" (p. 31). We are interested in the processes through which this connection occurs within instructional settings. "Connecting" with content refers to learners making sense of the subject matter within the context of their lives, processes we understand to be largely imaginative or symbolic perspective (Dirkx, 1998b; Turner, 1986). Beyond the literal meaning of what is done and said in instructional environments, or how lies another world of meaning, characterized by powerful symbols and images, which point to deeper, potentially transformative understandings of self and society. In such environments, these images embody the group's collective meaning-making and serve as gateways to and mediators of deep, transformative learning (Dirkx, 1998b; Stein, 1998).

While rational and cognitive perspectives are often used as lenses for understanding meaning-making, the imaginative or symbolic view allows for a wider, collective, and more integrative interpretations of the various elements and experiences which make up the pedagogical environment. By its vary nature, the symbolic perspective allows us to 'see' emotional as well as rational experiences that characterize the learning environment as a whole, rather than merely a collection of individual experiences. The performative perspective represents a conceptual approach derived from the anthropology of performance (Turner, 1974) for understanding

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learning as symbolic action. Actions taken on and enacted in particular roles provoke and elicit images and symbols through which meaning of the texts being studied is generated. This perspective is similar to a study by Gallagher (in Taylor, 1998, p. 52), which demonstrated the critical importance of reflection-in-action, drama, and affective learning in transformative pedagogy.

The symbolic approach emphasizes relational characteristics of meaning-making, stresses fields and webs of relations, and "the dialectics of sociocultural processes" (Turner, 1986, p. 21). Meaning is found to be embedded not in particular assumptions or sets of beliefs of individuals (Mezirow, 1994) but in myths, rituals, and other modes of symbolic action characteristic of the collective within particular situations (Turner, 1986). In this perspective, instructional environments are constituted by symbolic representations of meaning, which emerge within the particular context of any given learning setting. When learning experiences are viewed as symbolic action within a given time and place and as a series of performances, we begin to see how they can mediate learners' deep understanding of self in the context of the subject matter. This view stresses meaning-making as a collective endeavor, in sharp contrast to views of meaning-making as the development of individual, relatively static, cognitive structures. Our goal in this exploratory study, then, was to better understand the symbolic or imaginative dimensions of transformative pedagogy and how interactions of text, teachers, methods, and learners contribute to this form of meaning-making.

Methods

We employed a qualitative, interpretive approach to focus on the various ways in which meaning came to be construed within instructional contexts. Classroom instruction of two graduate-level teachers was examined at a large midwestern university. Dr. Johnston[1] is a white, middle-aged man and Dr. Malcom is a woman of color, also middle-age but several years younger than Dr. Johnston. Both are well established in their academic careers, respected in their areas of study, and are known by students and colleagues as utilizing deeply engaging pedagogical practices. They both espouse ideals of fostering transformative learning. The courses observed focused on organizational theory; leadership and organizational development; and schools, families & communities. They are exemplars of how these two professors engage transformative pedagogy. 25-30 students were enrolled in each course, representing a diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Within each course, instructional approaches were similar for all students.

Data collection included participant observation, document analysis (syllabi, tentative agenda sheets, handout materials, students written works), and interviews with teachers and students. The senior author fully participated in the courses over a period of nine months, providing a sense of the continuity of classroom events across time. Multiple sources of data helped address issues related to potential bias arising from the researcher's participation in the context. In-depth 90-minute interviews were conducted after completion of the courses with each professor and a convenience sample of eight students engaged in the same experience at the time. All data were subjected to analysis using the constant comparative method. Data from each source were analyzed and compared across sources (i.e., interview transcripts, documents, and observation notes) to allow for identification of themes evident in the instructional approaches.

Findings

Five key themes characterize our observations of these instructional settings: (a) course content as a lens for problem posing, (b) exploration of new roles, (c) presence and processing of social conflict, (d) action and reflection on that action, e) drama as an instructional approach. In reality, these themes are all intertwined within the complex and dynamic environment of these instructional settings.

Using Content for Inquiry

The instructors used content to stimulate inquiry and exploration of problems related to the participants' own professional lives. In studying issues of leadership, learners named and explored complex relations within their work and how they related to themselves. Such inquiry occurred by questioning what has always been conventional: "The only way you can begin to extend your views", Dr. Malcolm believes, "is that you question what it is that you know. And you shift . . . Because learning only comes from yourself." In the class on organizational theory, dramatized situations and experiential exercises were used to introduce and study concepts of leadership. As explained in the syllabus, the purpose of the course on communities, families, and children is "to thoughtfully link the information presented in (the course) with (students') professional practice expertise, and apply (students') thoughts to a pressing dilemma." Thus, concepts of leadership are introduced in "real-life" encounters. Such introduction of the course content was thought to foster the making implicit assumptions explicit. The problem-posing then lead to exploration of new roles.

Experiencing New Roles

The instructional context also provided participants with experiential opportunities to encounter and live through new roles. Dr. Malcolm describes experiential learning as "an isomorphic learning experience when one is placed in novel situation that may appear not to be even close to one's own professional position." For example, in one of the experiential exercises rigid rules left little space for making decisions in a collaborative way. Such an exercise was thought to enhance the understanding, through one's body, of the classical beaurocratic structural frame of the organization. Recalling this activity, a student remarked, "You can read about it, but it does not have the same real-world effect until you actually do it." Dr. Johnston believes that "in all instances, the real material of the class is as much the experience of the students as it is what their reading is."

Addressing Conflict

In these settings, experiencing and processing of social conflict was viewed as critical to transformative learning. Dr. Johnston is convinced that social and personal conflict promotes change in the structures of society, in organizations, and in the individual's psyche. According to Johnston, the responsibility of leadership is to surface conflict, deal with it, manage it, and make it productive. An arena for experiencing ambiguity and surfacing conflict in these settings was the Bone Game, adapted by Johnston from the Indian folk tradition. The interviewed students mentioned this game as one of the strongest experiences of the course. Many limitations of the game rules (e.g., separate location of the groups; communication between the groups only through a representative; one person talking at a time) engaged learners in a series of conflicts. Students recalled feeling exasperated and pushed by the rules to feel guilty for "every injustice on the earth." One learner remarked, "It was a very powerful experience. We were forced really to work together, and there was no way to go around it, no way to hide from that... It was long, it was tedious, I was really embarrassed some times." The experience generated considerable anxiety. The same student suggested, "I was getting (at times) into frustration and, sometimes, anger... But I felt pride of accomplishment. My anger and my frustration were worthwhile." All the students interviewed described similar feelings elicited through this instructional approach.

Reflecting On and In Action.

A significant dimension of the learning experiences involved reflection on and processing of actions in which participants engaged. As Johnston put it, "educational leadership is about action." If educational leadership is about doing, than it has to have a pedagogy that provides learners with opportunity "to do" and reflect on their actions: "Do, think, write, and discuss" is a hallmark of the transformative pedagogy used by these teachers. During the Bone Game reflection on participants' action was done while *living through* that action. Every activity in class had a follow-up discussion by the whole class, orchestrated by the instructor in a way in which concepts of leadership *and* the particular contexts of students' lives and their real-life job situations were subjected to analysis. Journaling was also used. In Dr. Malcolm's view, "the journal is an opportunity to talk with yourself in multiple voices about what it is that you think. That needs to be sort of a spine of the activities of the class. It is the reflective journal… that allows you to space in time, to internalize, to think about what happened."

Use of Art and Drama

Participants drew pictures, sculpted with clay, or engaged in some sort of a performative act - a play - to represent meanings associated with the their own experiences at work or the new roles they were experiencing in the courses. Such representation often involved particular problems and conflicts that the students were facing in both contexts. Image and symbol are central to these experiences. For example, Dr. Malcom used an approach described in the literature as "organizational stories" (Ochs, Smith, & Taylor, 1990), a process, which focuses on *how* stories are told and on the meanings, identities, and ideologies that emerge in the process of telling them. The stories can be told both verbally and nonverbally, so that myths and rituals can be created within the space and time of a session. In one experiential activity, learners simulated communities within a multicultural society. Within their assigned "culture," the participants had to understand the language of artifacts (daily agendas, rituals, tasks), language of time (e.g., living with reference to the values of the past versus an orientation to the future), and language of space (physical kinesthetic relationships). Representation of this sort aims to push students to understand organizational culture beneath all the structures of the cultural environment and to present their understanding as a metaphor to the rest of the class in a creative way. Part of the story involved exploring how things work in different cultural context, in order to get some perspective on how "to assess the cultural/symbolic tenor of the organizations where students work" (excerpt from course syllabus). Words and expressions, such as "ritual," "symbol," "the use of space and time," and "time passages" were observed in a variety of course materials, such as the tentative agenda and assignment descriptions.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of the text in transformative learning and how processes of meaning-making are generated through the interaction of the text with other elements of the instructional environment. The process of making sense of the text or content within these three instructional environments were characterized by a dynamic interplay of inquiry, experiential role-playing, conflict, reflection-on-action, and art and drama. The content of each of the courses had been introduced in a way that involved participants in performative action (Turner, 1986). A drama, with its conflict, inherent power of metaphor, and reflection on the "here and now" of experience, has a potential to foster the learners' explorations of the *Self* and, by virtue of this inquiry, a more intensive inquiry into the issues and controversies of the course content. The performative action within the formal learning setting mediates participants' reflection on their real-life contexts. As a mediator, it possesses certain characteristics, particularly of conflict and metaphor of a "lived in" experience. In the instructional environments observed, participants experienced considerable stress around the diversity of perspectives, feelings and desires, spelled out in 'different languages' around the meanings of the particular words and situations. This process made the familiar problematic.

In other words, the content, lived through the experience of performaive action, becomes a starting point for a learner to explore his or her own assumptions about the self, to begin to argue with the self, to begin what Palmer (1998) calls an "inner journey." The instructors foster work on this inner journey by significantly involving participants' feelings, which become part of their performative action and relates to crossing of their comfort zones.

In addition to the experience of crossing comfort zones, the inner journey was further facilitated by the learners' imagination. The myths and rituals emerging within these dramatic episodes generated powerful images or "arresting metaphors" (Stein, 1998, p. 41) associated with both leadership concepts and revelation of self. This process helped shape the meaning of the learners' performative experiences. While the students explored organizational culture or specific leadership issues, they were also developing novel meanings *between* them. All players of the drama were exposed, in a metaphorical way, to a controversial situation, such as, for instance, a school board meeting. Focus on this situation illuminated complex issues involved in the exercise of educational leadership. Working through the situation of the school board meeting would be an example of a dilemma, which students may face in their real work organizations. The teacher by means of a performative act that involves much of the participants' imagination and metaphoric thinking models this process.

The inner journey provoked by the lived experiences of the performative act and its symbolism generates, in turn, a series of new symbols and images associated with the play itself, both at the individual and collective levels. Taking into consideration the mediating function of the content, the emotional life of the group, and the role that image and symbol play in the sense making process together, we suggest that transformative pedagogy involves the construction of a *metatext*. It is this metatext, rather than the formal text, which serves to mediate the transformative experiences within the setting. The new symbols and images generated within performative action seem to be critical for building bridges between participant's self and others, and self and content. The use of stories, myths, and rituals provides the basis for participants to engage with this "content" in their own terms, yet within a "vocabulary" that is common to the group. The metatext provides further focus for both individual and collective inquiry into the meaning of the experiences being derived. Finally, its imaginative construction provides the means for engaging in the difficult but necessary inner work involved in deep personal change (Quinn, 1996). The images, which make up the metatext represent a projective system, which functions as a pedagogic tool, providing for further problem-posing and reflection.

The metaphor of metatext represents *the process*, *the media*, and *the means* for exploration of self. It reveals a critical instructional shift in transformative pedagogy: from structure to *process*, from enforcing students' competence to engaging them into performance that fosters a deeper understanding of the dialectics of socio-cultural processes - the ongoing processes of interpersonal and intergroup relationships in all kinds of communities of practice. Approaching transformative pedagogy as symbolic action helps make visible the particular situations and experiences that learners live through during the class meetings and their life contexts beyond the classroom.

1 Although our oral agreement with the professors did not include a pledge of confidentiality or anonymity, we are using pseudonyms as the professors' names. We are also using direct quotes from the interviews.

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Comparison of National E&T Cultures: Findings of a Transnational Research Project in UK, Germany, Italy, France and Portugal

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Abstract: *The paper presents the findings of a transnational project shedding some light on the role of national VET cultures in 5 EU-member-states performing joint labour market policies. In focus group interviews with the main social actors in VET, trainees, industrialists and trainers, both intra-cultural between the groups and inter-cultural differences between the countries will be investigated.*

Introduction

Interestingly enough, the globalisation of all economic and as a consequence all social relations, the equalisation of competition, in Europe reinforced by the process of political and economical integration, has revealed and also reinforced the importance of the hidden concepts of the social actors within social structures in the field of employment, work and work-related teaching learning.

Differences in coping with equalised global challenges are both based on institutional and on cultural factors. The ways in which strategies and actions in the field of employment, work and training are carried out by the social actors (employees, entrepreneurs, trade-unionists, politicians and policy makers, etc . . .) in the Member States of the European Union are strictly dependent on the *social representations* concerning issues such as "vocational training", "occupation/ profession," "work organisation" in the different countries.

However, major differences emerge for what concerns the cultures of VET– the way in which VET is regarded by the employers and the other actors in the work system, and the way in which it is experienced by the trainees. Therefore, the success of the policies responding to globalised challenges in an integrating Europe seem to be based not only on institutional arrangements but also on the recognition and mutual understanding of the meanings and representations concerning these issues within the European Countries.

The paper presents a LEONARDO da VINCI project, which tries to shed light on the identities and differences in socially shared meanings, and social representations in the different participating countries, UK, France, Portugal, Italy and Germany.

The Project Concept

The project is based on a set of conceptual assumptions, deriving from research and literature concerning two main thematic areas: cultural differences and social representations.

Cultural Differences

In recent years, diversity in national and group cultures has been studied by scholars who showed how cultural differences constitute powerful predictors of how people behave in organisations and institutions. For example Hofstede et. al. (1990) recognised different national value systems in the areas of social inequality and relation to authority; relations between the group and the individual; social implications of gender (being a male, a female, or other gender); ways of dealing with uncertainty, controlling aggression, expressing emotions, and orientation toward time (e.g., short vs. long term). Hampden, Turner and Trompenaars (1993) also pursued broad in depth comparison between European cultures using the dimension of attitude toward security and norms, interpretation of the relation between mankind and nature, attitude toward individual and national identity, attitude with respect to family values, religion, conception of time and work organisation, and hierarchical distance. Similar findings were presented by Hofstede (1991). These national and regional differences are of course embodied in, and sustained by, the institutional arrangements, regulating bodies, and practices carried out in the different member states.

A crucial dimension relates to differences in power structure: in every country the structure of power is affected by several variables such as relation of private and public power; range, aims, and forms of state interventions; form and distribution of power and local authorities (democracy, federal,

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centralised state). Economic differences are relevant. For example structure, performance, technology, and labour market structure conditions differentiate the economies of each country.

Differences in the institutional arrangement and learning styles are another dimension of national differentiation. Educational and training systems usually vary in relation to specific configurations of the above elements. Differences involve structure, administration, curricula and regulations, pedagogical attitudes and teaching methods. Such differences combine at the various levels, for example with the value attributed to the diffusion of technology and awareness of its benefits and constraints. Together, they come together to determine the prevalence of specific learning strategies and learning styles at the individual level.Cultural differences permeate all the aspects of VET and create national and sub-national specificies of VET systems.

Recent works analysing the assumptions and values regulating VET in different countries have begun to identify the cultural premises which allow national VET systems to work effectively. Although such works are based mainly on impressionistic data and do not carry out extensive cross national comparisons, they shed light on the importance of cultural aspects for understanding the specific actions and actors in different VET systems at the national level.

Social Representations

Different theories and constructs provide explanations of the link between the way people make sense of themselves and the world and the way they act. Among them is the theory of *social representation* introduced three decades ago to account for the links between broader cultural beliefs, attitudes and behaviour.

In short, social representations can be defined as the elaboration of an object by a community which enables its members to behave in a comprehensible manner and to communicate. These representations are cultural systems with a logic and a language enabling the members of a community to organise the conditions and contexts of their interactions. On the one hand, social representations allow individuals and groups to construct a coherent vision of reality which they use to orient their behaviour. On the other, they are the outcome of mental activity modulated by the features of the social situation in which they are produced (Gherardi, 1998).

In this sense, social representations provide a link between attitudes and behaviours and give reason of the co-ordinated behaviour of people toward the same phenomenon, or different behaviours under different cultural circumstances. Representations of VET are likely to determine a number of differences in the ways the system is perceived by the different actors involved determining, or concurring to determine.

Methodological Considerations

The research design is based on the progressive enrichment and refinement of an explanatory framework based mainly on a set of focus groups interviews and a series of working conferences.

The Initial Working Hyphothesis

Representations of VET are likely to determine a number of differences in the ways the system is perceived by the different actors involved determining, or concurring to determine. Such differences are likely to include:

- the level of consideration granted to VET;
- the relation between VET system and the economic world;
- the social perception and labelling of trainees within and outside the workplace;
- the status accorded to trainees and apprentices within the workplace and in the wider social context, including the form of contractual arrangement between trainee and employer;
- the level of involvement in the work activities;
- the attribution of responsibility for training;
- the relations between learners and teachers, and between trainers and teachers;
- the perception of VET employers and trainers;
- the relations between VET activities and other forms of instruction and education.

Eliciting Representations of VET using the "Focus Group Technique"

The project runs focus groups with representatives of the three social actors in the VET field. In every participating country group interviews are carried out for every representative group, i.e. trainees/apprentices, industrialists and teachers/trainers.

	UK	D	I	OUTCOME
TRAINEES/ APPRENTICES	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	T/A inter-cultural differences
INDUSTRIALISTS	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	Business inter-cultural differences
TRAINERS	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	*Focus groups*	Trainers inter-cultural differences
OUTCOME	UK intra-cultural differences	Germany intra-cultural differences	Italy intra-cultural differences	Clues for the European dimension

The scheme shows two main lines of analysis and comparison:

- at the national level, in order to discover the *intra-cultural* differences between the three groups;
- at the transnational level, in order to discover the *inter-cultural* differences between the same group in the three countries.

Validating and enriching the framework using "working conferences"

Working conferences are used to validate and enrich research data on the basis of a feed back process obtained by inputting the results of a field research to a panel of expert contributors. Experts include representatives of all the relevant stakeholders in the specific issue. In the present context they will include members of training institutions, policy makers, representatives of working unions, academics and researchers.

Interview Domains and Interview Issues

The following social relations of VET and other society subsystems will be subject for focus group interviews to identify intra-cultural and inter-cultural differences (prompts and cues in square brackets). In addition the below list indicates also the focus group interview issues for the first interview group, the trainees.

VET and the Labour Market/Employment

How did you get involved in your current course? [family, friends, relatives, advice at school, personal interest]

How well will the course you are doing help to prepare you for getting a job when you have finished? [getting to work on time, dealing with work colleagues]

VET and Education

How do you feel about your current course? [like or dislike, what aspects]

How does this course compare with your previous experience of education? [school, how they treat you, how hard the work is, the amount of practical work]

VET and Social Inclusion

Do you think that people doing your current course are given the respect and social standing they deserve? [is this the sort of course people are proud to do, people view this area of study favourably]

Do you think that people doing your current course will be given the respect and social standing they should have in the job they are going to do in the future? [seen as a 'good' job, the sort of occupation people would like to be in]

VET and Corporate Identity

Do you think that your current course will give you the respect and social standing you deserve in the organisation in where you work or are likely to be working in the future? [working somewhere you will feel proud to work, feeling good about the kind of work to have to do]

How will your training contribute to the standing of your company benefit? [from having people who have your have training, improve efficiency in the company]

VET and Lifelong Learning

Do you think that what you are learning now provides a solid foundation for things that you might want to learn about in the future? [other courses later on, getting more training in order to get on in your line of work,]

VET and Life Project

What role does your current course play in your overall educational career? [what you planned to do, what you really wanted to do]

What role does your current course play in your future plans concerning how you want to live your life? [your work is really important to you, it will get you where you want to be]

VET and Preparation for Work

Do you think your course will prepare you for future changes in the work that you do? [you will be adaptable, flexible, able to adjust to new ways of working]

Will your course help you to contribute to innovation in your workplace? [in how work is carried out, in what the final product is, in doing things more efficiently, in trying out new ideas]

The project presented has been elaborated collaboratively by Eduardo Figuera, Portugal; Benedict Gendron, France; John Konrad, UK; Michael Kuhn, Germany; David Nicolini, UK:; Massimo Tomassini, Italy

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A Critical Autobiography of Moral Learning across Four Generations of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union: A Feminist Genealogy

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Abstract: *This qualitative evaluation of the intergenerational moral learning related to the activist work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) constitutes a critical re-membering of growing up in a WCTU home and community. I trace the public and private continuities and discontinuities of moral learning across four generations of Ontario WCTU families in the 20th century.*

Starting with My Self

In a graduate course in adult education that I co-facilitate, the work of The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) makes a fleeting appearance as a bibliographic footnote in the foundational text on adult education in Canada (Butterwick, 1998). When I first encountered this, the ceremony of my mother tying a white ribbon around my baby-fat wrist flashed before me. My mother's signature on my Little White Ribboner's pledge card is a promise that she would not "give or allow [me] to take any Intoxicating Drinks" (August 6, 1947). The next reflex happened in quick succession: I was struck for the first time that the temperance work of Mum and Grandma Lander and my aunts *was* adult education, *was* feminist activism. I deliberately use Cunliffe's (1999) language of "reflex" and "being struck" with which she defines critically reflexive dialogue:

> this moment of being struck may cause us to question our ways of acting and responding and open us to possibilities and new ways of talking and acting . . . We may be making new connections between tacit knowing and explicit knowledge and constructing our sense of situations in ways not visible to us previously. (p. 9)

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1874 in New York; the Canadian WCTU established later in 1888 was active in Ontario well into the 20th century. Cook (1995a) elaborates on the Ontario WCTU's evangelical feminists whose central task of reforming society was aimed at "home protection," a reconstituted family committed to Christian values, and to women's collective action against male vices. Artifacts, auto/biographies, and collective memory-work of four generations combine with my lived experience in a WCTU home and community in the 1950s and 1960s to make moral meaning and to evaluate moral learning.

Brookfield (1998) challenges linear, developmental learning processes of adult moral learning and outlines a schema of critical reflection that: "entails judging the 'fit' between the moral rules of life transmitted, assimilated and evolved in childhood, and the realities of adulthood" (p. 291). Does what I/we learned in childhood about substance abuse and home protection through the WCTU educational programs have any relevance to the way I/we construct our moral selves as adults? Or the way our children do?

Methodology Made Moral

Feminist activists and adult educators often support their use of critical autobiography by referencing C. Wright Mills' (1959) *The Sociological Imagination* (e.g., Church, 1995; Miller, 1993); I suggest that his words also animate the "moral imagination" of critical autobiography:

> The most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community . . . do not split their work from their lives . . . They want to use each for the enrichment of the other. . . . What this means is that you must learn to use your life experience in your intellectual work. (Mills, pp. 195, 196)

My critical autobiography narratively disrupts the traditional evaluative categories of adult learning, especially transfer of learning characterized as "the effective application by program participants of what they learned as a result of attending an educational program" (Caffarella, 1994, p. 108). Instead I trace the moral parameters of good talk (Ayim, 1997) in my intergenerational inquiry into the Canadian WCTU's purposeful rhetoric.

Research Design: Starting with Our Selves

I conducted my research in August 1999 by assembling 37 people (spanning three generations of my friends, neighbours and family) in the farming community in southern Ontario where I grew up and where my 89-year-old mother still lives. My sister June, my two brothers Howard and David, and myself (all in our 50's) have not lived in this community for over 30 years but almost everyone else in the group continues to live in the area. I facilitated two sessions of dialogical narrative inquiry organized by generation. Group one included eight WCTU mothers (including my mother) and two spouses. The second group of 24 from my generation consisted of my sister and brothers, many cousins, classmates from elementary school onwards, along with three of the next generation, including my niece Marjorie.

At my invitation, people brought their WCTU artifacts: minutes of 1960s meetings, pledge cards, and elocution medals unlocked stories. According to Zussman (1996),"Memory is . . . not only located in the recesses of our minds but also generated by 'retrieval cues' that are themselves lodged in other people, in places, and in memorabilia" (p. 147). A dairy farmer from my generation told me that he had been musing about the temperance elocution medal contests, while ploughing, the week *before* I invited him to this WCTU reunion. He recited the temperance poem that he had orated some 35 years earlier, a tragic saga about drinking and driving. The vividness of small details and the forgetting of the larger history was a recurring pattern in this shared inquiry. The dairy farmer clearly remembered his WCTU mother's work in helping him prepare for his recitation: "Mother being inventive as she was, she got a Spic and Span can and we put a set of Meccano wheels on it . . . And I can remember holding up this thing, it was to represent a car, it was an old tin can."

The Critical is the Moral in Critical Autobiography

The narrative form of autobiography situates me as a critically reflective moral agent. In retelling the stories of my family and friends, moral agency intersects my public researcher self and my private selves as sister, daughter, niece, cousin, aunt, friend, and neighbour. Autobiography becomes critically reflexive by virtue of attending to multiple selves. I am attracted to Michele Fine's idea of *working the hyphen* by which she means "creating occasions for researchers and informants to discuss what is, and is not, 'happening between,' within the negotiated relations of whose story is being told . . . and whose story is being shadowed" (p. 135).

In this critical autobiography, I reference members of my family by actual names and designate other community members by their occupation, gender and age. This is a moral and practical consideration; I can negotiate matters of confidentiality and accurate re-presentation with my immediate family but less readily with other participants. For the same reason, I also name Brenda, my lifelong friend, who with her husband Neil hosted the gathering in their home. In our girlhood, Brenda lived two fields away on the next farm. Brenda did not grow up in a WCTU family although she and her brothers and sisters all participated in the medal contests. I remember living in fear as a teenager that my mother and father would find out that I had partaken communion wine when I attended the Anglican church with Brenda's family; my family attended the United Church, which used grape juice for communion.

The complexity of working the hyphens and sustaining an impression of morality (Goffman, 1959) mounts in a group that has known each other long and intimately (See Aguilar, 1981, p. 20). Our selective self-disclosure had to take into account what we knew each other knew about our private histories related to alcohol. I was conscious of who knew that alcohol abuse was implicated in the break-up of my first marriage some 20 years earlier.

Evaluating Intergenerational Moral Learning

Traditional evaluation of program planning for adult learning spans three categories: learning skills, knowledge and attitudes (SKAs); transfer of learning; and impact (Vella, Berardinelli, & Burrow, 1998). Assuming that the program objectives of the WCTU tied moral learning to prohibition and to Little White Ribboners continuing the pledge of abstaining from Intoxicating Drinks, WCTU activism would be pronounced a dismal educational failure on all three counts. Vella et al. (1998) distinguish learning, transfer and impact in terms of time scale. Learning of skills, knowledge and attitudes is immediate and specific (within the course or program). Transfer is the intermediate and applied level of results, "the effective use of skills, knowledge, and attitudes beyond the program" (p. 21). Impact is "the broad and long-term results of the education program" (p. 27). If there was transfer of learning and impact across generations, it did not attach to the program's stated objectives. For example, my first cousin (age 51, Marketing and Sales Manager, radio station equipment) talked about how he had made it a practice to have wine with meals when his two sons were growing up, and he connected this to his sons' current stance of "aggressively anti-substance abuse."

My sister June participated in both groups and I appreciated her comments early on in the second group. She somewhat diffused an undercurrent of resignation to the "social acceptance" of alcohol in my mother's group: "I didn't hear too many of them say that the younger generation had completely gone to pot anyway, had they? [Group laughter]" Here critical autobiography comes into play as an alternative way of assessing moral learning across generations. Instead of evaluating adult moral learning in terms of program planning evaluative categories, I extend Ayim's (1997) feminist analysis of the moral parameters of good talk to our 1999 dialogue about the WCTU as a form of critical reflection and critical reflexivity. I hold with Ayim that her moral criteria of language (caring; cooperative; democratic; and honest) resemble the criteria for interactions in moral community (p. 98). I adapt Ayim's moral categories of good talk to a conversation initiated by my brother David:

> **David** (age 54, United Church minister): *I guess I think that even apart from the alcohol thing, I think the WCTU was encouraging civility* [**June**: *Hmmm Hmm.*] *It wasn't just alcohol, it was morals, civility, I guess, being a sensible person, contributing to society because that's why they started up in the first place. There was a bunch of people that were not a contribution to society or to their families and these particular women were very concerned about that.*
>
> **School Bus Driver** (age 54): *I think you've really hit on something there, David. I think that there's probably more influence on our lives than we would maybe realize, definitely didn't realize at the time. Maybe more influence on our lives now and we wouldn't have thought about it until Dorothy got us thinking about it.*

David's critical reflection uses *caring* and *honest* language to redirect the conversation away from alcohol. The demonstration of *caring* language is registered in a readiness to listen to the other speakers. June's affirming utterance is both *caring* and *cooperative*. The School Bus Driver, who was my classmate throughout Sunday School and grade school, affirmed both my brother and me. He also exemplifies cooperative talk by engaging with David's position and building on my questions about intergenerational learning.

Listen to my sister June's *honest* and *critically reflexive* remembrance of how "they" managed to get her first teacher sent away. June creates her moral self in public when she says: "I remember my first teacher was Mrs. A. and I remember E___ [her older girl cousin and neighbour with whom she walked the 2 miles to school] telling me that Mrs. A. had a drinking problem. And Mrs. A taught me to read, she was my hero, and I told that to Mum, that couldn't be true, besides she was even related to Mum. [Group laughter]. But she said, 'I'm afraid she did.'" June's impassioned memory followed on a *critically reflective* discussion about how the WCTU's home-protection philosophy tended to blame only the alcoholic men, for example, the "drunken sot" in the dairy farmer's recitation.

Brenda is a primary school teacher and her *caring* and *empathetic* "Oooh" in response to June's story was clear to me later when she told me of her own experience of children becoming attached to her as their first teacher. According to Johnson (1993), empathy "is the chief activity by which we are able to inhabit a more or less common world—a world of shared gestures, actions, perceptions, experiences, meanings, symbols, and narratives" (p. 201). The *cooperative* responses from others who had Mrs. A as a teacher also employed moral imagination. The very cousin and neighbour (age 63, Retired Military Wife) who June referenced was visibly startled by June's memory but then went on to create her moral memory of how Mrs. A. got sent away: "My Dad was on the school board. [**June**: I see]. And I mean she came in drunk every Monday morning." The *cooperative* responses built with a Retired School Custodian (age 66, male) then saying, "She got me through grade school." His sister,

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the retired military wife nodded: "She was the best teacher we ever had. Oh yes, she was one terrific teacher." A Kindergarten Teacher [age 52] then related *cooperatively* and *empathetically* her "class from hell," eight of whom had fetal alcohol syndrome. June re-storyed the kindergarten teacher's tale in terms of the practical and performative morality of the WCTU's rhetoric: "Well, a long time ago, I think the WCTU prevented some of that. They made it sound, it was not nice for women to drink and men shouldn't either because they're supposed to be supporting these women and families but as long as the women don't drink, something will go right. [Group laughter]" All of the conversations exemplified civility and *democratic* talk, that is, no one dominated and no one was excluded from participating.

Re-Membering White Ribbon Rhetoric

The verb "remember" features over and over. Remembering our autobiographies of the WCTU experience is a moral negotiation of a shared past (Engel, 1998, p. 39). The paradox of our remembering is that we not only supported each other's protective self presentation and Goffman's generative ideas of impression management but we also "used the past to shake up one another's self presentations" (Engel, p. 39). Re-membering involves the moral imagination of both critical reflection and critical reflexivity. I take the position that the selves created through memories are constantly interacting with the selves one's memory creates--a dynamic public process of co-authoring moral selves. As Rockhill (1993) puts it, collective memory work holds a key for politicizing the personal (p. 360).

The negotiation of our shared past continued beyond the shared inquiry. When I told Mum about June's story of her first teacher and that part of June's dismay was that "she was even related to Mum," she laughed nervously about this public disclosure. But then Mum re-membered a connection to the first generation of the 20th century. This teacher's father (Mum's uncle) was an alcoholic and her aunt and cousins (including Mrs. A.) had a "pretty hard life . . . not enough for clothing." He would come to Grandpa [referring to her own father, a Baptist and teetotaller] asking for money for seed corn and Grandpa was always generous. He could not say "No" to his own brother-in-law and a fellow farmer, even though he knew it would go for drink.

My critical autobiography uncovers and confirms O'Malley's (1996) claim that the harm reduction and risk management emphasis in contemporary alcohol education programs and addiction services constitutes "strategic remoralization." My first cousin's tale of serving wine with meals to introduce his sons to responsible drinking also supports O'Malley's critique: "We do not see [or pass judgement on] any 'irresponsible' users" (p. 30). My niece Marjorie [age 29, neurology nurse, June's daughter] was the only vocal participant of her generation, and cannot represent the moral positioning of a whole generation. However, I sensed that she was skipping her mother's generation and judging drunkenness as irresponsible, although not nuanced in the Christian terms of the WCTU in which drunkenness was a sin. Marjorie attributes many spinal injuries that she observes on a daily basis to irresponsible drinking.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) highlight the entailments of metaphors for "mak[ing] coherent certain aspects of our experience . . . creat[ing] realities, especially social realities . . . [as] a guide for future action . . . [as] self-fulfilling prophecies" (p. 156). The original entailments of the white ribbon were very much linked to prohibition. Cook (1995b) does not elaborate on the 1990's "appropriation" by men of the white ribbon "as a public symbol condemning male violence against women" (p. 207). It strikes me (my critical reflex-ivity) that the partial appropriation of the violence entailment effectively erases the entailment of the relationship of drinking to violence. The connection between drinking and violence, especially physical violence did not emerge in the public re-membering that I facilitated and it has a carefully circumscribed presence in the literature on family violence.

I re-present and reconstitute the research findings and conclusions as a moral framework for social and educational policy and for adult education programming. This framework re-stories the WCTU's "home protection" and once again takes into account *irresponsible* choices and the connection of substance abuse to family violence. Critical reflection and critical reflexivity augment the moral criteria of caring, cooperative, democratic, and honest language in order to response-ably build and sustain moral community.

The research methodologies of critical autobiography and feminist analysis of rhetoric constitute a feminist genealogy, a "history of the present" (Dean, 1994). They begin the work of re-storying and validating an early social movement of women and mothers as activists so as to inform contemporary theory and practice of moral learning and moral policy-making. Re-membering spins the critical web of feminist genealogy, reflection, reflexivity, and autobiography. Rockhill draws on "Arlene Schenke's (1991) 'genealogy of memory-work [that] should offer strategies of commitment that are relational, provisional, deliberately ambivalent and continuously in process' (p. 13). It should be an opening, ideally, to continuing reflection and critique, a story that never stops beginning or ending" (p. 362). By extension, the imbricated research methodologies of critical autobiography, feminist rhetorical analysis, and feminist genealogy rely on re-storying that never stops beginning or ending.

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Beyond Transformative Learning: Work, Ethical Space and Adult Education

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Abstract: *This study concludes that transformative learning must be dialectically related to restorative learning given the progressive loss of ethical efficacy in the workplace and loss of organic connections to time, space, body and human relations.*

Purpose and Summary of Study

The primary purpose of this qualitative study was to assess the potential of critical transformative learning among the middle class for revitalizing citizen action, particularly new forms of working and living based on an ecological rather than an industrial model. The three objectives of this study were first, empirically analyzing relevant cognitive and normative conditions within middle class consciousness and thus determining appropriate pedagogical entry points; second, assessing the potential of transformative learning for catalyzing socially transformative actions; and finally, critiquing theoretical concepts of transformative learning and offering pedagogical insights for similar learning contexts. This paper briefly recapitulates the conceptual framework based on critical transformative learning theory, the participatory action research design of the study, and the key findings. This study concludes that transformative learning needs to move beyond utopian end-points toward principles that aim to create two related conditions: space for mobilizing ethical autonomy, currently blocked by contemporary structures of work; and restoring organic relationships between learners and their time, space, bodies and human relations. In sum, there must be a dialectical relationship between transformative and restorative learning.

Conceptual Framework: Theory and Method

Critical transformative learning theory guided this study. It's *raison d'etre* is social transformation in dialectical relation to individual transformation. Transformation for purposes of this study was understood as "moving beyond the existing form" where change occurs at the *radix* or root of systems thereby creating a new form. In other words, it is a profound or deep-level change in a society's structures and systems and human consciousness. As Freire (1984) has explained, conscientization avoids subjective idealism (thinking we can change individual people's hearts without changing the social structures that make those hearts "sick") as well as mechanical objectivism (denying the importance of changing individual hearts as part of social change). Rather it a dialectical union between consciousness and the world.

From prior thematic investigation, this study departed from several key premises of critical transformative learning. First, it was situated in the middle class as it was expected that there were sufficient conditions among the middle class for them to challenge and transform the cultural patterns and economic structures shaping their lives. Second, a hermeneutics of suspicion was dialectically related to a hermeneutics of trust where trust is placed in the intuitions of ordinary people that "something is deeply wrong" and in their desire to do "the good" (Taylor, 1989). Third, the research was designed on the awareness of the "linear and controlling connotations" (Schapiro, 1995:31) of learning toward a specific utopian end-point and the relation of power therein. The intention was to "allow things to take their own course rather than bend that consciousness" by creating a space for imagination and interaction with new norms. Fourth, it attempted to bridge the gap between understanding and action by sculpting images of social possibilities and bringing the participants into contact with those who had already transformed their living and working. For instance, new habits of living and working on ecological principles by individuals and their families were considered social action. Fifth, it was expected that collective action would be encouraged when social movements are not experienced as closed, confrontational and dogmatic but as open, pedagogical, and hope-full.

Design of the Study

Participatory action research (McTaggart, 1997; Carson & Sumara, 1997) was utilized for this study as it allows for study of how reflection changes practical action and for its natural affinity with critical transformative learning. In particular, participatory action research and critical transformative learning share the principles of collective critical inquiry, praxis, democratic dialogical relations, and cultural production Similarly, action research addresses the theory/practice dichotomy while transformative learning addresses the reflection/action dichotomy. For purposes of this study, the notion of *research* in action research was the group investigation of how cultural systems and economic structures condition the way we work and live as middle class North America. The notion of *action* in action research was how participants concretely responded to their research and reflection. Additional tasks of the formal researcher were investigating the meaning making of the participants, the normative and cognitive resources of the participants, and an assessment of the social transformative power of participant responses. In sum, the design integrated transformative learning, collaborative action research, and critical hermeneutics (Gallagher, 1992).

The research was carried out through the construction of a new university extension course self-selected by the general public. Thematic investigation was carried out two years before course construction to understand the material conditions surrounding work, derive generative issues, and locate relevant course materials. From this preliminary study, the concept of sustainability was selected as the key learning pivot. The concept of sustainability was broadened through the metaphoric use of a life web that connected personal, community, and global sustainability to ecological sustainability. The 14 participants who responded to the course publicity represented a range of ages, personal/family incomes, types of work, ethnic backgrounds and were predominately women. They were all defined as middle class, in considering economic and cultural capital. Data-gathering occurred through pre-, mid-, and post-interviews, pre- and post-surveys, and participant journals. Phenomenological description, thematic analysis and critical hermeneutics comprised the three stages of data analysis.

The thematic investigation and pre-course interviews indicated the need for a pedagogical reversal by presenting new socio-economic possibilities first rather than carrying out a typical socio-economic analysis that could destabilize participants further into paralysis and disillusionment. Therefore, the typical phases of action research as detailed by Hall (1981) were revised as follows: weaving the web (illustrating the connectivity between the personal, global and ecological), formation of hope (by immersion contact with alternative patterns of working and living), cultural analysis (surfacing a "text" of beliefs including a self-audit of money, time, life-energy, consumption and life purpose), socio-economic analysis (global economy vis a vis bio-regional economy), redefinition and recommitment (envisioning changed relationships to money, time, energy, consumption and life purpose), action planning (sequenced changes to living and working), and celebration. More accurately, these pedagogical moments were iterative not uni-directional as the issues were continually revisited from multiple analytical perspectives.

Work and Alienation: Pedagogical Entry Points

In 1996, preliminary thematic investigation began tracing the impact of work restructuring for a neo-liberal global economy on local people in their daily work. Public and corporate sector cutbacks, organizational restructuring, information and technological overload, job tenuousness, forced learning and self-development for marketability, and ethical conflicts at the work site all contributed to feelings of being "exhausted, alienated, isolated, disconnected, pressured, depressed, stressed and angry." In sum, they felt they had "sacrificed their self, their relationships, and their personal and family well-being for work" and from this realization emerged a "longing for soul and getting back to basic values." The participants were searching for "balance." The anger and resistance expressed in 1996 were not evident by 1998. In the pre-course interviews, the participants had adjusted to the work upheaval and new business ideology, but the residual emotions of anger and fear had given way to disillusionment and fragmentation.

Disillusionment

The condition of disillusionment as described by the participants was not just the adult development task of seeking authenticity and integration during a midlife evaluation. The participants did describe the narrowness of the white picket fence image of family, emptiness of material acquisitions, overimportance of work for deriving identity and a sense of success, and the hypocrisy of political and religious institutions that all undermined the illusions they held as part of the cultural and personal scripts they were living out. Yet, a vital aspect of disillusionment, particularly in relation to work, was the increasing loss of space to speak or act ethically in their worksites, whether in accord with their professional or personal ethics. Most participants understood their worksites as the primary vehicle for "making a difference" in society, or rather for their civic responsibility. Therefore, they had projected their ethical horizons and identity as moral beings into their profession or position. They saw their work as providing the moral and ethical space within which they identified themselves and positioned the importance of what they do. There was no uncertainty about their moral and ethical horizons, but the illusion was the sense of moral and ethical efficacy within their work structure.

Fragmentation

The condition of deepening fragmentation was best described by one participant as "whirling dervishes" of constant, vigorous and hypnotic motion. Most participants reported working simultaneously on several tasks with no sense of completion; isolated tasks without any connected purpose or predictability; constant interruptions of space and need for "sudden" responses; dispersal of energy in too many directions; and balancing competing responsibilities at the job and between the job and home. Most of the participants discussed the lack of energy "to maintain the life structure that I've created" and many of them described the condition of burn-out, including serious illness over the last five years. Participants also described the fragmentation of roles where they felt torn apart by all their relational responsibilities. It is clear that fragmentation is not just cognitive but visceral and is carried in the body sapping energy, reducing productivity, diminishing meaning, and dispersing focus.

Analysis of Disillusionment

An analysis of the participant's understandings of disillusionment revealed that their sense of ethical space was compromised in six ways. First, those who hold a service ethic toward society are blocked by bureaucracies organized by rationalism, mechanistic coordination, and personal detachment. Second, this sense of service was also compromised by increasing organizational politics and/or the business of profits - utility ethics. Third, many participants experienced a disjuncture between viewing humans (their colleagues) as having intrinsic dignity or viewing humans as having instrumental usefulness - where they are used to achieve a goal outside of themselves and where people can be bought and replaced as tools. Fourth, many workers, from managers to support staff, are now expected to adopt an utilitarian ethic that focuses on cost-benefit efficiency analyses rather than the liberal goals of equality, justice (fairness) and democracy. Fifth, some participants talked about the organization "owning their soul" where, to receive a paycheque and professional identity, people gave over their ethical autonomy and personal identity to the collective ethics and identity of the organization - the property contract ethics of a market society. In sum, this first set of findings on adult disillusionment or "losing one's illusions" was considered a pedagogical entry point.

Analysis of Fragmentation

An analysis of the participants' description of fragmentation revealed three faces. One face is of fragmentation as an essential component of the new business ideology but where restructuring and cutbacks had an opposite impact by withdrawing autonomy, increasing scrutiny, and reducing efficiency, productivity and creativity. The participants' need for security made them more malleable and less likely to critique. A second face of fragmentation is the increased volume and accelerated flow of activity in every aspect of society. Time is *the* critical commodity in the information era (Rifkin, 1995) and the power of electronics and a corresponding frenetic economy is increasingly at odds with the organic needs of humans - their embodied seasonal and biological rhythms, social need for continuity, and the spiritual need for reflection and meaning. Interestingly, the need for balance was viewed mechanistically, i.e. getting all the parts of the machine (their lives) as timed correctly with efficient apportionments for each work task and with each loved one - mimicking electronic time. The third face of fragmentation is the cultural construction of household life where standards of cleanliness, organization and nutrition have escalated, where the parenting and partnering process has become the most intensive in human history, and where home technologies have inflated levels of consumption and maintenance with an illusion of comfort and convenience (Shor, 1992). These pressures at home and work mean that many are existing on the razor's edge of physical collapse. Fragmentation was another pedagogical entry point.

Alienation

Further analysis of disillusionment and fragmentation reveal that participants have been estranged from essential ties that are life-giving for human "being." Alienation means to lose contact with or to be estranged, detached or distanced from a part of one's life, the vital social mode of existence, and/or the natural world upon which existence most fundamentally depends. Therefore the experience of disllusionment and fragmentation were considered to constitute a condition of alienation. Specifically, these participants are experiencing an intensified severing of their organic relationship to time, space, their body and human relations. This severance has been encouraged by the rationalization, bureaucratization and intensification of work, compartmentalization of social roles, instrumentalized and propertied human relations, the microchip revolution, and the consumptive acquisitive society. It has been augmented by a deep cultural notion of scarcity that fuels insecurity, grasping, and competitiveness. This condition of alienation, then, is a diminished existence both individually and socially.

Intuitions of Wholeness: Normative Resources for Transformative Learning

Alongside the above analyses, pre-course investigation identified normative resources that could inform course pedagogy. The participants described that they were looking deeper, beyond epistemological or efficiency prescriptions. They named their search as a spiritual search - a hunger to see their work produce something meaningful, their ideas to be valued, their contributions to create a better society, and a way of living rooted in an inner peace and an outer harmony. They also intuited that they needed to make choices among the conflicting ethics of modernity that rage within us (Taylor, 1989). From these descriptions, this search was analyzed in two ways: one, as the search for broader moral and ethical horizons out of which to judge aspects of their lives and in which to end the warring between ethics and cultural scripts - an ontological coherence. Second, the search for balance is the search inward, toward the depths of being, and beyond, toward a larger cosmological horizon in which to locate their lives historically - a cosmological coherence expanding concepts of time and reality. David Bohm (1980) suggests that the words used by the participants - health, whole, and holy - are related etymologically, illustrating the deepest human urges toward wholeness and integrity.

Work, Ethical Space and Transformative Learning

This intuition toward wholeness, or rather search for ontological and cosmological coherence, framed the course pedagogy. The course included activities and readings on rethinking assumptions about organic/inorganic time, artificial/natural space, consumptive/ relational ways of living, incomed jobs, and spiritual practices. Often this rethinking intensified their sense of crisis before change was undertaken. Critical transformative learning was assessed as effectively catalyzing reflection and transformative action, as illustrated below.

First, a protected space for ethical reflection was created where participants freely articulated how their moral and ethical efficacy is blocked in their worksites and in the public arena. The issue is not an ethical malaise or decline but the lack of spaces that animate ethical autonomy. In the course they identified the differences between their personal and professional ethics, worksite ethics, and broader cultural ethics and used their heightened consciousness to choose actions manifesting coherence.

Second, the participants began an ontological journey from what Fromm (1976) calls "the mode of having," including consuming and grasping, to "the mode of being" or relatedness. The research participants were offered the opportunity to reflect on these modes personally as well as their impact globally and ecologically. They began to redefine success, security, balance, meaningful work, and life purpose.

Third, participants began to restore their organic connections with time, space, body and human relations: such as relearning flowing with organic time; cultivating mindfulness, gratitude and other contemplative practices; reconnecting and understanding wild spaces; decluttering physical and mental spaces and reducing overconsumption; researching bioregional sources of water and food; and enjoying non-commodified simple pleasures.

Fourth, participants changed their relationship to work, including reducing work hours, quitting disillusioning and fragmenting jobs, planning for and embarking on new work manifesting an ethical coherence, and mimicking ecological principles at their worksites.

Fifth, many participants and their families chose to become identifiers with some of the principles of ecological sustainability, restorative economy, voluntary simplicity and global justice, as they cohered with their existent ethics. By enacting these principles in their work and their households, they are part of a global movement for structural societal change.

Sixth, the participants continue to gather as a supportive community flowing against cultural and socio-economic scripts and they continue their mentoring relationship with social movement members. The limitation of this learning process, up to this moment in time, is the lack of a bridge for collective involvement in state/corporate policy spheres to address this level of power and dominance relations. This requires further inquiry.

The Dialectics of Transformative and Restorative Learning

The concept of transformative learning traditionally used in the adult education field excludes from view the need for restorative learning, including space for ethical reflection. Theory and practice that specify utopian end-points and concentrate on resistance-building or that instrumentalize transformative learning thereby coopting its critical power, both leave unreflected certain aspects of the pedagogical vocation. Neither leave open the question of "what is the good?" thereby providing a space for the clarification and mobilization of ethical autonomy. Similarly, neither question the need for preservation and restoration, in a world that privileges change for change's sake. The participants emphasized that not all things require transformation and that they were seeking spaces that affirmed and preserved their ethics of honesty, integrity, fairness, courage, respect, loyalty, community service and the common good. Through the creation of such a space they could identify internal and external ethical conflicts and elaborate a coherence. However, this learning was not transformative as it restored the existing form. Dialectically, however, these participants strengthened their sense of ethical efficacy and moved beyond habitual practice - indeed transforming their relationship to work and the world. Further, through a process of restorative learning, they were able to begin to recover unalienated relationships to time, space, body and human relations. Again dialectically, as they restored these forms of relatedness, they were transforming cultural, social, and economic structures. Therefore, beyond emphasis solely on transformation, adult educators need to consider animating restorative learning, including ethical reflection on "the good."

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Training and the New Industrial Relations: New Zealand Research that Explores Streeck's Thesis

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Abstract: *This New Zealand research finds some support for Wolfgang Streeck's thesis that education and training offer unions strategic possibilities in a neo-liberal environment. But it also finds that political strategies are necessary when unions' quasi-constitutional status has been substantially diminished.*

Background and Purpose

Over the past two decades, unions in most OECD countries have had to develop a strategic response to education and training reforms. In New Zealand, that process of reform began to gather momentum in the mid-1980s and is still far from completed. The election of a centre-left government in late 1999 promises a new chapter. In some respects, the central arguments and the patterns of reform in New Zealand have been similar to those elsewhere, especially in Australia. But in other respects the New Zealand experience has been unique in that the reforms have occurred within the context of a neo-liberal inspired, radical economic and social restructuring that has included far-reaching labour market deregulation (Deeks, Parker, & Ryan, 1994).

This paper is based on: (1) an extended project that has tracked, from a labour studies perspective, the role of unions and educational and training reform in a neo-liberal environment for over a decade (Law, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998b); (2) selected findings from a large membership study of the New Zealand Dairy Workers' Union (DWU) (Law, 1998a); and (3) a detailed study of the policies and strategies of the EPMU (Law & Piercy, 2000a, 2000b; Piercy, 1999, 2000). Specifically, the paper's purpose is to explore Streeck's (1989, 1992) thesis that vocational training, as part of a more cooperative, consensual, non-adversarial 'new type of industrial relations,' offers unions the possibility of a new strategic role in a neo-liberal environment. As much of Streeck's theory building has been based on metalwork unions, this paper focuses mainly on the strategies adopted by the NZ Engineering, Printing, and Manufacturing Union (EPMU). These strategies were derived substantially from the union's Australian counterpart, the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union (AMWU).

Research Approaches

The research approaches include: (1) an analysis of relevant government and associated policy documents, including Australian documents, that deal with education and training reform; (2) a similar analysis of relevant union documents and strategies,, including Australian material, that influenced New Zealand unions; (3) twenty three, formal, recorded interviews with key players in Australia and New Zealand, including a number of unionists associated with the AWMU and the EPMU; and (4) supplementary, less formal follow-up interviews and discussions with key unionists in both countries.

Theoretical Considerations

Streeck (1989, 1992) argues: (1) that globally, neoliberalism, with its emphasis on individualism, has marginalised collective rights and organisations, such as unions, that were features of the welfare state; and (2) that throughout the ascent of neoliberalism, technological change has substantially altered the labour process. These changes, he argues, not only offer management new ways of organising work but also offer unions the opportunity to push management to select models of work organisation that benefit their members by providing job security and the chance to continue to humanise the workplace. Streeck holds that skill development can be the key to such a strategy in that it can allow firms to remain competitive in an environment of change. However, for unions to pursue a skills development strategy, they need to adopt a consensual approach to industrial relations. This, he argues, runs the risk of unions being seen by members as 'selling out.' Hence unions have to be relevant to capital by engaging in workers' training and skills development while simultaneously remaining relevant to members by securing greater job security and skill-related improvements in pay.

Streeck (1992, pp. 264-266) suggests unions take seven steps in order to incorporate training into bargaining strategies: (1) bargain on the basis of maintaining high wages and a flat wage structure; (2) insist on "obligatory, standardised workplace training curricula" that are broadly based; (3) ensure some form of worker representation at the workplace in order to ensure that the training is carried out effectively; (4) create a strategy that incorporates some kind of defence, legal or otherwise, that protects "employment continuity and stability;"(5) encourage a "flat wage regime" with few job classifications that "rewards knowledge rather than activities performed;" (6) actively pursue "as an objective in its own right, an anti-Taylorist policy on the organisation of work;" and (7) negotiate "training and retraining plans" that ensure workers have the entitlement to learn at work.

Boxall and Haynes (1997) have explored New Zealand union strategies in a neo-liberal, deregulated labour market environment theoretically and practically. They argue that unions have four options:

- Classic unionism, where the union relies on traditional bargaining strategies, focuses on wages, adopts an adversarial position to employers and draws its strength from workplace solidarity.
- Paper tiger unionism, where a union created under the previously legislatively provided, compulsory arbitration and conciliation framework, which relied much less on workplace solidarity, views its members simply as consumers of services.
- Consultancy unionism, where the union, normally representing white collar workers, employs some limited workplace organising strategies while providing mainly services to its members.
- Partnership unionism, where the union employs strategies that build worker solidarity through a high level of organising but that also provide a wide range of services to members. While the union retains much more of an adversarial approach, it nevertheless co-operates around areas of mutual concern, such as skills development and the introduction of new production methods.

Boxall and Haynes suggest that partnership unionism, which they associate with the EMPU, offers unions a possible survival strategy in that it blends elements of the traditional with the new servicing and co-operative strategies. Into this they weave, from Streeck, the notion that involvement in skills development offers unions opportunities to retain leverage, although they do not explore in any depth precisely what it is about skills development that provides unions with strategic advantage.

In previous papers, Law presents a more political economy analysis that focuses much more specifically on education and training reform as a cornerstone of some unions' survival strategy. That work draws on unions' policy and strategy documents, internal union education materials, and the DWU study. He argues that notwithstanding the general unravelling of the welfare state compromise, especially as it related to education, the ambiguity of the NZ Labour Government's (1984-1990) approach to economic and social restructuring still included a residual commitment to social partnership (tripartism) that provided structural opportunities for unions. Thus the NZ Council of Trade Unions (NZCTU) and unions like the EMPU and the DWU, actively engaged the labour process debates of the 1980s, accepted and argued for a 'high skill, high wage' industrial development strategy, and adopted much of the human capital arguments that underpinned the skills development debate. They also embraced workplace reform which they saw as an attractive, co-operative strategy to create national wealth and jobs in an increasingly competitive international environment.

However, Law argues, by the time unions had developed a coherent strategy, the election of a National Government in late 1990 and the subsequent rapid deregulation of the labour market had undermined two basic structural elements that had given unions some leverage when Labour held office. First, the dismantling of the industrial relations structure and the introduction of decentralised and largely individualised wage bargaining undermined the necessary link between wages and skills that was implicit in a 'high skill, high wage' strategy. Second, the dismantling of legislatively supported tripartite structures, including education and training structures, meant that union representation was dependent on employers. Law (1996b) suggests four reasons why employers may choose to include unions: (1) industrial muscle; (2) workers' scepticism and thus the need to have unions 'sell' new training regimes to members; (3) unions willingness to 'buy' representation by contributing financially to industry training organisations (ITOs); or (4) a union's recognised expertise in the area of training.

Law holds that some unions, especially the EPMU, managed to retain considerable influence at the industry and enterprise levels well into the 1990s. He suggests that this was primarily because of their recognised expertise and employers' continuing needs to win workers' confidence. But, as he shows with a national case study from the dairy industry, neither expertise nor the need to win workers' support necessarily prevented a union from being shut out of the training structures once a neo-liberal regime withdrew legislative support for their presence. Moreover, he holds that by the mid-1990s, the role of the union movement, in particular the CTU, was almost reduced to that of an interested spectator. Thus from 1994, he has argued that unions' best hope of regaining an influence in education and training policy formation and implementation rests with electoral reform—New Zealand opted for proportional representation in 1993—and the election of a centre-left government committed to a more tripartite and 'hands-on' approach. This has to include, he suggests, a degree of labour market reregulation, including bargaining structures, that enable unions to negotiate explicit linkages between wages and skill.

Some Major Findings

This ongoing investigation has found empirical and documentary evidence that provide some qualified support for Streeck's general thesis. But it has also revealed antipodean particularities, some of which have been common to both Australian and New Zealand unions's strategies and others which have been more specific to New Zealand.

First, Piercy's study confirms and documents, much more thoroughly than previously appreciated, the nature and extent of Australian unions' influence on New Zealand unions' strategies and practices from the mid-1980s until the early 1990s. While her study is primarily concerned with education and training reform, it makes visible how for unions like the EPMU that particular policy interest was only part of an integrated strategy. The EPMU also undertook a more membership-responsive union restructuring, revised bargaining strategies, adopted a co-operative approach to industry investment and development, embraced workplace reform, participated actively in ITOs, and engaged in political lobbying in favour of a more prescriptive rather than a voluntarist approach to industry training.

Second, both the extended research project and Piercy's study identify and elaborate important differences between the Australian and New Zealand union movements. In the case of Australia, unions such as the AMWU had been major contributors to a radical, alternative political economy debate that had its origins in the crises of the 1980s and which eventually led to a union-Labor Party 'Accord.' (see Beilharz, 1994). There was no similar pattern of unions contributing to a searching political economy debate in New Zealand over the same period. Nor is there evidence that more than a handful of key unionists were even aware of the key Australian political economy documents from the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Third, the research finds that it was really only in reaction to the first onslaught of neo-liberal economic restructuring and looming labour market deregulation that New Zealand unions began to engage and adopt Australian unions' strategic thinking and practices. The research further finds that in general this was more of a pragmatic response by New Zealand unions than an overly theoretically informed strategic shift.

Fourth, the research provides important insights into the impact on education and training policies of the change of government in late-1990 and the onset of radical labour market deregulation. In terms of industrial relations in general, many commentators have shown that New Zealand unions lost enormous ground (eg. Deeks, Parker, & Ryan, 1994). Paradoxically the research found that as unions lost their legislative base, education and training, often linked to skill based pay initiatives at the enterprise level, emerged as one of the few areas in which that had the opportunity to retain any significant leverage. And yet, it also finds that without an industrial relations framework that enables bargaining that links skills to wages, it is difficult to meet governments' skills development goals (Law, 1998c). To put it in neo-liberal terms, if the labour market fails to send trainees clear signals about the "value" of skills and qualifications they cannot make informed choices about their 'educational investment.'

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Fifth, the research finds that while one of the distinguishing characteristics of the EPMU's survival in a hostile neo-liberal environment has been its skills development strategy, that is not the whole story.. In our view a very significant finding has been the importance of political work. In the case of the EPMU there have been two major thrusts to its political agenda. On one hand the union has worked closely with employers and, at times, some elements in the National Government (1990-99) in order to defend education and training reforms from the extremes of libertarian, voluntarist, neo-liberal ideology. On the other hand, the union has also worked very actively to achieve political reform—proportional representation—and the election of a centre-left government. In addition, the EPMU pressed the Labour Party to adopt skills development policies, linked to industrial relations policies, that roll back the voluntarist thrust of National's approach. This is expected, following the recent change of government, to include legislative amendments that reinstate unions as key players in industry training organisations. Significantly, the Associate Minister of Tertiary Education has appointed to his office a former EPMU education officer with the specific brief of implementing Labour's skills development policies.

Discussion: Relating the Findings to Streeck's Thesis

Our research finds that the EPMU and, to a lesser extent, other New Zealand unions, quite independent of any awareness of Streeck's ideas, responded to the neo-liberal onslaught of the 1980s and 1990s in ways that dovetailed quite neatly with his seven steps:

- Within the limitations of a radically restructured industrial relations framework, the EPMU strategies afforded a central place to skills development and training as a bargaining issue.
- The union embraced and supported the idea of competency-based training based on unit standards that in turn were linked to a national qualifications framework. This was consistent with Streeck's notion of seeking "standardised workplace training curricula."
- Its attempts to build skill-based pay into industry and enterprise agreements is in line with Streeck's fourth, fifth, and seventh points: a defence of employment continuity; encouragement of a flatter wage regime with fewer steps that rewarded skills; and the negotiation of entitlements that enable workers to learn at work. However, because the neo-liberal, industrial legislation effectively limited the EPMU to negotiating mainly enterprise agreements, its capacity to extend these opportunities to all its members has been severely hampered.
- The EPMU, through its enthusiastic support for the restructuring of collective abargaining and workplace reform, has attempted to pursue an anti-Taylorist policy.

However, the EPMU's experience, along with that of the New Zealand union movement more generally, has also revealed some limitations in Streeck's thesis. Streeck's work, we would argue, implicitly assumes that even in a neo-liberal environment unions still retain some constitutional, legislative, or judicial legitimacy (see also Streeck, 2000). But one of the major factors that distinguishes the New Zealand experience from that of Australia, North America, and Europe has been the comprehensive way in which unions quasi-constitutional legitimacy was dismantled by the National Government's Employment Contracts Act. This severely limited unions' bargaining ability and seriously compromised attempts to retain workplace representative structures. Thus the EPMU has been forced to try and monitor training effectiveness through its very active participation, at employer invitation, in relevant ITOs.

As Boxall and Haynes (1997) observe, the EPMU pursued a partnership strategy that allowed it to build on its interest and expertises in skills development to present itself to manufacturers as an organisation that could help them achieve production goals. Some employers were very receptive, in part because of the impact on them of other aspects of neo-liberal policy changes, such as the removal of tariffs, that had historically protected domestic manufacturing. But even that approach had its limitations. Recently the EPMU has found itself in a situation in which it has had to adopt more traditional, adversarial strike action against a major manufacturer which the union once hailed as one of the country's "models" of workplace reform and co-operative industrial relations.

If we cheat for a moment and move beyond the parameters of the research reported here to look at the survival experience of another union, the Service Workers of Aotearoa, we find that the its success may be attributable to a different model. That union, which organises low paid, predominantly female, Maori and Pacific Island workers, has adopted an "organising model" rather than a "partnership model." But it too has incorporated skills development and career-pathing into its overall strategy which suggests that elements of Streeck's thesis can be extended beyond manufacturing.

Some Concluding Observations

The conclusion to this story is open-ended. While many New Zealand unions have incorporated skills development into their survival strategy, the EPMU placed training at the centre. This implies that in the non-manufacturing sectors—service, distribution, finance, teaching, the public service—other factors may be more important. But how long unions could have continued to survive is also an important question. It seems clear to us that without a change of government at the end of 1999, the union movement's future looked very bleak indeed. This underpins for us the importance of political strategies. Whether or not unions and collectivity should depend on quasi-constitutional legitimation is not the issue. In New Zealand, for complex historical reasons as well as the more immediate impact of neoliberalism, unions opted to pursue electoral reform and the election of a centre-left government in order to relegitimate themselves and to achieve a modest reregulation of the labour market.

This conclusion does not dismiss or devalue the importance of workers' education and training. In the sense that Streeck writes and the EPMU pursues, skills development is certainly now at the centre of many unions' industrial relations agendas. But there is also a very significant, historic sense in which the New Zealand experience of union survival under neo-liberalism represents important continuities. For in order to build a constituency for electoral reform and then for a change of government, unions and their allies in the broader social movements had to engage in a mobilising, political education that retained some elements of the more radical tradition of solidarity building that has long been at the heart of workers' education and the struggle for popular democracy.

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Refocusing Faculty Development: The View from an Adult Learning Perspective

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Abstract: *The Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development draws from the research, theory and practice of adult learning and adult education program planning. This new model recognizes faculty as adult learners and faculty development as adult education. It offers strategies for effective initiatives.*

While the field of adult education has influenced many areas of education such as adult literacy, nontraditional college students, distance learning, and corporate training practice, it has not been comprehensively applied to faculty development in higher education. Adult education has successfully aided practitioners in other education settings by encouraging them to think about their students as adult learners and by introducing adult learning theory and practice. This paper discusses the authors' unique model that applies adult learning and adult education program planning principles to higher education faculty development - the *Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development* (Lawler & King, in press). "Refocusing" on faculty development from this perspective has many implications for theory and practice.

Interest in higher education professional development has gone beyond the traditional concepts of sabbaticals and academic discipline conferences and has focused on teaching effectiveness and classroom methodology. Faculty development is now being used to address the challenges facing our institutions in the 21st century, such as changes in student populations, advances in technology, demands for accountability and fiscal austerity (Boice, 1992; Brookfield, 1995; Cranton, 1996; Katz & Henry, 1996; Zuber-Skeritt, 1995). In spite of this increasing attention to faculty development, it is an area of education, which has yet to be informed by adult education theory and practice, especially with respect to how we work with faculty as adult learners. Smylie (1995) noted that when thinking about professional development of teachers the practices are "virtually uninformed by theories of adult learning and change" (p.93); and Cranton (1996) observed that people who are responsible for instructional and professional development rarely view themselves as educators of adults.

The purpose of this paper is to present and discuss a model for faculty development that views faculty as adult learners and faculty development initiatives as adult education. This model incorporates the literature and research from the fields of adult learning, adult education, program development, and professional development to broaden and inform the perspectives of those responsible for faculty development in post-secondary institutions. Although sparse, recent research and writings on faculty development have shown that using the lens of adult education can be helpful in dealing with faculty development issues and concerns. (Carroll, 1993; King, 1998, 1999; Lawler, DeCosmo & Wilhite, 1996; Lawler & Wilhite, 1997; Wilhite, DeCosmo, & Lawler, 1996) This paper builds on the literature by presenting a model to frame and direct faculty development in higher education from an adult learning perspective.

The Model – Key Elements

The *Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development* was developed to provide those working in faculty development with a formal characterization of the process of faculty development and practical strategies for developing and delivering faculty development initiatives. The conceptual framework relies on a rich historical literature. Recognizing that the purposes and philosophical orientation of different adult education program development models differ, our literature review draws upon common principles and practices of how adults learn and the best practices of adult education program development (Brookfield, 1986; Caffarella, 1994; Cervero & Wilson, 1994; Knowles, 1980). The model is grounded in the following adult learning principles: developing a climate of respect, utilizing collaborative modes of inquiry, building on participant experience, learning for action, and cultivating a participative environment (Brookfield, 1986; Cross, 1981, Knowles, 1980, 1989; Lawler, 1991). We also make several assumptions regarding the planning process based on the theories and practices of program development. We see planning as complex and ongoing, a nonlinear process where continuous evaluation can provide opportunities for improved effectiveness. Since planning occurs in a social, political and organizational context, planners need to be aware of the ethical and social responsibilities they have as they work through the fundamental elements needed for effective programming.

This model was developed to expand the repertoire of those working toward effective faculty development on college campuses and it addresses three crucial points that are of concern today. The first concern surrounds the faculty, their characteristics, and motivation to learn and to change. By understanding the dynamic of the faculty's work in their professional roles, the faculty developer will have a better grasp of their needs, concerns and time restraints. Realizing that the faculty are content experts and may even be leaders in their academic discipline is important. The faculty developer who understands this and builds on a foundation of explicit respect for their expertise and experience begins from an adult learning perspective. Utilizing adult learning principles will provide a foundation for developing ownership, motivation and participation in faculty development programs. This begins with identifying faculty learning needs, incorporating their voices in the process and insuring the anticipated goals for change are relevant to the reward systems for faculty, such as tenure, promotion, and merit. The faculty's training as educators and their academic culture are important considerations for the faculty developer who may not be a member of the faculty to understand and respect.

The second concern examines the organizational context and its impact on faculty development initiatives. Faculty development does not occur in a vacuum. The social, political and financial context of the academic institution has been found to influence the success, not only of programs, but also of effecting change. The climate and structure of the learning organization may either support or hinder learning, and astute faculty developers will learn to "scan" the organizational climate for ways to maximize the impact of their programs in light of their observations and analysis. For instance, if the faculty developer is an administrator never having had a faculty role, there may be resistance from the faculty to their proposals. We propose that in this case, the developer seek support utilizing a faculty committee, reaching out to faculty who are already creating change and creating a collaborative development process. Additionally, the larger context of higher education today is looking closely at faculty, their work and accountability. Historically, faculty development initiatives, which focused on academic research in a discipline, are now being supplemented with workshops, training and programs directed at teaching effectiveness and educational technology. "Faculty, by nature of their profession, are self-directed in their work, independent and autonomous in getting their job done, and collaboratively participate in the policy and governance of the university" (Lawler & King, in press). It is imperative that we view faculty in their professional roles and not just as dependent learners or as a employees in a business setting.

The third concern centers on the identity of the faculty developer. In many cases those responsible for faculty development are not such by profession and may not be experts in adult learning, nor program planning. They may come from administration, faculty or outside the university as consultants. Establishing credibility with faculty may become a political process which can inhibit success. Faculty may well be suspicious of administratively assigned faculty developers with little or no knowledge of classroom teaching or the role of the faculty. The *Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development* provides useful information for those both familiar with faculty issues and those new to developing programs. Regardless of the circumstances, faculty developers will benefit from understanding and using adult learning principles to effectively meet the professional development needs of higher education faculty. Characteristics of faculty developers who have such an understanding include: credibility, authenticity, respect, consistency, and responsiveness, along with practical experience and an understanding of the dilemmas and issues the faculty face in their everyday work (Brookfield, 1995).

The Model – Stages & Tasks

Based on our experience, research and understanding of the principles of adult learning and program planning, we have developed an inclusive conceptual model that provides a practical framework in which the developer can work. There are four stages to the model: Preplanning, Planning, Delivery, and Follow-up. Each stage requires that we ask specific questions and recommends tasks to be completed. The principles of respect, collaboration, experience, action and participation are integrated in each stage.

Preplanning

As the beginning point for effective faculty development, this stage focuses attention on organizational goals, needs and climate, as well as starting with the faculty and their needs and experience. The questions to be asked in this stage include: What is the purpose of faculty development? What is the purpose of this specific faculty development initiative? How is faculty development tied to the mission of the institution? And what resources are available to support a faculty development initiative at this time? Asking these questions aids the developer in a reflective process that includes scanning the environment and the social and political context in which the programs will take place. There are five Preplanning tasks: understanding organizational culture, identifying the role of the faculty developer, assessing needs, evaluating resources, and establishing goals. During this stage, the adult learning perspective means we must consider the faculty's needs for learning and change, not just what we or the institution perceives as important. Here is where an advisory committee of faculty for faculty development may be helpful, not only in understanding the institutions, but also in collecting information on faculty needs. This is also the time to have a clear idea of both financial, physical and human resources.

Planning

While preplanning determined the overall direction of faculty development, the Planning Stage involves structured preparation for what specifically will happen during the program. Important questions to be addressed include what exactly is to happen, who will be involved and how will it all be organized. This Planning Stage is the time for both the faculty developer and the administration to build a positive climate in which the faculty will be strengthen and empowered. While much training is viewed as fixing something that is deficient, this model emphasizes a more positive approach by including the faculty in the entire process and valuing their input. There are six tasks for the Planning Stage and they include: selecting a topic, identifying a presenter, preparing for delivery, preparing for support and transfer of learning, scheduling the event and beginning the evaluation. Coming from a learned-centered perspective requires us to take into consideration the needs, interests, experiences and capabilities of the faculty who will be our potential participants. Building ownership increases motivation first to attend the event, and then to transfer the learning from the event to faculty work. Probably one of the most crucial tasks in the whole model is the selection of the presenter. Not only should the person be an expert in the content to be delivered, but the presenter should also understand the characteristics of the faculty participants and be able to present using appropriate and respectful instructional methods. If the faculty feel comfortable with the delivery of the program, then transfer of learning is apt to occur.

Delivery

Successful programs breed more successful programs. If faculty find that the program meets their needs, is tied to their reward systems, has meaning for their work and is delivered in a professional and appropriate way, they are more likely to be positive towards faculty development and change. This is why preplanning and planning tasks are important to complete before the program actually is considered. The first question we must ask ourselves is: Are we building on this preparation? Other questions include: How do we effectively promote the program? How are adult learning principles implemented? And how do we monitor the program? These questions delineate our tasks at this stage. First, in the rush to get things done we may lose sight of the overall goals, objectives and direction that were originally considered. Building on our preparation means utilizing all needs assessment, faculty input, and environmental scanning information. Other tasks at this stage include: promoting the program, implementing adult learning principles and monitoring the program. Marketing programs on campus may require a different perspective. Timing of the materials, channels of communication and clarity on goals and expectations are important. The opportunities available for the promotion of the program might well be a measure of the level of organizational support. When promoting the program, faculty should be made aware of how the program will be delivered. Will it be lecture, hands-on, experiential, and/or participatory? Here is the opportunity to integrate all the adult learning principles in the actual program. Both the content and process should be relevant for the faculty, emphasizing practical applications and connections to their work. Being aware of diverse learning styles, faculty discipline specific characteristics and faculty work constraints are important to this stage.

Follow-up

Many of us think we are done when the program ends. However, with faculty development we are continually striving for more effective programming to create of climate of professional development that goes beyond the traditional modes of sabbaticals and conferences. Support for changes in thinking and behavior, along with consideration of further development activities is important at this point. Here we ask the following questions: What is the evaluation plan? How will ongoing support be provided for what was learned? What can we, as faculty developers, gain from reflecting on our role in this endeavor? The adult learning principles inherent in this stage center on the goal of empowering the faculty in their work. If we build a climate of respect and provide opportunities for collaboration and participation we enhance the possibility that learning will take place. Implementing what is learned empowers faculty and helps them to make the changes necessary to advance in their professional roles. The tasks at this stage are evaluation, continued learning, and assessment of the faculty developer's role. We encourage developers to use more than one method of evaluation to get an overall picture of not only the feelings of the faculty regarding the event, but exactly what they have learned and how they can transfer that learning to their work. Analyzing the data and reflecting on what it means provides not only feed back on the program but begins the needs assessment process for the continuation of development activities within the institution. Learning does not end at the close of a seminar or workshop. Interest in the faculty's continued learning promotes a positive climate and promotes ownership and interest in future initiatives. Finally, we come to our role as a developer. Just as we ask the participants to reflect on the event and learning they attended, we too need to reflect on the entire process and the outcomes of our planning. Such reflective practice will enable the developer to offer ever-improving faculty development programs.

Summary

The impact of adult learning, adult education, program development, and professional development principles upon informed practice can lead to programs that meet the changing needs of faculty and their institutions. The *Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development* provides an organized and strategic framework to focus faculty developers in the field from an adult learning perspective.

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Constructing Pedagogic Identities: Versions of the Educator in AE and HE

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Abstract: *This paper analyses the relationships between pedagogic identities in HE and AE, suggesting that HE could build its social purpose orientation and reclaim pedagogy by learning from the AE community.*

Context

Adult education (AE) and higher education (HE) in Britain still retain their identities as "separate spheres," even when AE is provided through universities. It is important to bear this in mind when considering the pedagogic literature of the two sectors. Whilst much North American research and writing on AE is actually about programs provided by, and faculty employed within, HE institutions, the majority of AE provision in Britain is organised outside universities, and the tenor of AE writing tends to reflect this. To compound the confusion, 58% of all HE students in the UK are over the age of 25 (DfEE, 2000) and would probably be considered "adult students" in many other parts of the world; in Britain however, an implicit and rather disorienting distinction persists between "adult students" (in AE) and "mature students" (in HE). This distinction has a considerable impact upon the particular configuration of HE pedagogic literature apparent in Britain.

The evident differences between AE pedagogies and those emerging in HE aroused our curiosity and formed the impetus for our ESRC-funded research project, "Models of the Educator in HE," which ended in 1999 (ESRC project no.R000222794) The project was a literature-based study intended to develop theoretical frameworks for analysing pedagogical writing, and to trace the commonalities and divergences between pedagogic models evident in AE and other established sectors of education, and those emerging in the relatively new – and relatively undertheorised - field of HE pedagogy. This, we hoped, would provide the basis for an analysis of the consequences of divergent development for both adult and HE teaching. The study was UK-based, but utilised sources from throughout the Anglophone world, and to a lesser extent from European writing originating outside the UK.

In this paper we consider the potential influence of AE-based pedagogic ideas on the emerging literature of pedagogy in HE. Throughout the project we have tried to encourage conversations between the two sectors, and part of our aim has been to bring critical and social perspectives from AE pedagogy to bear upon pedagogic writing and, in the longer term, practice in HE. In the UK, adult educators have worked hard to open up HE for adults, but the consequences of expanding HE to include a more diverse range of students have had little attention within the pedagogic literature of British HE. As AE researchers working within HE, we are concerned about the divorce between policy (e.g. moves to recruit more adults into HE) and practice (e.g. the frequent absence of student identity and social diversity from pedagogic discourse within HE). The common separation of faculty development from established departments of educational research further exacerbates the split between AE theory and HE pedagogy. International comparisons are problematic, given the different structures within which HE pedagogy has developed as a specialism; however the growth of HE pedagogy as a distinct (and, we would argue, inadequately theorised) area of study and practice, artificially separated from AE and other pedagogic traditions, does not seem to be a purely British phenomenon.

Framework

Our research has identified a number of pedagogic 'identities' in the HE literature we have surveyed:

- The educator as reflective practitioner
- The educator as critical practitioner
- The educator as situated learner within a community of practice
- The educator as psycho-diagnostician and facilitator of learning

- The educator as assurer of organisational quality and efficiency; deliverer of service to agreed or imposed standards

These identities, or "versions" of the educator, are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, but represent the range of understandings of pedagogic work apparent in the "mainstream" HE literature.

In the process of arriving at and analysing these identities, we used a number of conceptual "dimensions" (some more useful than others) along which we could locate the characteristics and implications of each identity:

Learning in a community	⟷	Individualised learning
Disciplinary community	⟷	Pedagogic community
Moral/social accountability	⟷	Organisational accountability
Learner-centred evaluation	⟷	Objective measures of learning
Focus on process	⟷	Focus on product
Content contested	⟷	Content as given
Social orientation	⟷	Psychological orientation
Educator as person in the world	⟷	Anonymous/invisible educator
Learner as person in the world	⟷	Anonymous/invisible learner

A more detailed account of both the models and the process of analysis has been given elsewhere (Zukas & Malcolm, 1999). Our growing awareness of the consistent distinctions between the two fields of AE and HE pedagogic writing has led us into a further exploration of the "communities of practice" within each of these sectors (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and of their distinctive 'academic literacies' (Lea, 1998). These ideas provide socio-cultural and pedagogic "lenses" through which educational practice can be viewed, and help to clarify the reasons for the development of these intercommunal and epistemological splits (Malcolm & Zukas, 2000). However our concern here is with the potential value of AE to pedagogic practice and research within the academy.

In this paper we will compare two common conceptualisations of pedagogic identity in the respective literatures of HE and AE: the educator as "critical practitioner," and the educator as "psychodiagnostician and facilitator of learning." These polarised pedagogic identities are familiar to the AE community of practice, representing the extreme positions in an ideological tussle which has rumbled through the field for several years. They are chosen precisely because they are illustrative of a major difference between the two bodies of pedagogic literature: the identities are both strongly represented and contested within AE, whilst in HE, one identity is dominant, and the other is barely visible. In each case, we explore the prevalence and characteristics of the identity within HE and AE writing, analysing in each case the reasons for inclusion or exclusion of particular perspectives. We then utilise three of the dimensions shown above, in order to gauge some of the implications of each identity for pedagogic practice: learning within a community vs. individualised learning; educator as "person in the world" vs. anonymous/invisible educator; and disciplinary community vs. pedagogic community.

The Educator as Critical Practitioner

The political roots of AE and its strong social purpose tradition, from the activities of the Chartists through to contemporary discussions of "diversity," have ensured that the "why" and "what" of AE have always been as important as the "how;" in fact content, purpose and process have been seen as inseparable elements of practice. The current generation of AE writing has borrowed from a range of political traditions to bring a variety of critical, including feminist, social understandings to bear on pedagogy, and to produce various conceptualisations of critical practice. Postmodernist understandings can be seen as deriving from this same critical tradition. These diverse approaches consider the content of classroom practice as embodying and manifesting the power-knowledge relations which exist beyond the classroom. Of course, this is not to suggest that all AE writing could possibly be characterised as promoting critical practice; AE has its share of dull and mechanistic writing on decontextualised classroom techniques. Our point here is that it is a recognisable, familiar and easily accessed "angle" on the pedagogy of AE; adult educators are not generally surprised to be asked about the *purpose* of their pedagogic work as well as its processes.

Our reading of the HE pedagogic literature has revealed a markedly different picture from that evident in AE. There is a long and respected tradition of critical writing on the purposes of HE and its various social, historical, epistemological and technological functions. In Britain, Barnett's prolific recent work on HE and on "critical being" (1997) is a major contribution to the debate on HE as a social and political *institution*. In (inter-) disciplinary fields where different positionalities have challenged and transformed the nature of what counts as knowledge, e.g. in women's studies, critical pedagogy has emerged inevitably from the questioning of disciplinary discourses, structures and power relations. ("Critical" here includes feminist approaches – although the debate on their divergences continues [e.g. Gore, 1993]). Thus it is not difficult to find writing on feminist pedagogy, but it tends to be found within the specialist literature of the discipline itself, rather than in the literature of mainstream or 'straight' pedagogy. When we turn to the 'straight' pedagogic literature of HE, which generally takes 'teaching and learning', rather than knowledge or purpose, as its starting point, versions of critical practice are much harder to find; it is almost like looking at the literature of an entirely different field of study. There are odd exceptions: Webb (1996), Rowland (1999) and Walker (1999) are examples of writers on HE pedagogy who explicitly consider the 'why' of HE in conjunction with the 'how'. Walker's references to such familiar guiding lights of critical AE as Gramsci and Freire are almost unique in the field of HE pedagogy; her background in South African teacher education may be relevant. Beyond these few independent-minded exceptions, the educator as critical practitioner makes few appearances in the 'straight' HE pedagogic literature. The instrumental focus on 'teaching and learning', as if it were a subject in its own right, means that HE pedagogy has become fragmented and artificially dispersed over several distinct bodies of thought and literature.

The Educator as Psycho-diagnostician and Facilitator of Learning

Taking the first international exchange between British and N. American adult educators (Zukas, 1988) as a point for comparison, a notable difference between British and N. American AE was the absence of psychological models of the learner and the teacher from the British literature. Over the last ten years or more, this difference has been less marked as N. American AE has moved away from psychological models and frameworks, whilst AE in Britain has continued not to use them. In contrast, psychology has provided the dominant framework for HE pedagogic writing in Britain. There is a vast literature which begins with a focus on learners and educational transactions. It assumes that educators need to diagnose learners' needs, e.g. by identifying or taking into account learning styles or skills (e.g. Boyatzis & Kolb, 1991), or other individual predispositions, according to a favoured learning theory (Brown, 1993). Once characteristics and approaches to learning are identified, educators facilitate learning by using techniques and tools which meet those needs (e.g., Gibbs, 1992; Grenham et al, 1999). With learning foregrounded to this extent, pedagogy itself is conceptualised as little else than diagnosis and facilitation. This diagnostic approach is favoured by many of the "founding fathers" of British HE pedagogic research. In such approaches, psychological theories are used as tools to inform the ways in which practice takes place; in other words, theory determines practice. But, unfortunately, such theories do not emerge from practice; indeed, they are remarkable in that they discount the context and purpose of educational events, and the disciplinary settings in which such events take place.

Of course, not all psychological theory ignores context and settings. Socio-cultural psychology has transformed school teacher education and clarified the relational elements of pedagogy; research on situated cognition (Brown et al, 1988) has also emphasised the significance of context for teaching and learning. Such critical psychological approaches have not had a significant impact on HE pedagogic writing. Why might this be? Tennant (1997) argues that, if the focus is on learning rather than on psychology, "it appears cumbersome and unnecessary to address the conceptual and methodological problems of psychological theory and research" (p.1). And this hints at another reason: if

HE pedagogic research is divorced from pedagogic practice, as it often is in UK institutional structures, teachers may assume that pedagogic researchers 'know' how it should be done – they are, after all, the experts. As in management education, they may demand to know 'how to'; and psycho-diagnostic and facilitative models offer apparently easy solutions. The contemporary concern with accountability and measurability (Malcolm & Zukas, 1999) encourages the search for such solutions, and the structural separation of HE teacher training from school, adult and further education teacher training also lessens the impact of research across sectors . Increasingly, the commodification of HE encourages a conceptualisation of learning as product, rather than process.

Analysing Identities

Learning within a Community vs. Individualised Learning

The "critical practice" identity is not difficult to situate along this dimension. It focuses on learning within a community; students and teachers are considered to be social and cultural actors with identities emerging from their wider social experiences. The nature of and relations between their communities are likely to be contested, and this will have a bearing on the processes and content of classroom activity. The conscious social orientation of much AE practice means that 'student-centred' pedagogy has to involve the consideration of community identities. The 'educator as psycho-diagnostician', on the other hand, inevitably focuses on the learner as an individual - specifically, as a manifestation of psychological tendencies, processes and dispositions which can be understood and utilised for the purpose of learning. Whilst this perspective does acknowledge relations between individuals, it does not generally extend its scope beyond the classroom transaction to the broader social or cultural context, or the community identities to which this gives rise.

Educator as "Person in the World" vs. Anonymous/Invisible Educator

The educator as a person in the world - as someone with social identity, and conscious of the "worldly" baggage present in the classroom - is perhaps such an obvious element of pedagogic identity in AE that it is taken for granted. We agonise over power relations with students, and conduct vigorous debates about how our gender, class, sexual, or ethnic identity affects what and how we teach. These concerns extend to the content and inclusivity of our disciplines, doubtless informed by the social purpose tradition of AE and the sociological perspectives which have informed its growing body of theory over time. The 'educator as critical practitioner' is indisputably a person in the world, and this may account for the appeal of, for example, Brookfield's work (1995) to teachers; he addresses them as real people, with real anxieties and frailties. If we turn to the 'educator as psycho-diagnostician', the teacher's reality is generally absent; the teacher has a pedagogic function rather than a social identity. The focus is on the (equally anonymous) learner and the processes occurring within the learner that enable learning to take place. Thus HE *pedagogy*, where this model is dominant, detaches itself from those issues, such as diversity, that are addressed through social purpose approaches to HE *policy*.

Disciplinary Community vs. Pedagogic Community

HE teachers usually conceive of themselves as members of a disciplinary community. The critical practice identity enables teachers to question the content and purpose of their teaching, just as their research questions orthodoxies within the discipline. Within AE, the knowledge-content of and between disciplines has been interrogated, precisely because the pedagogic role of adult educators could not be divorced from the content of teaching. Critical practice thus allows educators to inhabit 'knowledge-practice' communities which are simultaneously (inter-) disciplinary *and* pedagogic. The educator as psycho-diagnostician, on the other hand, separates the pedagogic from the disciplinary role, assuming the existence of two separate communities. This assumption enables pedagogy to be analysed simply in terms of 'teaching and learning' rather than as an aspect of knowledge production, and in effect creates a superfluous community of (decontextualised) pedagogues. Even where pedagogy is discussed within a disciplinary context, for example in geography or chemistry, disciplinary content is assumed to be intact and unquestioned; the pedagogic role is simply to enable students to learn it. Again, the social purpose of HE is divorced from action in the classroom.

Construction Sites

The above discussion illustrates the way in which the dominant pedagogic identities in AE and HE

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reflect the persistent conceptualisation (in the UK at least) of the two fields as distinct communities of academic practice. British HE in recent years has become increasingly similar to its US counterpart, in terms of massification, diversity and academic range; in short, more like AE. However, the developing theory of social purpose in HE has tended to ignore pedagogic theory and practice, and vice versa. Despite efforts to raise the status of teaching in relation to research, the removal of pedagogy from its habitat within (inter-) disciplinary knowledge production, and the consequent creation of a separate community of pedagogic practice, actually has the opposite effect. AE can offer a model for reclaiming pedagogy, demonstrating how critical practice brings disciplinary and pedagogic identities together in a meaningful whole. This could enable university teachers to construct an identity which integrates social purpose into HE pedagogy, as well as HE policy.

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Adult Learner-centered Institutions: Best Practices for the 21st Century

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Abstract: *Adult student enrollment in higher education is approaching 50%, yet most college practices have been designed for younger, traditional age students. This study uses a benchmarking research methodology, including surveys and site visits, to identify best practices at selected adult centered institutions. The findings were distilled into one overarching theme and thirteen related themes.*

Purpose

Current policies and practices of higher education have been primarily designed for a diminishing proportion of full-time, traditional age students. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (Hussar, 1998) in 1996-97 43% of undergraduate students were age 25 and older. An issue in higher education is what constitutes an adult centered college that is responsive to the needs of what was once a nontraditional student population but is now increasingly becoming the norm. The purpose of this study was to employ a research methodology utilized by business – benchmarking – to identify and describe findings and principles of "best practices" for serving adult learners, which in turn could serve as a meaningful guide for colleges and universities for the 21st century.

Theoretical Framework

Prior work has been done in the past decade to identify higher education "good practices" for adult learners, including "Principles of Good Practice for Alternative and External Degree Programs for Adults" (Principles, 1990), and "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education" (Chickering & Gamson, 1987). While these are inspiring documents, they tend to reflect idealized goals rather than empirical research into existing practices that are most effective for adult learners. The critical need to rethink our practices in higher education is succinctly stated in one of the findings of the Commission for a Nation of Lifelong Learners (1997): "Many current higher education practices are ill adapted to the needs of employers and adult learners. They pose barriers to participation, including a lack of flexibility in calendar and scheduling, academic content, modes of instruction and availability of learning services, among others."

There is a plethora of literature about how adults learn (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999), needs of adult learners in higher education (Pascarella & Terrenzini, 1991), and examples of institutional practices (Chickering & Reisser, 1995). Given the myriad of principles, practices, and models in the literature about serving adult students in higher education, a key question is: What are the actual "best practices" being used in colleges and universities in North America?

Research Methodology

Benchmarking as a research strategy emerged in the 1990s, in the business sector. Benchmarking is "the process of identifying, understanding and adapting outstanding practices from other organizations to help an organization improve performance" (APQC, 1997). Benchmarking is probably more adaptable to "higher education than other business quality management and improvement strategies because it is founded on the very skills which academics routinely practice – the skills of research, academic inquiry and critical analysis"(Jackson, 1998). The benchmarking methodology in this study consisted of a multi-step research process.

Forming a Benchmarking Group

The group consisted of three subject matter experts from U.S. and Canadian higher education institutions, representatives from the Council for Adult and Experiential Learning (CAEL) and benchmarking specialists from the American Productivity and Quality Center (APQC).

Planning the Research Project

The group met numerous times to identify the scope of the project, to nominate best practice institutions to be surveyed, and to design the initial written screening survey.

Screening Survey to Identify Best Practice Institutions

Sixty-three higher education institutions in North America and Europe were nominated as potential best practice institutions and were mailed a screening survey. The 33 item survey asked about best practices in the research scope areas of informational issues, access and equity, academic and social integration, and career integration. Thirty-three institutions responded by the deadline.

Best Practice Site Selection

Subject matter experts analyzed the blinded survey answers and selected six best practice higher education institutions in a day-long analysis process. Five institutions are in the U.S. and one is in Canada.

Site Visits

While the screening survey asked what the best practices were, site visits to the six institutions added the "how" and "why" of the practices. A thirty question interview guide structured the day-long data collection with faculty, staff, and students at each institution. Transcripts of the interviews and discussions at the site visits provided a common data record for later analysis, along with individual notes and voluminous documents and materials from each institution.

Data Analysis

The subject matter experts read and formally analyzed all the transcripts and other data and individually proposed best practice "themes." The group convened and further analyzed the data and themes and distilled them into an initial set of findings. These findings continued to be refined in two additional rounds of analysis.

Findings

Through the comprehensive benchmarking screening process, the following six colleges and universities were selected as "best practice" institutions:

- Athabasca University, Athabasca, Alberta, Canada
- School of New Resources, College of New Rochelle, Bronx, New York
- The School for New Learning, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois
- Empire State College (SUNY), Saratoga Springs, New York
- Marylhurst University, Marylhurst, Oregon
- Sinclair Community College, Dayton, Ohio

The complex findings have been distilled into one overarching theme and thirteen findings. These findings represent best practices for colleges and universities educating and serving adult learners. The overarching theme reflects the centrality of a belief system, values, and ethos in which employees of the institutions think, breath, and operate with adult learners in mind – "Adult learner centered institutions have a culture in which flexibility, individuation, and adult-centered learning drive institutional practice." The set of thirteen findings operate within this pervasive adult-centered theme.

1. Institutions have clearly articulated missions that permeate the institution and inspire and direct practice.
2. Institutional decision-making is a shared responsibility that uses collaborative processes inclusive of faculty, staff and students to create rapid, flexible responses to student and community needs.
3. Curriculum is designed to meet individual needs of adult learners.
4. The institution uses prior learning assessment programs to honor and credit the learning which adults have previously acquired and to help plan new learning.
5. Multiple methods of instructional delivery are provided to help adult learners meet their learning goals.
6. The teaching-learning process actively involves students in collaborative learning experiences typically centered around their lives and work.
7. The institution uses an inclusive, non-competitive admissions process designed to determine the best educational match for the adult learner.
8. The institution engages adult learners in an ongoing dialogue designed to assist learners to make informed educational planning decisions.
9. The institution makes student services easily accessible and convenient to adult learners through many venues.

10. Full-time faculty perform a blended role which combines instruction, student services and administration.
11. The institution employs part-time/adjunct faculty to assure financial viability and uses them to enhance quality through their special expertise, connections to workplaces, and to deliver an accessible and flexible curriculum.
12. The institution uses technology to enrich one-on-one communication.
13. The institution makes continuous and deliberate efforts to ensure that its education remains affordable for adults while maintaining access and quality.

Discussion

The final step in benchmarking is to adapt research findings to one's institution with the goal of improving practices. One challenge in adapting these research findings is that they represent philosophical beliefs substantially different from most traditional higher education institutions. Such beliefs include a humanistic view that adults are self-motivated learners striving to improve their self-understanding, learners are truly at the center of all policies and practices, great flexibility in roles and practices among faculty and students is critical for fluid and dynamic decision-making, and practices are to be implemented in context of students being self-directed and empowered learners. These findings reflect an integrated college culture centered on adult learners and not separate practices that can easily be adapted into a culture with a dissimilar culture.

Many perspectives and principles common to adult education were clearly visible in these colleges, including andragogical and inclusive learning environments (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 1998; Tisdell, 1995), involvement and leadership among all stakeholders in the organization (Kouzes and Posner, 1987), and grounding learning in the experiences of the learners (Kolb, 1984). As colleges and universities of the 21st century evolve toward being "learning colleges" (Barr and Tagg, 1995) rather than teacher-centered colleges, and as these colleges move beyond slogans such as "student first" to actual practices that center around student learning interests, then the findings from the six colleges studied likely will be visible and active in numerous institutions of higher education across North America.

This research study provides guideposts giving directions for new responses by institutions seeking to effectively meet the needs of the growing number of adult learners in higher education. A flexible, student-centered college culture better meets the needs of adult learners than current practices designed for traditional college-age students.

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Reconstituting the *Agora*: Towards an Alternative Politics of Lifelong Learning

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Abstract: *The paper proposes an explicit politicisation of the idea of lifelong learning as learning for democracy – as distinct from the dominant but implicit account of it as learning to labour. This requires that adult education as an agent of lifelong learning reoccupies the political and curricular space in which citizens make democracy work*

Introduction

When governments become interested in lifelong learning, it is as well to be cautious; when they add active citizenship and social inclusion to the list, it may be time to be positively sceptical – not to say suspicious. How do we cope with this sudden official enthusiasm for causes we have long espoused?

The argument of this paper is that the current discourse of lifelong learning is a highly politicised discourse. Its politics, however, is a silent, unspoken politics. In the first part of the paper, this tacit politics of the dominant discourse of lifelong learning is exposed and examined in terms of the constructions of citizenship implicit within it. These are shown to be narrowly individualistic, instrumental and reductionist. In New Labour's Britain, at any rate, the economism of Thatcherism (which makes Marx seem positively humanistic!) remains unchallenged - and largely unremarked. It has become truly hegemonic in the sense that, as we enter the new millennium, it constitutes the common sense of the era: we work within its discursive blinkers with less and less awareness of how they reduce our sense of the possibilities and potential of our work.

Adult Education, Lifelong Learning and the Discourses of Citizenship

Two discourses of citizenship dominate current adult education policy and practice. Both are fundamentally economistic in the sense that they posit at the centre of our conception of lifelong learning the idea that human beings are essentially economic animals – creatures of the cash nexus. The first discourse constructs the adult learner as worker or producer. Education is the engine of economic competitiveness in the global market; unemployment and the skills gap are the consequence of not getting this right. Adult education is reduced to training for work: preparing people for their roles in production, wealth creation and profit (mainly other people's, of course) – whether or not any real jobs exist, the point being that where there is no work, the discipline of the work ethic must, nevertheless, be maintained (see Forester, 1999). It is this somewhat blinkered, supply-side view of what lifelong learning means that has tended to predominate in recent policy initiatives and led to it being experienced by many as a process of social control (Coffield, 1999). The second discourse of citizenship constructs the adult learner as consumer or customer. In this case, adult education is reduced to a demand-side commodity which may be bought and sold in the market place – just like any other commodity. As one of Mrs Thatcher's senior officials once put it, echoing her famous aphorism: 'There is no such thing as adult education – only adults in classes'. And so adult education is reduced, at a stroke, to a market transaction.

It is not, of course, that these economistic discourses do not matter – self-evidently, they do. Rather, it is that they simply do not account for enough of what adult education, let alone lifelong learning, should be about. As educators, we are not just servicers of the economy or traders in the educational marketplace. On the contrary, our real interest lies in enabling people to develop to their full potential as 'whole persons' or rounded human beings. This suggests that adult education should help people to engage in a wide range of political roles and social relationships which occur outside both the workplace and the marketplace. It is this more holistic and civic sense of what it means to be human to which the radical and social purpose traditions in adult education have always spoken – with clarity and conviction. And if we are seriously interested in reconnecting lifelong learning with active citizenship and social inclusion, it is this tradition of adult education and adult learning which we must seek to revive – and to cherish.

This tradition embodies a quite different discourse of citizenship, in which the adult learner is treated as a political agent and social actor. Indeed, it can be said that what Keith Jackson (1995) calls the "adult education of engagement" originated in the struggles of ordinary people to make their own claim to citizenship and to be included in democracy. In a very real sense, they actively and collectively asserted their citizenship as a social practice within the politics of civil society in order to claim the rights of citizenship within the politics of the state. In other words, they made democracy work. This was as much an educational task as a political purpose. What is now required is to renegotiate and reoccupy the educational space in which this historic struggle took place - essentially, the creative space between the personal and the political dimensions of our lives, between difference and solidarity (see Johnston, 1999). And, in the process, we must be prepared to learn how to do this from feminist theory and practice as well as the experience of other progressive social movements. These movements can help us in reclaiming common purpose because they show us that citizenship is an active cultural process as well as a political procedure and they remind us that democracy is a way of life as well as a set of institutions.

In the adult education of social and political engagement students come to the educational encounter as "knowing subjects" who, as citizens, have a particular, equal and indivisible political status. The curriculum is constructed, partly at least, from the intellectual and personal resources as well as the social and political interests they bring with them. They are social actors – not empty vessels, deficit systems, bundles of need or, indeed, primarily producers or consumers. Moreover, their educational interests and aspirations are shared and collective. This is the starting point because it is what they have in common as citizens (although more individual and idiosyncratic patterns of personal development may well follow). Learning is essentially about *making knowledge which makes sense of their world* and helps them to act upon it, collectively, in order to change it for the better. As such, groups of students in this kind of adult education may be properly said to constitute "epistemological communities" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, adult learning grows in and out of such communities, or social movements, as they exist in the "real world" struggling and striving outside the walls of the classroom and the gates of the academy. Adult education's relationship to these movements is a symbiotic one (Welton, 1995).

This kind of "rooted" adult education exists in most popular histories and cultures – in both the rich world and the poor world, North and South. And yet in many so-called "developed" – and now "post-industrial" – societies it seems to have all but disappeared. Moreover, as we move from the allegedly bounded, modernist "field of adult education" to the supposedly open, postmodern "moorland of adult learning" (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997), so, it seems, has the adult educator. Why is this? Does it matter?

Research: Asking the Wrong Questions

> What most conspicuously marks off the present-day thought of the knowledge classes is its self-referentiality . . . and the increasingly uncommitted stance it takes towards other sectors of society . . . (Bauman, 1999, p. 129)

In pursuing the radical project in adult education today, we confront a variety of difficulties, obstacles and contradictions. These inhere in what is increasingly – and, in the context of globalisation, pervasively – expected of us as adult educators (eg see Walters, 1997). The danger is that as they do their work in us, so we come to discipline ourselves within the terms of an alien and alienating discourse. We become, in short, the agents of our own surveillance and self-censorship. I would point to eight particular trends in current adult education policy, theory and practice which have the effect of de-radicalising our work and divorcing it from popular struggles (Martin, 1999):

1. We are increasingly exposed - and expected to conform - to the *hegemony of technical rationality* and narrowly conceived and economistic forms of vocationalism and competence.

2. To a greater or lesser extent, we are forced to operate in an *educational market place* in which knowledge becomes commodified and credentialised and educational institutions and agencies exist in relationships of competition rather than cooperation or collaboration with one another.

3. This market place - and, in particular, its

workers - are subjected to the rigours of the *new managerialism*, enforcing an accountant's view of the world in which we seem to know the cost of everything and the value of nothing.

4. The construction of the *"self-directed learner"* as consumer or customer puts the emphasis on the non-directive "facilitation" of individual and individualised learning - as distinct from purposeful educational intervention (and our own agency as educators).

5. There is a growing and seductive tendency to celebrate the authenticity of *personal experience* rather than test its social and educational significance.

6. The *"postmodern turn"* in the current theory of much European and North American adult education seems all too often to cut if off from its historical roots in social purpose, political engagement and the vision of a better world.

7. Rhetorical assertions about the importance of *"active citizenship"* and *"social capital"* in the *"learning society"* take little or no account of the material realities of context, contingency and differentials of power.

8. Despite its undoubted potential, the growing enthusiasm for *information technology* as the medium of instruction in adult education/learning raises crucial, if widely neglected, questions about the authority of the text, the privatisation of knowledge, the control of learning and the autonomy of the learner.

To sum up in the language of the radical tradition in British adult education, we are in danger of becoming the compliant purveyors of "merely useful knowledge" (i.e., knowledge that is constructed to make people productive, profitable and quiescent workers) as distinct from the active agents of "really useful knowledge" (knowledge that is calculated to enable people to become critical, autonomous and – if necessary – dissenting citizens) (see Johnson, 1979).

Learning Democracy: Reconstituting the *Agora*

So what is to be done? This paper advocates an alternative and explicit politicisation of lifelong learning as learning for democracy. This is predicated upon a renewed historical understanding and consciousness of adult education's role as an agent of social justice and as a crucial resource in the struggles of ordinary people for a fuller sense of democratic and inclusive citizenship. To what extent does this project, conceived as an integral part of a wider international struggle for democracy as a way of life, herald the possibility of an alternative "globalisation from below"?

The continuing evidence of the so-called "democratic deficit" and what Ralph Miliband (1994) has termed the "hegemony of resignation" suggests that we need, in Bauman's words, to "reinvent politics." Essentially, what is missing in our lives today is the opportunity to meet as citizens and, once again, make democracy work. The point I want to emphasise is that historically the kind of adult education in which citizens met together to talk and learn and argue helped to fill precisely this space - and to make it a uniquely democratic and creative space. Indeed, it could be said that in a very real way adult learning, often autonomous and self-directed, *constituted* this space (see Simon, 1965).

In order to begin to develop the intellectual and conceptual resources required for such a project, what is now required is a retheorisation of radical adult education in terms of learning that takes place in the intermediate space between the private lives of individuals and their public lives as citizens. This is where people must learn, once again, to meet to argue through and argue out what it means to be active citizens in a democratic society. It is the level of social reality at which, in the words of the great (now sadly neglected) American sociologist C. Wright Mills (1970), the "personal troubles of milieux" meet and mix with the "public issues of structure" – or, in Habermasian terms, the "lifeworld" confronts the "systems world." This has always been the distinctive curricular and pedagogical terrain of the "adult education of engagement," and yet it has all but disappeared – squeezed in the vice of possessive individualism, on the one hand, and the globalised power of transnational corporations, on the other. It must now be reclaimed. This is necessarily at once an educational task, an intellectual challenge and a political purpose. As Peter Alheit (1999) has recently argued, there is an urgent need to develop "meso level" theory in adult education in order to connect our work with the increasingly complex and fractured reality of contemporary individual and social experience. In my view, this task requires both an unapologetically modernist account of the underlying interests and forces at work within the so-called New World Order coupled with a "postmodern" sensibility as to how the effects of globalisation and cultural change are unevenly inscribed in people's day-to-day experience.

In thinking about this, I have found the work of Zygmunt Bauman particularly helpful and suggestive. Towards the end of his most recent book, *In Search of Politics* (Bauman, 1999), he argues (in one heroic sentence!) that:

> The endemic instability of the life-worlds of the overwhelming majority of contemporary men and women is the ultimate cause of the present-day crisis of the republic – and so of the fading and wilting of the 'good society' as a purpose and motive of collective action in general and resistance against the progressive erosion of the private/public space, the sole space where human solidarities and the recognition of common causes may sprout and come to fruition. (p. 180)

At the beginning of the book, Bauman asks: "But what is there to know?" about the contemporary world and the human condition. His answer is, in short, that "the growth of individual freedom may coincide with the growth of collective impotence" (p. 2). This is largely because we have lost the political "art of translation" between our private lives as individuals and our public lives as citizens of the republic. Consequently, however widespread and shared our personal experiences and anxieties, we lack the communal means to "condense" these into "common causes."

What this existential crises of late modernity requires of us is that we "seek collectively managed levers powerful enough to lift individuals from their privately suffered misery" (p. 3) to conceive and grasp, once again, a mutually negotiated and agreed apprehension of the "common weal" and the "good society" (as distinct from merely the "good life"). This means, in essence, determinedly countering the logic of market liberalism which is to render politics insignificant and to reduce citizenship to mere consumption and choice. The task therefore is, indeed, to re-invent politics.

Bauman's book is not about education (although the idea of the seeds of democracy sprouting and bearing fruit certainly evokes a process of learning), but his argument does present what seems to me to be a fundamental challenge to educators today, especially those of us who choose to pin our colours to the mast of "lifelong learning". If this somewhat vacuous term is to mean anything that really matters, it must be about *learning for living* as distinct from merely *learning for a living* - or, at any rate, it must be understood in existential as well as instrumental terms. On this view, the central task on the lifelong learning agenda should be to confront what Bauman identifies as the worm at the heart of democratic life in the rich societies of today: "the trouble with our civilization is that it stopped questioning itself" (pp. 6-7). Consequently:

> The art of reforging private troubles into public issues is in danger of falling into disuse and being forgotten; private troubles tend be defined in a way that renders exceedingly difficult their "agglomeration," and thus their condensation into a political force. (p. 7)

Here, then, is the central educational task within a socially progressive and politically purposive interpretation of lifelong learning: to act as the agent of an alternative politics of lifelong learning to the dismal litanies of possessive individualism, instrumental rationality and the new managerialism. Lifelong learning for democracy must help to "bind the *solitary* (and frightened) beings into a *solidary* (and confident) community" (p. 7)

This sounds very different from the limited (and limiting) orthodoxies of the mainstream debate about lifelong learning today. In fact, what it involves is, essentially, a rediscovery of the roots of popular adult education and a rehistoricisation of contemporary struggles. The adult education of the social purpose tradition has always acted as an agent of what C. Wright Mills termed the "sociological imagination" and - by showing ordinary people how to "translate between" the private and public spheres of their experience (as well as *vice versa*) - of their emergent political aspiration and consciousness. In a sense, this kind of adult education - and I would emphasise that it is essential to restore the *agency of the educator* within the lifelong learning paradigm - is a necessary corrective to the emphasis in modern political theory on the separation of the private and public domains. What matters, according to Bauman, is "the *link*, the mutual *dependency*, the *communication* between the two domains" (p. 86). Democratic politics requires that what we are accustomed to see as a boundary should become an "interface," ie where crossing over and back between the two domains is made easier rather than more difficult.

This re-invention of politics is predicated upon a re-excavation of the dialectical space of civil society, the *agora* of the Greek *polis*, between the private world of the household (*oikos*) and the public world of the state (*ecclesia*). This is the critical and creative space in which citizens meet to make democracy work. It is important, however, to note that it is not a separate, intermediate domain, Rather, it is an educational and cultural space in the lives of citizens which is constituted by their political activity as citizens. Historically, the *agora*, has been invaded, colonised and destroyed by totalitarianism and other forms of state tyranny; today, however, in the "there is no alternative" era of the New World Order and globalisation the danger is that the democratic state simply abandons this space, letting it lapse into a "no-man's-land . . . left vacant for any adventurer eager to invade" (p 97). Rebuilding the *agora* is as much an educational task as a democratic purpose (eg see Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1999). It is also the essential precondition for contesting the logic of globalisation, the effects of which are the "progressive separation of power from politics" and the instantiation in all our lives of the "political economy of uncertainty."

There is a crisis in Western democracy, but the etymology of "crisis," as Bauman points out, suggests that it means a time for decisions rather than a time of catastrophe. If we care about democracy, we need, once again, to *learn to learn together* and decide together as citizens. We also need to find new ways of making our world make sense. As Bauman puts it, "we search for theory when things previously at our fingertips get out of hand" (p. 142). Adult education as an agent of lifelong learning can make a distinctive contribution to this task. But first we must become more critical and reflexive about ourselves and our work: recognising, for example, the elisions and evasions of a woolly humanism, the reductionism of over-determined radicalisms, and the ludic temporising of much postmodern theorising.

The adult education of social purpose and political engagement has always occupied this intermediate - and often precarious – space between the state and civil society, engaging with the collective experience of its students and turning it to social and political action. In this way, it has been a vital instrument in the struggle to extend democracy, mediating the relationship between the liberal tradition of citizenship as an ascribed, individual status and the civic republican tradition of citizenship as a collectively asserted social practice (see Lister, 1998). This is the space that a repoliticised adult education practice now needs to reoccupy in order to stimulate and support lifelong learning for a more active and inclusive construction of citizenship. In short, what we have to do is put the adult back into adult education and lifelong learning.

Conclusion

Adult education as an agent of lifelong learning has a crucial part to play in articulating each of the three discourses of citizenship outline above, *and the balance between them*. In order to make the connections between lifelong learning, democracy and citizenship we must recognise that people *learn to be* active citizens in a democratic society - and, moreover, to recognise that their capacity for learning and changing has always been the key resource for making democracy a way of life. This is no panacea for the social, economic and political ills and inequalities of late modernity, but it is one way of beginning to get to grips with some of them.

Historically, the radical tradition locates adult education as an integral part of progressive social movements: part of the common cause of liberation, the advancement of collective interests and the political project to create a more just and egalitarian social order. It is at once an educational philosophy, an intellectual commitment and a political position. What Raymomd Williams (1961), that great British adult educator and lifelong learner, called "the long revolution" to make, and re-make, the connections between learning and earning and living in a democracy continues. We now need to reconstitute the *agora* by stretching the discourse of citizenship implicit within the current policy agenda for lifelong learning in order to make our work, once again, part of that unfinished revolution.

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Questioning Research as a Contextual Practice

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Abstract: *Authoritative texts on research in adult education rarely question how research practice is shaped by its context of application. This paper attempts to develop a knowledge production perspective on research as contextualised practice, one that highlights the relationship between researcher understandings and the situations, participants, processes and texts of research.*

The Problem of Research in Context

We take the problem of research-as-practice to be one of understanding how research is shaped in context. There are obstacles to developing such an understanding – first because of the dominance of paradigm theory in thinking about education research and also because of a number of neglects. The first neglect is of social theoretical perspectives in the adult education literature, the second is a neglect of the diversity of contexts which comprise the field and shape research within them and finally, the third is a neglect of understandings of the way researchers are constructed by their engagement with the context of research.

In approaching this problem, there is little help to be had from the idealised views of research depicted by textbook authorities for audiences of academics and postgraduate students engaged in scholarly inquiry. An alternative view sets out to question the orthodoxies of educational research and particularly to the dominance of "methodology" as an idea governing research practice. Research practice can be analysed as something constituted by the contexts in which it is conducted as well as in terms of the researcher's framework of presuppositions, and paradigmatic choices, though too much academic breath has been wasted on the latter.

It may be more interesting to understand research as an ordinary and practical process, a profane and political one, in which the researcher defines and pursues a problematic, influenced by questions of power and relationship with others, of ethics and negotiation with participants, of naming and theorising concepts, of design and method, of project management, writing up and not least, all the textual practices that go into manifesting research.

Paradigm and the Idealisation of Practice

Without traversing the literature on research paradigms, it is a useful start in making an argument about research practice. In brief, the preoccupation of the educational research literature with paradigm and its confusion over the different meanings and levels of analysis of paradigm has constructed a supposed "philosophical" discourse of research that serves our understanding of research practice very poorly.

This failure is in part because the educational research debate has tended to deny the social theoretical account of paradigm associated with Thomas Kuhn (McIntyre, 1993, 2000) providing an account of research practice that leaches out the politics of institutional power inherent in the Kuhnian formulation. Abstracted philosophising about research is interesting, but research is operationalised through institutional frameworks and power relationships. Reinstating the analysis of research as powerfully institutionalised leads us to ask how research is shaped by its engagements with educational realities. Research in adult education is always institutionally located and defined by values and ideologies which have roots in different traditions, and adult education is distinctive in dealing with "practice" in a wide range of contexts - workplaces, adult education centres, community organisations, political activities, literacy campaigns, to name a few.

This rich contextuality opens up questions as to how a particular context of inquiry constructs or constitutes the researchers' understandings. It draws attention to the values and interests that drive researchers and the value conflicts arise from different ideas about adult education and training; and that therefore, researchers need to look to their guiding assumptions, values and interests as part of the framework for inquiry (McIntyre, 2000).

If we re-instate the idea that educational research is an institutionalised activity then this directs attention to the research traditions (such as North American behavioural science, German interpretive sociology or social critical theory, Althursserian structuralism, Foucauldian post-structuralism and so on) that embody taken-for-granted assumptions about methodologies, literatures, research ethics and so on. It also means that some of the eminently researchable things in the field are to be found in what is distinctive about the context of practice.

Not only do particular contexts of adult education and practice shape researcher understandings, but academic research itself has been encountering new challenges to the idea that it is safely removed from the politics of education and the interventions of the state in education policy, its commissioning of research for policy and its wholesale restructuring of institutions (McIntyre, 1997).

The contemporary state has taken a much more direct role in shaping educational realities, under the political-economic pressures of the shift to global capitalism (Yeatman, 1991, 1994, 1998; Sullivan & Yeatman, 1997), and this has had several consequences. In particular, the new bureaucratic state has employed strategic research to engineer policy changes – for example, in making vocational education and training respond to the needs of industry or learner "clients" through competition policy and drawing private and community providers into a national training system. Educational policy has itself become an important focus of research and critique (eg Ball, 1990, 1994; Halpin & Troyna 1995; Peters & Marshall, 1996; Marginson, 1993; Taylor, Rivzi, Lingard & Henry, 1997). The context of policy provides a leading case for examining research as contextualised practice.

Researcher Understandings and Policy Research

Some concept of researcher understandings is useful in theorising the way research is produced by the researcher in context. The term "understandings" is a privileged one in ethnomethodology (eg Garfinkel, 1969; Heritage, 1992). "Background understandings" are key yet unstated constituents of a research account (or text) – a rich field of "constitutive assumptions" or sets of competing understandings that may be paradigmatic, philosophical, policy-related or pragmatic. These understandings originate in the multiple contexts of the researchers' work and come into play in the negotiation of the meanings of research (McIntyre & Wickert, in press).

It is not possible here to elaborate on an ethnomethodological account of such understandings, though it can be noted that this provides one way to bridge paradigm theory to questions of the researcher's agency or "praxis". In its radical form popularised by Garfinkel, ethnomethodology has the potential to subvert the pretensions and idealising tendencies that are so evident in some influential conceptions of qualitative research. It exposes to analysis the discrepancy between descriptions of method and procedure and the manifold "hidden work" that is glossed in researchers' descriptions of their activity. A focus on researcher praxis also makes political and ethical questions, such as what adult education research is for and who it is for, the most significant questions to be asked.

An ethnomethodological account foregrounds the "ordinary and practical" of the researcher's engagement with context. Such an account enables us theorise what happens when that context is policy work – when research goes to work for policy. By no means is the "policy context" to be taken for granted, but needs theorising in terms of an account of the contemporary state and the conditions that it sets for policy work. Thus the "new contractualism" (Sullivan & Yeatman, 1997) sets up new demands for research to work for policy production, creating a need and rationale for commissioned research (McIntyre & Wickert, in press). Yeatman's analysis of the "shift" in the nature of the contemporary state has been influential in Australasian accounts of public policy (eg Marginson, 1993; Taylor, Rivzi, Lingard & Henry, 1997; Considine, 1994, Peters & Marshall 1996). These conditions redefine the domains of "research" and "policy" and their relationships, and generate new roles for agents in the policy process. In turn this raises key questions about the ability of researchers to influence the policy agenda that has required their services. Are they mere agents of the state or is there scope for "policy activism" (Yeatman, 1998).

Such questions are only answerable by some analysis that understands how researcher understandings are constituted by the relationships of research and policy in particular contexts. Paradigm is almost irrelevant to this analysis, and it is necessary to turn to other constructs to grasp the connections between researcher understandings, practices and research outcomes. These include questions of the nature of the working relationships that are predicated by the new conditions of policy production particularly the working of the research contract.

McIntyre & Wickert (in press) argue that the nature of the "knowledge resource" for policy making has shifted from a closed knowledge-base captured within the portfolio to a relatively open system where relevant knowledge can be assembled or constructed around immediate policy requirements. The critical thing is the way that meanings of policy are negotiated by and how they mutually shape the understandings of parties to the process – researcher and bureaucrat alike. This leads to an account of the co-production of policy meanings in which the policy and research "understandings" in play are a key element in grasping the contextualisation of research practice.

The Genres of Commissioned Research

A textual analysis is one way to examine the complex dynamic at play in understanding the way researchers construct and are constructed by the context of their research. Furthermore, such an analysis can show that notwithstanding the complexity of the dynamics, "at many points in a research commission there are issues to be resolved as to its scope, meaning, direction and implications" (McIntyre & Wickert, in press).

This account might begin with an examination of the co-production of authoritative texts that do the work of re/presenting new kinds of knowledge. Such an account could involve an analysis of the various textual features of the genres of commissioned research. These might include, for example, an examination of the submission and the final report. This kind of analysis can offer useful insights into the constructions of knowledge in collaborative institutional relationships. However, we would suggest that this analysis can be more productive when informed by a consideration of genre theory where the focus of analysis is not on genre as a textual product but on genre as a set of textual *practices*. In this framing, *genre* is understood as a social category where texts are understood as social processes (Freedman & Medway, 1994) — this offers an important framing for considering the complexities of the context/s of collaborative research practices. Furthermore, understanding genre as a social process has a resonance with the current focus on process in contemporary research discourses. These include, for example, the work of Gibbons et al (1994) on *modes* of knowledge production and the work of Stronach and MacLure (1997) that portrays contemporary research as research *games*.

Genre theory has an appeal as it draws our attention to the central role of language in research (Usher, 1997; Game, 1991), where language is not a neutral or innocent medium that transmits information, but works as a technology for producing social realities, for creating domains of thought and action. As argued elsewhere (Solomon, work in progress), governmentality is a powerful complementary theoretical partner for genre theory in any examination of the relationships between government, institutions and subjects. While this paper does not allow for a full explication of this hybrid theorisation, here we will just allude to the strengths of such a theoretical partnership.

In exploring the contextualisation of research, governmentality provides an understanding that assists in exploring the politics and the "language" work that are re/presented in commissioned research publications. It helps to link this work to their various institutional sites and the various academic positions that are reflected in and through the publications. Miller and Rose (1993) use the term "intellectual technology" to capture the significance of language in contemporary governing. For Miller and Rose, language provides "a mechanism for rendering reality amenable to certain kinds of action" (1993, p. 81). In other words language renders aspects of existence amenable to inscription and calculation and thus amenable to intervention and regulation. Language is therefore understood as part of the complex process of negotiation involved in bringing persons, organisations and objectives into alignment. We suggest that the collaborative arrangements of commissioned research are one such alignment where the academy, industry and government are brought together to construct new language(s), new subject positions, new products and new processes that work together as governmentality by furthering the productive potential of the population.

The placement of genre into a governmental framing, "takes-up" the challenge posed by Freedman & Medway:

> Genre studies are a particularly promising instrument for illuminating the social process in its detailed operation, and afford an op-

> portunity we should not refuse of examining what it means to be part of an institutional process. What does participation in a genre do to, and for, an individual or group? What opportunities do the relationships reflected in and structured by a genre afford for human creative action, or, alternatively, for the domination of others. (1994, p. 12).

This uptake of genre can profitably adopt Rose's notion of inscription, which are of a particular form and include statistics, charts, graphs and drawings and written reports. We would like to suggest that genres are inscriptions that render actions and events into information in a way that "serves" the objectives of programs of government. Genres can therefore be understood as a technology for linking the government of others with the government of the self. They are a technical device that provides structures that allow for play and that foregrounds the relationship between texts and practices – all of which offer possibilities for subject positioning including that of the researcher.

This view allows for an understanding of commissioned research texts as a site of intersection between governmental technologies, institutional locations and the position of the writer. Texts produced within those institutional arrangements are both processes within and products of those institutions and importantly, at the same time, they have also produced, and been produced by, particular kinds of subjects. ".. the production of genres are inextricable from the social, institutional apparatuses which 'obligate' certain kinds of subjectivities for their ongoing maintenance." (Fuller & Lee, 1999)

This hybrid theorisation is a useful one in exploring the contextual production of knowledge in commissioned research. It enables a consideration of the complexities of academics doing collaborative research where each of the institutional partners is located within different histories and politics and where their working together brings to the surface a range of methodological and epistemological tensions. Genres of commissioned research are textual practices that are central to the struggles within the hybrid space in which the partnerships between government, university and industry are played out. They are the site through which new knowledge is negotiated and where new kinds of researchers (academic subjects) are constructed.

In other related writing (Scheeres & Solomon, 2000; Scheeres & Solomon, in press), we have focused on these struggles by arguing that it is unhelpful to understand academic participation in commissioned research simply as one of compliance. Indeed, the discourse of compliance is one we have been struggling with in our own research work and reflections on that work. We now argue that the compliance discourse is particularly problematic because it fails to take account of the complexities of the new times for work: a global context within which traditional boundaries are blurring and one where ideas about what constitutes knowledge and workplace practice are in a continual state of change and migration been changing rapidly. But, also importantly, compliance discourses fail to give academics a space for a more active role in their collaborative relationships with industry and government partners. The creation of a space for academic researchers to take up positions as "active subjects" creates a third or hybrid space for them to "be" at work.

In this work, the textual practices of a number of commissioned research projects were examined, understanding the practices as sites of knowledge production as well as exemplars of self-regulating academics. The examination was "contextualised" by exploring not just the written genres but also a number of spoken genres through which the research unfolded. These included the spoken interactions during the construction of the submission; the negotiations at steering committee meetings and with project team members; as well as the numerous interactions during the empirical research stage. Together these spoken and written genres, it was argued, established the social relationships and textual boundaries of the research and the new knowledge. Each genre served to discursively mediate the historical, functional and hierarchically differences of the various players. Each became a boundary marker representing a stage in the process of knowledge production. Each is a kind of inscription that renders a particular domain of thought not just thinkable but also doable and accountable.

An analysis of the genres of commissioned research, using this framework, works with the complex contextual conditions that underpin contemporary academic research. It draws attention to the way the various participants, through the research textual practices, play within the new hybrid spaces that are created by the opening up of institutional and disciplinary boundaries. These new spaces challenge the comfortable familiar distinctions between public and private domains, between disciplinary knowledge and working knowledge and between the workplace and the academy, that once ruled academic work and academic subjects.

Conclusion

This paper has addressed the theoretical neglect of educational research as contextualised practice, questioning the tendency of authoritative texts to present accounts of research that are philosophically idealised. It was suggested that such decontextualised accounts of research are puzzling in the field of adult education and training, given its diversity of institutions and practices.

The paper has suggested that educational policy work has emerged as a key context for academic research practice in the contemporary state, and that the engagement of researchers "at work" for policy is rich in possibilities for analysis of practice as it shapes and is shaped by context. Several possibilities for this analysis are explored, including the significance of "researcher understandings" that are present in framing research, negotiating the "research meanings" in play and producing research outcomes. Practice is also theorised as a policy knowledge production process through the analysis of commissioned research as genre, meaning the process and textual practices that realise research texts. This analysis shows the "ordinary and practical" activities of research in contexts of engagement as teeming with possibilities for theoretically exploring language and power in the work of research.

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Lifelong Learning Goes to the Movies: Autobiographical Narratives as Media Production

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Abstract (Pitch 1): *A blockbuster of a paper (nominated for Best Foreign Contribution) in which the heroine describes a perilous path through the territory of narrative theory and text construction. She encounters the threshold guardians of writer's block and self-doubt, wrestles with shapeshifters, tricksters and shadows, rallies after encounters with mentors and allies and returns to the ordinary world with the elixir of lifelong learning (or, at least, a completed conference paper).*

A Rational, Modernist Beginning (Pitch 2)

Autobiographical research has developed into a significant strand in the literature of adult education over the last ten years. Researchers have drawn on their own life histories in order to enhance understanding of personal development, identity construction and lifelong learning; feminist and postmodernist approaches, which emphasise the need to understand personal experience and to analyse subjectivities and identities, have informed this work. At the same time, autobiographical reflection has increasingly come to feature in the practice of adult educators with the growth in the use of mechanisms to document and accredit life experience and prior learning, and in the use of learning diaries and portfolios.

Despite the proliferation of autobiographical explorations in adult education, there have been few attempts in this field to provide frameworks for analysing such texts. This paper sets out a model to assist in the construction and analysis of autobiographical texts of lifelong learning. The model is developed from a metaphor of media production according to which a lifelong learning biography may be constructed in terms of the following stages in the production of a media artefact such as a movie, sitcom or soap opera: pitching, scripting, casting, shooting, editing and screening.

In earlier work (see, for example, Miller, 1999) I have attempted to analyse the intersection of my personal experience with cultural artefacts such as television series and popular songs and to deconstruct the way in which I draw on images and sensations from popular culture in making sense of the everyday. I have also argued that the increasing use of electronic media in learning makes it important for educators to engage with the processes by which media texts are produced and disseminated and to understand the ways in which media images and representations pervade all our lives. I believe adult educators' theory and practice can be enhanced by taking seriously the texts and pleasures of popular culture. This paper takes my analysis further and suggests a systematic approach to the examination of autobiographical narratives.

The model described in this paper draws upon Goffman's concept of the impression-managing dramaturgical self (1959) and Berne's unravelling of the rich tapestry of life scripts (1973) as well as upon narrative theory. Writers such as Propp (1968) and Campbell (1973) have demonstrated how myths and stories across the ages may be seen to feature common characters, themes and structures, often built around the ordeals and lessons of a heroic journey. Despite Lyotard's definition of postmodernity as "incredulity toward metanarratives" (1984), it seems that mythic structures are remarkably enduring. Berger (1997) shows how contemporary texts from comic books to spaghetti Westerns can be shown to fit a classic pattern. Vogler (1996) demonstrates that even a film like Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction*, often celebrated as a prime example of a postmodern text, can be seen to contain standard mythic elements, although not necessarily in the usual order. But let's begin this text at the beginning. Once upon a time ….

Unrolling The Pitch

Pitching involves selling the idea for a media product; it may be equated with establishing a rationale and standpoint. Since Hollywood moguls have exceptionally crowded diaries and limited attention spans, the sellers of concepts for films and television series have to develop skills in presenting their script ideas in the most compressed way possible, establishing genre, plot and treatment in a few words.

The two introductions which I offer at the beginning of this paper are constructed in different discourses and employ contrasting conventions, but they are both attempts on my part to sell my text to my audience. The first owes more to journalism than to social scientific literature and the second employs my straighter academic voice. In the first there is explicit reference to mythic archetypes and narrative structures, and the need for hyperbole is assumed. I establish myself as the central subject in the drama to be unfolded, and suggest a story with a conventional beginning, middle and end. The outcome follows the classic story-telling pattern in the return to the ordinary world with a reward. In the second pitch my selling is more muted. My imagined audience is narrower than that for Pitch 1, and I assume the need to support my statements with the reassuring parentheses of bibliographical reference. But it would be a mistake to see this text as "truer" or more authentic than the first version. It, too, contains impression management and self-construction, this time of an experienced writer as located in dominant paradigms and research traditions, with a history ("In earlier work") as well as a trajectory.

An example from my back catalogue of autobiographical narratives illustrates further some features of the filmic opening gambit, and underlines the potential connections between stories of the self and media production. It is a pitch for the film version of a chapter for an academic book about women's experience of technology in everyday life:

> *This Saturday Night Life:* A red open-top MG disturbs the somnolence of a West Midlands mill town one Sunday morning. Nod has been drawn inescapably back to her home town to search out the mysterious connection in her life with the shadowy figure of C. Wright Mills. As she drives past the scenes of her childhood, we see in flashback some of the formative incidents in her life, including the strange case of next door's outside toilet, the big black telephone, the BBC's construction of the Coronation and the Drop Forgings From Hell. As Nod pieces together the puzzle that connects her life and bookshelves, we begin to understand the difference between animation and facilitation. In this Boulting Brothers production, the contemporary Nod is played by Marianne Faithfull; the younger Nods are played by Meg Ryan and Alicia Silverstone. Peggy Ashcroft and John Mills star as her parents and her brother is played by Sting. Donald Sutherland appears as her ex-husband. C. Wright Mills is played by Eddie Izzard.

The chapter deals with my early encounters with domestic and industrial technology as I grew up in a 1950s working-class community, and my attempts to grapple with issues of relative deprivation, social mobility and gender relations. In this metanarrative (written for a seminar discussion about "truth" and fantasy in autobiography) I frame the chapter as a gritty rags-to-riches drama (filmed partly in black and white) featuring menacing objects and secrets from the past. My theoretical exploration of the formation of the sociological imagination and the intersection of biography and history in society (Mills, 1970) is embodied in the shapeshifting figure of C. Wright Mills. As is often the case, I move to the casting stage from the pitch without troubling to write a detailed script. Getting to grips with the script takes us to the second stage of the autobiographer/media producer's journey.

Churning Out the Script

Scripting is the process of plotting a story, writing dialogue, setting the scenes and identifying significant events and themes. It sounds easy enough if you say it fast, but, at least in my experience, it is an immensely testing business and drives me to considerations of an alternative career. As ever, *Seinfeld* encapsulates the point well. In Episode 48 (*The Cheever Letters*), Jerry and George procrastinate over starting the script for their sitcom pilot, going out for a protracted breakfast, taking hours to compose two lines of dialogue, falling asleep on the job and abandoning work for the day with relief when Kramer makes an entrance.

Having sold my script successfully to the AERC selectors via my impossible-to-resist promise of a new theoretical model, I forgot all about having to write the paper for several months. By the time I geared myself up for serious scripting, the deadline was looming and I was drowning in administrative tasks and adrift in managerial anxieties. In mid-February I finally cleared a day to begin some dedicated academic endeavour. This was how it went.

> *Scene 1:* Interior, day. An untidy study in a terraced house in the East End of London. February, 2000. Our heroine sits frowning at the screen of her iMac. She types a sentence and deletes it. She pushes a pile of email printouts and committee minutes to one side and pulls *The Writer's Journey* out of a jumbled heap of large fat books on the floor. She flicks idly through the index and returns glumly to the text on the screen. She opens another Word file and cuts and pastes a paragraph. The background music (Van Morrison's *Brown-eyed girl*) fades out and she crosses the room to find another CD. She inserts *Prince: The Hits 1* in the CD player. Humming absently to *I could never take the place of your man*, she returns to the computer and begins to type in time with the music.

Getting started with the plot means crossing a threshold which often seems fraught with danger. I turned for clues to theorists of the storyline. Christopher Vogler, a former story analyst for Disney, demonstrates how the rules of story-telling which shaped classical myths and folktales still underpin most successful artefacts of the movie industry. He suggests that stories are made up of stages along the hero's – or indeed heroine's – journey, including: a call to adventure; threshold crossing; meetings with mentors, allies and enemies; ordeals; rewards, redemption and return. This is how he describes the starting point for myths (and many movies):

> Most stories take the hero out of the ordinary, mundane world and into a Special World, new and alien. This is the familiar "fish out of water" idea which has spawned countless films and TV shows (*The Fugitive, The Beverly Hillbillies, Mr Smith Goes to Washington, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, The Wizard of Oz, Witness, 48 Hours, Trading Places, Beverly Hills Cop* etc.). If you're going to show a fish out of his customary element, you first have to show him in that Ordinary World to create a vivid contrast with the strange new world he is about to enter (Vogler, 1996, p.19).

Once I had conceptualised this text as yet another story, and my starting point as myself in my "ordinary world," I was well on the way to composing Scene 1 above.

A new insight into the way in which narrative structures are embedded in my life and shape my understandings of experience came about last year, when my father went into a coma after what was supposed to be a routine operation. He spent two months, unconscious and full of tubes, in an intensive care ward before he died. After several weeks during which members of my extended family returned nightly and sadly from the hospital to debate about what was happening, it began to dawn on me that the itchy discomfort of these events stemmed in part from their lack of congruence with the expected sequence of television hospital dramas. In such shows as *ER* (Fox) and *Casualty* (BBC), the journeys between health and illness and life and death are as frequent as the Underground service from Bow Road to Whitechapel. However, the pattern in such shows whereby protagonists move from the ordinary world to the special world of illness, undergo a crisis and then quickly return to health or die was not mirrored by the pace of real life. The script of a 50-minute show like *ER* does not allow for hovering on the verge of life and death (between crisis and resolution) for what seems like an interminable period.

Casting Around for Mentors, Allies and Enemies

Casting involves processes of identity construction, development of character and recognition of significant others. In casting the characters in my autobiographical drama I situate myself in a set of social relations and explore questions of self-image and subcultural affinity. In the typical mythic story, the cast of characters includes:

> questing heroes, heralds who call them to adventure, wise old men and women who give them magical gifts, threshold guardians who seem to block their way, shapeshifting villains who try to destroy them, tricksters who upset the status quo and provide comic relief (Vogler, 1996, p.33).

It is important to note that writing autobiography almost always involves writing the lives of others as well as oneself: hence the slash in the term auto/biography. My preference is almost always for ensemble playing; my own heroic journey throngs with fellow-travellers, comrades and co-authors who are on my side in the battles with shadows and shapeshifters. The genre of many of my favourite internal dramas is to be found in the texts of peer-group friendship from *The Young Ones* (the Cliff Richard version) through *Grease, The Big Chill, thirtysomething, Four Weddings and a Funeral* to *Friends* and *Seinfeld*.

The inspiration for some creative casting in my life drama came out of a conference experience a couple of years ago. I was presenting a conference paper I had written with a colleague in which we described a collaborative experiment involving the analysis of our own autobiographical narratives using interpretative frameworks derived from psychoanalysis, sociology, feminism and anthropology (Miller & West, 1998). The time available for introducing papers was severely constrained so that my co-presenter and I had just seven and a half minutes each. I elected to use my time for a performance entitled *Deconstructing Nod*, in which I located myself in a network of relationships represented in the conference, and situated my professional practices and identities in relation to elements of personal experience and to a range of theoretical paradigms. I concluded with a pitch for the movie of my life so far (*This Saturday Night Life*), describing its genre, cast and soundtrack. Some conference participants joined in the game of choosing performers to play themselves in the movie of the conference, and later that day, another scene wrote itself:

> Scene 2: Interior, night. A bar in a university hall of residence. Flashback, July 1998. The camera moves in on an animated group of academics (played by Nicolas Cage, Jerry Seinfeld, Whoopi Goldberg, Robbie Coltrane, John Goodman, Susan Sarandon, Cameron Diaz, Tom Hanks, Julia Roberts, Mel Brooks, Tim Robbins, Meg Ryan and k.d.lang) dressed predominantly in black leather, who sit round a table full of empty lager glasses. Tim Robbins is telling the story of an encounter with a distinguished professor at another conference, which revolves around the identity of this character (cameo part here for Eric Clapton) as "master of his domain." There are cries of "Let's all give Eric a big hand," "I hope he's coming next year" and "I shall never be able to look at his seminal text in the same way again." The soundtrack features Hootie and the Blowfish (*I go blind*).

Camera! Action! Take! Retake!

The next stages in the production of movies and autobiographical texts are shooting and editing, which constitute the selection, framing and interpretation of events. I suspect that when I first began to use autobiography as a research method I retained some ideas about uncovering "truth" through my explorations. Certainly when in 1989 I put together an account of my learning experience to date, I searched obsessively for documentary evidence in the form of letters, photographs and old essays to support my memories (Miller, 1989). But of course autobiography always involves artful construction. In putting together an autobiographical account of my experience, I draw on years of raw material and select elements which fit the particular story I am telling on this occasion. In the case of this paper, much text which I was rather pleased ended up being deleted in order to keep to the required six pages, consigned to the hard disk equivalent of the cutting-room floor.

These days I recognise the process of autobiographical writing as an active construction of myself for a particular audience and purpose. I construct myself through writing about myself, as, indeed, I do through my everyday conversations. I tell stories to my friends of what has recently happened to me; often the narratives are tried out with one friend and then honed or edited with another. Over time the issue becomes not so much whether the story is "true" or "exaggerated," but rather whether its timing is appropriate and whether its elements are arranged in such a way to maximise drama or ironic effect. In writing the process is more clearly open to scrutiny. I type one version of the story of an event and then read and reread and tinker with the words, consult the thesaurus, insert synonyms, change the order of phrases to enhance the rhythms and flow of sentences, cut, paste and chop out unnecessary sections. What ends up in the final version is more to do with what fits the criterion of what works on the page than with what might be more or less "true."

The soundtrack of a movie or television show represents a powerful framing device which impacts on ambience and dramatic pace. In a recent paper, a colleague and I made fleeting reference to the importance of popular music in the "soundtracks of our lives" through the device of using song titles as sub-headings (Edwards and Miller, 2000). My personal soundtrack is drawn from an extensive catalogue of (mostly) pop songs recorded over the last 40 years and stored on vinyl, audio cassette, CD and my brain cells. I wrote this paper, as I write all my texts, to the accompaniment of such allies, shapeshifters and mentors as Marvin Gaye, Jimmy Buffett, Fleetwood Mac, They Might Be Giants, Van Morrison and the Grateful Dead. Music gives helpful inspiration to autobiographical re/construction by providing access to earlier selves and sensations.

A telling representation of the place of pop music in the construction of narratives of selves may be found in David E. Kelley's television series *Ally McBeal,* whose characters regularly slide from case conference or bathroom visit into languorous dance routine or spirited musical production. Such is the pleasure in the way that the power of pop songs in the head is manifest in *McBeal* that I am prepared to forgive the writer/producer his soggy storylines and to follow the show's predictable journey through the territory of romantic love unfulfilled. Even Barry White turns out to have heroic dimensions.

Waiting for the Ratings

The final stage on this autobiographical journey is screening, which represents dissemination or publication (although of course that's just another beginning). Here is a clip which illustrates some of the issues:

> Scene 3: Interior, night. The AERC movie theatre. Flash forward: June 2000. Cast and crew assemble to view the director's cut of *This Saturday Night Life.* What began as a home movie has turned into a major international co-production, so that there is a global array of talent in the house. Al Pacino, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Robert de Niro, Kris Kristofferson and Paul Hogan greet one another. Waves and smiles are exchanged. The lights dim, a hush falls and the opening credits flicker. The camera moves in on the writer. She glances round at allies, mentors and shadows in the audience. Will they cheer? Hoot with derision? Ask for their money back?

The issue for an academic autobiographer is less that of box office returns and more that of peer acclaim, as measured in citations, reviews and RAE points.

Returning to the Ordinary World of Lifelong Learning

In this paper I have set out a metaphor for understanding and analysing autobiographical texts, and I have tried to illustrate the lessons and pleasures of intertextuality and popular culture. As an adult education researcher, I am particularly concerned with accounts of learning and change. The stages of the heroic journey of myth and legend would seem to fit well with descriptions of lifelong learning, which frequently feature elements such as encounters with mentors, obstacles to be overcome, ordeals to be endured and prizes to be won. It occurred to me as I was writing this paper that my own learning story (as told in Miller, 1989, for example) in which a dominant motif is that of social mobility through education (the heroine as working-class kid made good) has strong overtones of *Cinderella.*

Much of my learning these days comes about through reflection in the course of producing written texts, and I have tried to capture here some aspects of another journey: the hazardous trek from abstract to publication. While the practice of writing is more sedentary than killing dragons, setting off on the composition of a text seems not so different from climbing a beanstalk. There are some risky monsters which are particular to the autobiographer's journey. Two with which I have skirmished (not unscathed) in the course of the present journey are gratuitous self-exposure and narcissism.

In the original pitch for this paper, I suggested that I would offer a model for the construction and analysis of autobiographical narratives. As I read through rough cuts of this piece, I realised that my analysis was almost entirely confined to the construction of my own texts, and an account of my own journey through this particular piece of writing. The application of this model to the texts and stories of others awaits the sequel to this production.

Thanks to executive producer Rod Allen, on whose knowledge of international co-production I regularly rely.

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The Ever Widening Gyre: Factors Affecting Change in Adult Education Graduate Programs

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Abstract: *The purpose of this survey study was to understand the factors that have influenced recent changes in the size of adult education graduate programs. We found that integration has a significant effect on changes in student enrollment while leadership, innovation, and integration all significantly predict variance in faculty growth.*

The Purpose of the Study

Over the last five years, a number of adult education programs have been dismantled or have merged with other programs. This fact, combined with the loss of key theorists in the field, point to the possibility of the field diminishing. Others argue that the field has always had programs closing at the same time that other programs were growing or new ones were opening. Some departments have increased enrollment and added faculty members over the last five years. Furthermore, various fields of adult education practice such as human resource development have never been stronger. The purpose of this study was to understand the factors that have influenced the recent changes in the size of adult education graduate programs. This study provides evidence of changes that have occurred in these programs. Understanding these indicators may help those in academic programs better prepare to combat negative changes and support continued growth.

Historical Perspective

Adult education graduate programs first emerged in the 1920's to meet the needs of teachers and administrators, with a course title first appearing in 1922 at Columbia University and a curricula leading to an advanced degree established by 1932. The 1920's and the 1930's saw an expansion of different forms of adult education in university graduate programs; and, with the exception of a small decline during World War II, the number of adult education courses continued to rise well into the 1980's (Houle, 1988). The foci of programs during the 1960s were competence, social understanding of practice, philosophy and values, zest for continued study, and conducting and interpreting research (Liveright, 1964).

On the other hand, the field has had warning signals. In 1988, Kreitlow identified nine danger signals for graduate programs: isolation from other disciplines, lack of commitment to the department with which the program is affiliated, acceptance of educators not trained in adult education, homogeneous age range of faculty members, lack of internal communication, decline in funded research, limited publication record, decline in image within the college, and concerns by graduate students about the status of the program (in Peters & Jarvis, 1991). This study sought to assess the prevalence of these warning signs today.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to understand the factors that have influenced the recent changes in the size of adult education graduate programs. Survey methodology was employed to measure faculty and administrators' perceptions of the factors influencing their programs. One primary research question was addressed in this study:

To what extent do leadership, integration, and responsiveness to change predict changes in size of adult education programs over the past five years?

Instrumentation

Instrument development drew on findings from an earlier research project involving both qualitative and quantitative methodologies conducted in a Ph.D. seminar class, a review of relevant literature, and practical considerations based on conversations with faculty members and administrators. The earlier study was conducted in several phases using a mixed-method research design. This was a collective research project initially involving 11 Ph.D. students in data collection and analysis.[1] The faculty member responsible and her graduate assistant developed the research design and guided all phases of this project. The first phase focused on the collection of qualitative data through 11 interviews conducted with a purposeful sample of faculty and administrators. Participants were chosen to encompass the diverse field of adult education in terms of full-time faculty and those with administrative responsibilities; large and small programs; and among geographic regions of the United States. The transcripts from these interviews were analyzed using open coding to develop preliminary themes (Merriam, 1998). Three themes common across all the interviews were identified and led to a definition of key variables that influenced changes in adult education programs (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). One of the themes, program integration, dealt with the identity, image, and value given to the program by both the college and the institution. The two other themes were program innovation [or responsiveness to change] and leadership.

In the second phase, survey items were developed based on these variables, using data from the interviews and informed by the literature review (Fowler, 1993). A pilot survey consisting of 52 questions was completed by 13 adult education programs, with one person responding from each program. Scales were developed which corresponded to the qualitative themes. The survey was refined based on input from an expert on survey design and pilot responses. The final survey items were predominately Likert-type questions, and used a 6-point response scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Section One of the final survey consisted of twelve items that dealt with the integration of the program into the college as well as the institution. Section Two consisted of eight items that measured perception of changes or innovations in individual programs. Section Three consisted of eight items and dealt with issues of leadership and their impact on the programs. Section Four contained eight questions designed to elicit the actual changes in size of the program in terms of numbers of faculty and students between 1994 and 1999. The final section asked for demographic information and solicited open-ended comments.

Individuals were e-mailed a cover letter requesting their participation in the study which also gave the address and password of the web site to complete the survey. A copy of the survey was attached to the e-mail message. Respondents had the option of responding by completing the survey on the web, returning an e-mail, or faxing the completed survey.

Sample

Program selection began with the CPAE directory Part II dated November 1998 which lists Adult Education Programs in the U.S and Canada. Programs not in the U.S. were automatically eliminated. Individuals were then identified from the CPAE directory of Professional Colleagues, dated October, 1999. Individuals who were listed as adjunct or who did not list an e-mail were eliminated. Two faculty members with national knowledge of the field were then asked to review the list, adding new hires, adding adult education programs and faculty from the AHRD list, eliminating individuals who were retired, not in adult education programs and/or in non-faculty roles.

Another 12 individuals either replied and declined to answer the survey or had permanent fatal-flaws with their e-mail address. Finally, one individual was asked by a member of her university to complete the survey and was then added to the sample and another individual in the sample responded from his new institution, adding another program to the sample. This left a final sample of 131 individuals and 71 adult education programs.

Several strategies were used to improve response rates (Dillman, 1983). These included individual cover letters sent out via e-mail that assured individual confidentiality and stressed the importance of the participants' responses. The letter was sent on the senior researcher's e-mail account and contained her signature. Follow-up consisted of a second e-mail message as a reminder. The final sample consisted of 78 individuals representing 50 programs or an adjusted sample of 60% of individuals and 70% of adult education programs.

Data Analysis

Data from the survey were analyzed from the web-based survey using SPSS 5th Edition.[2] Data analysis consisted of again examining the reliability of the scales using Cronbach's alpha. All scales were reliable with reliabilities of .8560 [leadership], .9099 [integration], .7678 [responsiveness to change]. We then sought to answer the research questions using multiple regression analyses. All analyses were conducted at the program level. Wherever there were multiple responses from the same program, responses were collapsed into one case representing the mean of responses from that program.

Findings

To what extent do leadership, integration, and responsiveness to change predict changes in size of adult education programs over the past five years?

We found that the dependent variable, changes in size, could not be collapsed into one construct. Therefore, we treated change in student enrollment [consisting of two items, one regarding Master's student enrollment and one regarding doctoral enrollment] as one dependent variable and change in the number of FTE faculty as a separate variable. Figure 1 depicts the final simple regression analysis related to changes in graduate student enrollments. Although integration was significantly related to increasing student enrollments, it only accounts for 16% of the variance in student growth. When leadership or responsiveness to change were added to the multiple regression model, the model was not significant.

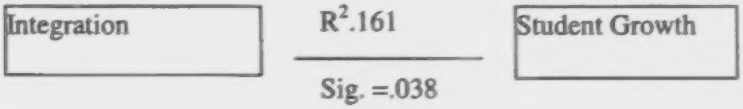

Figure 1. Determining variance in student growth

Figure 2 indicates that almost 32% of the variance in faculty growth was explained by the three independent variables and this relationship was highly significant. Strong programs appear to have strong internal identity and appropriate integration within the university. Leadership and innovation were also important in predicting variance in size.

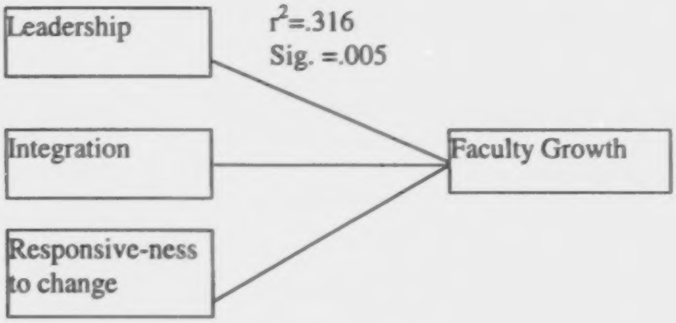

Figure 2. Determining variance in faculty growth

Additional findings of interest were analyzed using frequency analysis. We asked programs to indicate whether or not they had experienced changes of leadership, organizational location or identity. Table 1 presents these results.

Item	Percent Yes
Change in Leadership	63%
Change in Program Name	28%
Program Mergers	33%
Change in Location within the College	31%
Change in College Location	9%

Table 1. Percent of Programs reporting Changes

Finally, we examined the intercorrelation among the dependent variables of faculty and student growth and the relationship was not significant [Sig.=.052].

Discussion

From our pilot study, we expected to see a strong relationship between leadership and changes in size. It was interesting to see that integration was the only strong correlate of changes in student enrollment and that it did not necessarily follow that more students led to more faculty. In fact, less than half of the programs reported an increase in faculty [$\Sigma = 2.89$] while more than half reported increases in Masters and doctoral students [$\Sigma = 6.65$]. It was interesting to learn that almost two-thirds of our respondents reported changes in leadership in their programs over the last 5 years. A number of respondents mentioned that there was no longer an adult education program per se, just adult education faculty [who were 5 years closer to retirement!] and that the program was now HRD, higher education, technology, or leadership.

Comments from respondents suggest that all is not well in graduate programs in adult education. The following comments from the survey range from those about issues of responsiveness to change, to leadership, to integration.

- Little change has occurred since the faculty has little interest in change.
- We have split into two strong, even contested, orientations – HRD and social change/social action.
- The entire enterprise of academe has changed drastically in the past five years. We have gone from the academy to the business. . . Students are routinely viewed as customers. Research has been emphasized above all else. Operations are more and more chaotic and goals are more blurred.
- Our dean seems to have a pretty narrow world-view – and it is teacher education.
- We have a new dean who is focused primarily on K-12, but willing to learn about AE.
- This survey was difficult to complete since there is only one coordinator/faculty AND the program is being eliminated.
- The university has been very supportive, especially my division and dean. Many of the other graduate school of education faculty do not understand adult education, but are increasingly gaining respect for the program as they see the high quality of the work, research and teaching.
- I think that the most important change in adult education programs could be the integration of adult education into the main focus of education. Deans do not support what they don't understand. By engaging in more articulation with education in general, programs probably would come out better financially and in the selection of new resources and faculty. However, the most disappointing aspect of being a faculty member . . . has been the inability for people and programs to change. A lack of leadership is abundant!!!!
- We are constantly aware of the need to be visible and our long term survival depends on our ability to find ways to be integrated with teacher ed. It also helps us that there are now other non-teacher education master's programs (i.e., educational technology).
- The current surviving adult ed. program is now charged with justifying its existence within a college that focuses almost exclusively on K-12. . . . Keeping an adult ed. program going at this university, in spite of support from the top

> of the university, is an exhausting and time consuming endeavor. It steals time from scholarship and fragments focus. . . . In addition, being in a program that everyone seems to like, but is not central to anyone's main purpose (in leadership positions, that is) means that we are in line for very few resources and little support. . . .It's frustrating and discouraging to be a scholar in this field…I am an adult educator, but in order to be so at this institution, I find I must spend at least half of my time if not more networking, advocating, marketing, etc.

Implications for Adult Education Graduate Programs

This study has significant implications for scholars who would design, develop and administer graduate programs in adult education. With W. B. Yeats (1921), we see the field "Turning and turning in the widening gyre, the falcon cannot hear the falconer; things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world; the blood dimmed tide is loosed and everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned. The best lack all conviction while the worst are full of passionate intensity." What is clear from these data is that graduate programs in adult education have some reason to be concerned. Integration, while strongly correlated with positive change, also appeared to have the potential to diffuse or dilute the program's strengths. In addition, the goal of lifelong learning has been so successfully promoted that programs throughout the college of education now embrace this mission, making programs in adult education less viable as champions of that mission. It would appear that strong programs are those with strong leadership who are well integrated into the university, who are also responsive to change. Clearly, recruiting more students was not sufficient to ensure a positive future for adult education graduate programs. "Surely some revelation is at hand; surely the Second Coming is at hand."

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[1] The authors want to thank the students in EADU 9600 for their contributions to the initial pilot study on which this survey was based.

[2] All analyses were done by Dr. Tom Valentine. The authors want to thank him for the generous contribution of his time.

Models of Community Development Practice

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Abstract: *We address two models developed in a research project that explored community development practice. We begin with a brief introduction of our research, continue with the presentation of the models, relate them to existing theory, and conclude with why the introduction of new models is justified.*

This paper represents a progression of our work of the past three years. We initiated this ongoing research effort in 1997 to explore what guides the work of community development practitioners. We began with a small sample in the southeastern United States, but have since had the opportunities to make our study international encompassing eight countries in five continents. Rather than formal theories, we learned about implicit practice-based theories formulated in the work community developers perform and the elements that influence their reflective practice. We have presented our research in a number of forums, including AERC, the Community Development Society of North America, the International Community Development Society in Scotland, and an international symposium in Botswana. The purpose of this paper is to present and test the models of reflective practice in community development we developed in the course of our research.

This study utilizes grounded theory, a research methodology that builds theory from practice. Grounded theory is a qualitative method of inquiry in which the researcher intends to generate or discover substantive theory, meaning theory that is rooted in practical situations and that provides explanations of key social processes grounded in empirical data (Creswell, 1998). Data are collected primarily through interviews, supplemented by fieldwork. Typically 20-30 people are interviewed. The constant comparative model of data analysis is used, and the focus is on social processes. Grounded theory results in an analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation or practice setting. It describes a plausible relationship among concepts and sets of concepts (Merriam, 1998). In this type of study, approximately 35 interviews are usually conducted and data sources other than interviews are utilized. We have collected data via interviews, site visits and observations, and photographs and documents with 33 practitioners in 5 countries.

We began with interviews of 10 practitioners in the southeastern United States and the findings indicated that they were aware of the complex nature or communities, valued inclusiveness and collaboration processes to involve people, and were conscious of the need to incorporate indigenous, local knowledge of community residents in action planning and following up on results (Moore & Hill, 1998). We reported about the addition of 13 community workers in Australia and another group from the United States and Canada making a total of 23 interviews (Hill & Moore, 1999a). These results included practitioner support for valuing local knowledge, leveraging community resources, and providing space for people to be involved and voice their opinions about issues. Strategies and techniques used by practitioners for these activities included using local stories and residents' visions of the future as a method to make plans for change in communities. In addition, practitioners acknowledged using culturally relevant mental images and metaphors as tools for communicating with peers and community members. In 1998, we collected 10 additional practitioner interviews from Botswana, Malaysia, and Canada which were added to the existing 23, making a total of thirty-three interviews. We reported these analyses and findings at the International Association for Community Development conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland (Hill & Moore, 1999a). Findings which emerged were related to the power of government interventions and the unintended consequences of government support for community change. Further, practitioners were concerned about top-down expert dictates for change, loss of local control in decision making, and the need to involve residents of different backgrounds, races, and cultures in community development activities. Based on our research, we have conceived two models of community development practice which will be described below.

In 1999, additional data were collected in Taiwan and Scotland which are being analyzed for inclusion in this ongoing research. Additional manuscripts are under development concerning diversity in community development practice (Moore & Hill, submitted) and the influence of cultures regarding community worker perceptions and actions (Hill & Moore, submitted). Despite the obvious language, cultural, and location differences there are many basic community organization and development issues of agreement expressed by community practitioners.

The Models

In this section, we describe the two models that have resulted from our research. They are presented separately, but are interrelated. Figure 1 represents a model of reflection in community development practice and can be found on the last page of this paper. Elements of the proposed model are:

- *Implicit practice-based theory.* In the course of doing their work, practitioners tended to develop personalized and practice-based theories based on their field experiences. They formulated strategies and theories about community development work to inform their practice. We have labelled them implicit because they tended to become something that wasn't articulated but influenced their actions.
- *Beliefs about community.* Practitioners must assess how capable a community is to chart its own course and how to assist them. Community development practitioners struggle with the appropriate blend of local knowledge, involvement of outside experts, accepting directions from local leaders, and when to call upon their own knowledge in community development activities. They are challenged about when and how to bring in outside knowledge such as new government regulations or activities in neighboring communities.
- *Talking/working together/observing.* Practitioners learn by working with each other and community residents, working together on projects, visiting other communities, and soliciting ideas and suggestions from their peers.
- *Literature-Based Theories.* Our participants turned out to read widely in business, environmental, policy studies, law, psychology, agriculture, and adult education. A synthesis of multiple theories is their guide rather than a single theory derived from community development literature.
- *Field Experience and Practice.* This is the central component in reflective practice. It is through experience and ongoing practice, in which a practitioner attempts to assist communities, that a practitioner reflects on his/her work and formulates his/her implicit practice-based theories.

While each element of the model is described separately, they do not exist in isolation. Practitioners described to us that they are guided by a synthesis of these elements to address needs in the community. What links the different elements is constant reflection. The people we interviewed seemed to be continually assessing the effectiveness of their work in solving community problems and were aware of their capacity to do harm and good.

Each of the elements is represented by a circle and curved arrows illustrate dynamic interactions between the elements of the model. We used the term reflection, illustrated by the larger circle in which the model exists, to capture the many activities, ideas, and thoughts practitioners had about community development. In earlier discussions, we vacillated between whether practitioners' theories or field experiences ought to be placed in the central of the model. Since our research focus is on theories developed and used in daily work in community development and our research indicated it was the element of central importance to practitioners, we decided to make it the focus of our model.

Closely related to *beliefs about community* in Figure 1, Figure 2 represents the idea that practitioners have the ability to work back and forth along a continuum of practice ranging from practitioners collaborating with local knowledge to imposing outside expertise, depending on the situation. We have specified points along the continuum: 1) imposing expert knowledge, 2) importing useful information, 3) eliciting knowledge, and 4) collaborating with local knowledge. These points are not designated to suggest that these are the only choices a practitioner may make. A practitioner may alter his/her position as circumstances and needs change. In North America, community development practitioners tend to favor a bottoms-up approach, collaborating with local knowledge. However many factors intervene in other countries including lack of technology and resources, needs of indigenous people, lack of education, and widespread poverty. We found that many practitioners in countries such as Malaysia and Botswana lean toward supporting local knowledge but sometimes find it necessary to impose outside expertise. They are making the best choices given the resources available, the people, and the context and appear to be deliberate in their choices in approaching the introduction of outside expertise to a community.

Figure 2: Situational Continuum

|---x---------------------------x---------------------------x----------------------------------x---|

Imposing outside expertise	Importing useful information	Eliciting information	Collaborating with local knowledge

The situational continuum describes a major decision community development practitioners make when faced with a particular set of circumstances and participants. These decisions are heavily influenced by the elements described in Figure 1: implicit practice-based theories, field experience, beliefs about community, current literature, and their communications with other practitioners. Choosing whether to approach a project by imposing outside expertise, by working exclusively with local knowledge, or any position in between the endpoints of the continuum is a crucial decision that sets the tone for a practitioner's involvement with their community.

Relationship to Existing Literature

Our research about what guides community development practice has been influenced by several theories relating to reflective practice. Concepts such as double-loop learning (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Bright, 1996), reflective practice (Boud & Walker, 1990), reflective thought and action (Barnett, 1989), and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) are relevant to our research. Schön (1983) suggests that many practitioners engage in reflective practice, and that they may develop theories-in-use that are based in knowledge that is used daily to make judgements about what actions to take in a particular context and situation. Reflective practice "is an active, proactive, reactive and action-based process defining a set of skills concerned with understanding and dealing with real, complex, and difficult situations" (Bright, 1996, p. 167). For example, Wellington and Austin's (1996) model suggests that professional efforts can be both domesticating and liberating, depending on the value and belief systems of the professional. This does bear some relationship to our situational continuum but seems to lack the dynamic quality we propose. Boud & Walker (1990) offer a framework of reflective practice that relates preparation, experience, and reflective processes about how professional conduct their work. Their inclusion of the social milieu elegantly captures the ideas we have represented by *talking, working together, and observing*.

Wenger's (1998) social theory of learning views learning as a fundamentally social phenomenon with individuals talking about meaning, identify, practice, and community. The elements of his model are meaning, practice, community, and identity with learning as the central component. Wenger refers to the various items being as deeply interconnected. It does not seem very important which element occupies the center space. This certainly appears to resonate with our model and we have the same opinion that the elements can be interchanged. Wenger elaborates on the concept of communities of practice, which he suggests are an integral part of daily life and include our family and work life, schooling, and recreational activities. In a profession such as community development, ways of practice develop in community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise (p. 45). Through our research, we began to perceive that practitioners function as more than a collection of individuals, but rather that there were relationships between groups of practitioners. We suggest that the profession of community development also functions as a community of practice through its associations and conferences.

Conclusions

Several models of reflective practice exist in the literature. However, to date the practice of community development has not been explored from this perspective, and neither have these previous studies been conducted on an international basis. While the models of reflective practice existing in the literature are informative, we found them inadequate for explaining the complexities of what guides community development practitioners in their work. Several factors differentiate the work of community development from other professions: 1) the diversity of their work, 2) its location in the community, 3) practitioners travel to the communities they work with but are usually not members, and 4) the situations they work with are complex involving decision making, problem solving, and interacting with many people.

Given that models of reflective practice exist already, it must be asked why we would propose a new one. Since the model in Figure 1 is based in our research with community development practitioners in several countries, one reason for the proposal is that the model we propose is specific to community development, and we hope that practitioners may find it useful in considering their work and to teach the profession to newcomers. A second reason is that we present several elements that influence reflective practice. The central element is field experience and practice, because it is in being confronted with new situations that reflection may intensify. All four elements on the periphery of the circle in Figure 1 influence the way people approach their field work and practice and it in turns influences them. What ties the all five elements together is reflection on practice, and we believe there is almost a continual interchange between the various elements. Practitioners continually refine their understanding of the literature, beliefs about community, what they learn from conversations with others, and eventually their own implicit theories. They approach new projects and situations with values and beliefs based on their history of field experience and the other elements identified in the model. The situation in turn influences their implicit practice-based theories.

It is possible that the models we propose may be applicable to other professions, although this idea is not based on any evidence and is speculative at this point. In Figure 2: Situational Continuum of Community Development Practice, it seems reasonable that other professions may make similar choices regarding their actions in particular circumstances. In Figure 1: Community Developers Thinking About Practice, the element currently named *beliefs about community* could be renamed *beliefs about profession* or perhaps *beliefs about context*. Further research with occupations other than community development may serve to further refine the models. For example, a similar study conducted with adult education practitioners or some of the medical professions would provide interesting information.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS
Thinking About Practice

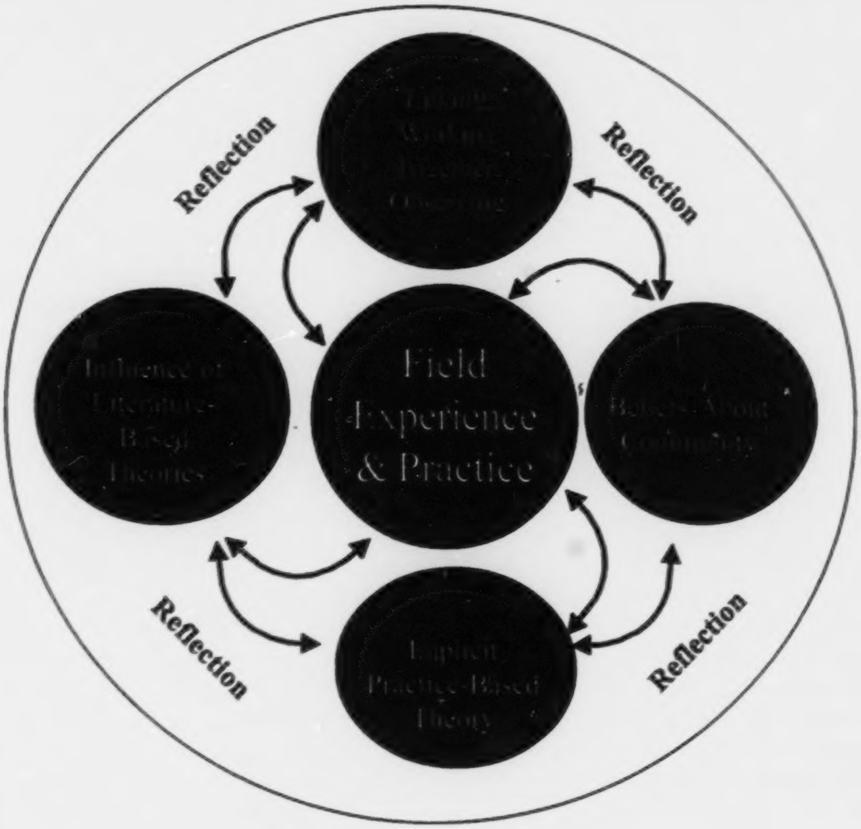

Figure 1

The Promise – and Peril – of Web-Based Course Delivery in Adult and Continuing Education

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Abstract: *Much has been argued about the advantages and pitfalls of computer technology in the delivery of adult education. This research examined the use of web-based instruction in terms of learner attitudes, students' differential use of computer technology, and the impact on learning outcomes and technological competency*

The Case for Web-Based Course Delivery

Course delivery via computer technological allows educators to reach a greater number of learners sometimes at great distances from the campus classroom. Learning via websites, electronic bulletin boards, "chat" rooms, or other interactive means can support a variety of stimulating learning experiences. But is computer technology all that it promises? Or, do our students take advantage of courses delivered via technological means at the detriment of their comfort or learning? Do women and men enjoy, respond, or learn equally well in a technological environment? And what are the lasting outcomes and impact of the increased use of educational technology? These questions compel adult educators to examine the use of computer technology in terms of delivery effectiveness, the rationale behind our choice of technology, and even whose interests are being served. In partial response to these questions, the purpose of this research was threefold. The first was to survey the attitudes of adult learners regarding their use of web-based instructional technology in graduate adult education classes; the second was to examine the ways in which adult learners differentially use computer technology in their learning; and the third was to explore the impact of successive use of computer technology in terms of learning outcomes and technological competency.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework informing this research focused on three distinct, but inter-related aspects of our society's computer culture. First, the substantive and often contradictory literature describing computer anxiety and self-doubt regarding technology competency (Scott & Rockwell, 1997) and gender issues relative to attitudes, access, and computer use (Durack, 1997; Reinen & Plomp, 1994; Westbrook, 1999) were illustrative and helpful. More specifically, the literature on the context of educational computing served as a basis for understanding the sociocultural differences present in and perpetuated by technology (Bromley & Apple, 1998; Mangione, 1995) and the gendered notions of technology, education, and work (Missingham, 1996). And third, recent literature on computer-mediated communication and the effect of technology on linguistic patterns and style provided a background for understanding the participants' online communication styles (Baron, 1998; Rossetti, 1997; Savicki, 1996; Yates, 1997). In addition to these three related bodies of literature dealing specifically with the research, theories and models of learning styles and instructional strategies were also informative.

Research Design

This research project employed a mixed methodological design utilizing two brief attitudinal and demographic surveys, focus group and individual interviews, and document analysis. This mixed and triangulated design amplified descriptive and attitudinal data with more in-depth and clarifying qualitative data that added richness and understanding of participants' views regarding their use of computer technology in learning.

Research Participants

The project took place between July, 1997 and June, 1999, during which time a total of 28 graduate students (12 men and 16 women, age 32 to 64) participated. There were ten African-American participants, two Asian, one Latino, one Native American, and 14 Caucasian students. All participants were degree-seeking adults who during the term of the study were enrolled in at least two graduate courses delivered solely by means of web-based technology.

Course Design and Content

The web-based courses were electives in an Adult Education (MAEd) degree program at a mid-sized Doctoral II university. The courses were multiple sections of an Issues and Trends in Adult Education course with topics including: Multicultural Issues in Adult Education Practice; The Role of Human Resource Development in Adult Education; and Leadership in Adult and Continuing Education. All of the courses were delivered in an abbreviated summer session of 5 weeks, during which time the students would normally have met twice weekly for 4.5 hours each night.

The three courses utilized a variety of computer technology and web-based instructional strategies such as email, threaded discussion boards, synchronous chats, internet searching, and course lecture and presentation material placed on the university's server. Students were expected to be knowledgeable of these strategies and have at least limited technological proficiency, However, both online tutorials and technical assistance were available for students during each course offering.

Research Strategies

Specific research strategies included a brief (20-item) attitudinal and demographic survey, a follow-up survey, focus group and individual interviews, and document analysis. In addition to simple demographic data, the surveys (one administered upon enrollment and the second at the conclusion of each course) included questions related to: students' experience and comfort level with computer technology; reasons for choosing a web-based course; degree of anxiety regarding the web-based delivery; expectations held about the delivery mechanism, degree of difficulty, and outcome of the course; and the likelihood of choosing another web-based course in the future. The attitudinal items utilized a 5-point Likert scale for ranged responses.

Focus group and/or individual interviews were conducted at the beginning and again near the conclusion of each course to assess student attitudes. All of the interviews were conducted by a graduate research assistant in order to offer anonymity to the participants and illicit the most forthright responses. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim for subsequent data analysis.

Document analysis included review of students' online communications, learning journals, course assignments and grades, and the students' self-reported technological competency assessment. Their online communications were examined for frequency, length, and nature of response; their learning journals and competency assessments served to corroborate attitudinal and interview responses; course assignments and grades were the primary source of learning outcomes.

Data Analysis

Given the small number of participants in this research, the survey data were of limited, descriptive value only. The document analysis consisted largely of content analysis as prescribed by Denzin and Lincoln (1994); qualitative data were analyzed using constant comparative methods according to Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Findings

Research findings were organized in terms of the three broad research purposes, those of learner attitudes toward the use of web-based technology for learning, differential use of computer technology, and learning outcomes and increased technology competency.

Learner Attitudes

Two significant themes emerged in terms of learner attitudes, the first dealing with the students' motivations for enrolling in a web-based course. The students cited three primary reasons for their participation: (a) convenience, specifically in terms of class attendance; (b) intrigue or curiosity about the technology; and (c) the need to learn some aspect of the technology. Convenience was identified by 95% (12 men and 15 women) of the students as either their first or second reason for participation. More women than men (82% and 34%, respectively) reported intrigue, interest, or curiosity with the technology as their primary motivation. As one participant said, "I just can't imagine how we're going to *talk* about these course topics without being in the same place!" Another reported being curious about how the use of technology would impact the time she spent on her course work. And yet another cited her intrigue with chat rooms, adding, "This will be a way for me to find out about them in a safe environment." Women again outnumbered the men (42% and 12% respectively) in citing the need to learn technology as their primary motivation.

The second theme dealt with the degree of anxiety regarding the students' use of web-based technology in their learning. While there was some acknowledged moderate anxiety, it was more in terms of "not being able to get online in the evening" or "not understanding the concepts if we can't talk about them in class" than about technological proficiency. There was no difference between women and men, or between ethnic groups in the degree of anxiety regarding the actual use of the technology.

Differential Use of Computer Technology

The second purpose of the research, examining the differential use of computer technology, resulted in some of the more curious and significant findings. Specifically,

- Women more frequently referred to computers as "tools" for coursework, whereas men considered their course work as "a chance to play on the computer for legitimate reasons." The majority of the women reported enjoying the web-based instruction but having to "strategize and limit [my computer time], because I don't have time to play."
- Four participants — all people of color and nearly 30% of the minority students — cited computer access as an issue. Two of these students didn't own a computer at all; one woman did all of her work in the university's computer labs, and one man who enjoyed the support of his employer used the company's computer equipment and access during his lunch and break time and after work. Both of these students worried that their "lack of opportunity and access to equipment might put us behind and limit the time we have to work on homework." A third student who cited access as a problem noted having to "share the computer with my children, so there's no time to enjoy learning it." And, finally, the fourth student for whom access was a problem noted substantial long-distance charges incurred because he lived in a rural area without a local internet service provider or direct link to the university's server.
- Women's online communications were generally longer, more in-depth, and more frequent, often in response to others' postings. In spite of noting access difficulty, family responsibilities, and career pressures, in all three courses, women's collective communications were 37% longer than those of the male students. The women also reported spending longer reading and preparing for their more in-depth postings to course assignments and others' postings. As one participant noted, " Using the computer for dialogue and response to course topics isn't much different for us than in class. In this environment, too, we are more thoughtful about crafting our response; we talk more with one another. We don't just give an answer and go on to something else."

Learning Outcomes and Technological Competency

The research was least surprising and informative in regard to the third question of learning outcomes and technological competency. Learning outcomes were assessed primarily by course assignments and end-of-course grades. The students' self-reported technological competency was based on ISTE standards adapted for post-secondary students.

Course grades. Throughout the course, all students demonstrated significant learning and mastery of course objectives. And, there was little difference in learning outcomes as measured by students' end-of-course grades. Twenty-two of the 28 students (78.57%) earned an *A* for their course work; five students (17.86%) negotiated alternative course assignments which resulted in grades of *B* for the course, and, one student requested an *Incomplete* that was later changed to grade of *B* when her course work was completed.

Technological competency. While increased technological competency was not a stated objective of any of the courses, gains in proficiency relative to various computer functions and applications were expected. At the conclusion of each course, the students completed a self-reported assessment of their technological competency according to measures identified by ISTE standards. All the students reported increased proficiency in the majority of competencies, with women reporting the greatest gains. Twelve students (43%) reported learning applications or competencies which they previously did not know. Women more frequently than men reported improved attitudes toward web-based learning and stated they would "eagerly enroll in another [web-based] course."

Implications for Adult and Continuing Education

This research holds both theoretical and practical significance for adult and continuing education specifically in terms of program planning and implementation. This research supports current literature about sociocultural aspects of access, computer use in education, and gendered communication patterns. On the other hand, this research sheds new light on women's approaches and attitudes toward computer use. Thus, this research presents several opportunities to dispel myths regarding learners in technologically delivered courses, in particular revealing women's pragmatic approach toward computer use and no more anxiety than their male counterparts. Additionally, it suggests a leveling of the playing field, as it were, in terms of communication patterns in class dialogues mediated via computer technology.

Pragmatically, educators will continually be called upon to reach a greater number of more diverse learners. The use of computer technology, especially web-based learning can help meet this challenge – if attention is given to the critical issues of access, learner attitudes and anxiety, learning styles, and communication patterns. This preliminary research clearly suggests that women and men may learn equally well in web-based courses and that web-based learning may serve to encourage and support learners' increased comfort with and use of computer technology. Continued exploratory research such as this can further serve to guide adult and continuing educators in asking the right questions regarding the use of educational technology for learners in the next century.

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Aging and Learning in a Non-Western Culture: The Case of Malaysia

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Abstract: *A case study on older Malaysian men and women revealed that from their perspective, aging is seamless and a period of contentment. They are concerned about their health, spiritual, and community. They learn informally to meet the changing demands of their life. The learning is shaped by their cultural value.*

How individuals view their own and others' aging will be framed by the values of the cultural group to which they belong. Indeed, these values will likely determine the issues and concerns of older adulthood as well as the nature of the learning activities for this life stage. Giordano (1992, p. 23) observes that "culture and experience provide expectations that shape the process of aging by defining and evaluating an older person's status and role." How well an aging person adapts to changing life circumstances is a function of a "group's cultural heritage [which] represents the accumulation of its tried and tested methods for adapting to life." The purpose of this study was to understand the nature of aging and learning in a non-Western culture. The Southeast Asian country of Malaysia was deemed a particularly rich setting for this study as the culture itself is a blend of three Asian cultures – Malay, Indian and Chinese.

In the West, which values individual control, self-sufficiency, autonomy, activity and production, the "modern Western tradition harbors few inspiring narratives [about aging] apart from more technical control of aging processes" (Baars, 1997, p. 294). Media-based narratives are market-driven, reflecting a "battle against the decay of human nature in the form of wrinkles, loss of energy, and memory, while political narratives "are dominated by discussions about the costs of care required by the aging society" (p. 294). By and large, the plethora of studies of aging in the West focus on how to maintain independence, adapt to changing life circumstances, overcome health problems, compensate for cognitive decline, and so on. These values are reflected in the learning needs of older adults in the United States. Wolf (1998, p. 20) summarizes the trends as:

> Self-sufficiency, the ability to remain in control of one's life, is a prime motivation for adults of all ages....Learning for exercise and health maintenance is essential....Education for continued self sufficiency, for community living, for vocational, retirement, health, housing, and for other concerns is ongoing. Indeed, new ways of approaching aging, known as "successful aging" in medical gerontology and "productive aging" in political gerontology, are a part of understanding the changing role of the older adult. Education for autonomy for older cohorts will be essential.

Studies with Asian older adults suggest that while there are some commonalties in the issues, concerns and learning activities engaged in, there are also differences. Most older adults are concerned with health matters and to some extent the security of their living situation. However, family relationships and spiritual life appear much more prominently in studies with Eastern elderly; these concerns of course reflect Eastern cultural values of the collective over the individual, harmony and spirituality over material and personal well-being.

Malaysia covers an area of 329,723 square kilometers. About six percent of the 22 million populations are senior citizens. Malaysian culture is a mixture of primarily Malay, Chinese, and Indian ethnic groups, each with its own set of values, rituals, symbols and heroes. However, values common to all Malaysian ethnic groups include a focus on collectivity and relationships, respect for elders, loyalty, social hierarchy, religion, harmony, and saving face (Abdullah, 1996). Of particular interest to the researchers in this study was how these values framed how older adults themselves characterized both aging and learning in late life.

Methods

A qualitative research design was employed to address the questions of the study. Qualitative research is descriptive and inductive, focusing on uncovering meaning from the perspective of participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Merriam 1998). The sample consists of nineteen Malaysian adults from both rural and urban settings. The age range is from 60 to 83 years old. Of the 19 participants, 10 are Malays, 5 are Chinese Malaysians, and 4 are Indian Malaysians. There are 12 men and 7 women in the study. Level of education ranges from three participants with no formal education to one with a Ph.D. Data were collected through in-depth interviews. Eleven interviews were conducted in English; six in Malay and translated simultaneously to English by the bilingual research team member; two interviews conducted in Tamil were translated by a bilingual assistant. Data were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using the constant comparative method as presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Findings

Findings from the inquiry are presented in two themes. First, the characterization and concerns in aging. Second, learning in aging.

Characterization and Concerns in Aging

Malaysian older adults in this study characterized aging as a seamless process, as a period of contentment, as having freedom from responsibility, and as a time of respect. The participants see older adulthood as merely a continuation of their life as they have lived them, rather than a separate stage of life span to be segmented out with its own unique developmental tasks and issues. Older adults studied had trouble considering themselves old. According to Manan, a public administrator turned politician and later businessman "I never grow old. I feel young, but I don't act in a young way." At 74, everyday Manan keeps on planning things he needs and wants to do, both in short and long term. Manan passed away a few months after the interview.

The older adults seem to accept aging and its limitation. It is natural to be less healthy. Despite not being able to walk due to arthritis, Karimah is thankful for what she has and learned to cope with her disability. The participants are contented with their present life. The contentment has largely to do with their freedom from parental responsibility of bringing up the children. Participants Varathan, Yin, Gopal, Karimah, and Shafei who have many children are relieved and contented now that their children are on their own and doing well. Having met most of their basic needs most respondents do not have much to worry about. They are less concerned about making money and accumulating wealth. Yin who took an optional retirement after working for 39 years first in the army and then as radio technician, shared his view about money:

> *Anything you can do with money, but not everything . . . When I have enough, I don't want to struggle anymore. I've done my duty. I brought up all my children. Most of them are working, enough to survive on their own. I am quite contented. There is no point if I get to (become) a very rich man and I cannot die on my own bed (die as I please). What for?"*

The retired participants are free of work demands to do what they please. In-fact, the freedom to do as they please is one the best thing about this age. Explains Tom, "When we (he and his wife) are working, we have to do what we have to do. Now we can do what we want to do, what we like to do, what we enjoy doing (volunteering). It might not be other people cup of tea". Ali commented how he feels about life after retirement, "I can do things that I want and I am financially secure". He cherished the freedom to do things at his own and not having to be "pressured" by anybody.

The major issues of concern at this time in life were their health, their spiritual life, and their family and community. Good health is essential to continue with their daily chores and to take care of themselves. Irrespective of their religious belief, they feel closer to God. Being community oriented, their family, friends, community and country are important in their life. They gain satisfaction in seeing others well and happy.

Learning in Aging

Learning is lifelong, nonformal, incidental and experiential. "School" is not seen as a place for learning for these older adults. Religious classes at the local mosque are the closest thing to a formal learning mentioned by the Muslim participants. Seventy-year-old Devi listens to radio where she learns songs and poetry. She is also learning English informally from her children and grandchildren. William, retired from the military, says that only the fellow "who is lying in the grave has completed his education. Until then you got to learn."

What they are learning is embedded in their everyday lives. As a function of normal aging maintaining health, again in informal ways, has become a focus of learning for several. Yin walks two miles each day to stay fit and reads about health and nutrition. Daniel and Amy have become vegetarian and now are experimenting with a small "kitchen garden" in their backyard. For the Muslim Malays, religious instruction is also part of their everyday lives. From Rokiah with no formal education, to the most educated Ali, reading the Koran and/or attending religious instruction usually at the mosque are daily activities. Learning is also integrally related to their work life. All four farmers, Shakran, Safie, Ismail, and Jafar reported learning new farming techniques through a combination of experimentation and advice from local extension agents.

For most of the adults in the study, learning activities were seen as social activities. Aziza, who owns a batik shop, participated in association functions as much for the social interaction as learning different batik techniques. From her association – sponsored trips she incidentally learns about new tools and design. Attending study group is a socially important activity for those who are learning more about their religion. For some, especially the women, it may be their only social outlet outside family activities. For a number of men in the study, going to the mosque for prayers also give them opportunity to discuss religious, political, and community civic issues. Besides meeting their own needs, the participants also learn for the benefit of others and for improving the community. This responsibility was carried out through being good role models, through volunteering, and through engaging in social action agendas.

Whether Muslim, Christian, Hindu, or Buddhist, the participants in the study spoke of learning in philosophical and spiritual terms. Personal or material gain did not appear to motivate these older adults. To a person, they are content with their lives as they are. Asked what guides their life and learning at their present age, most spoke about being open to new ideas, being tolerant of other races and religion, helping others, leading a good life, and preparing for the after life. William sees learning as integral to living. We should be "eager to learn" and that "even in a dark tome, there's always light." He quotes a proverb that says, "Zeal without knowledge is fire without light. I want to learn all things and ideas". To the Muslim participants religious instruction is very important for their spiritual needs to guide them in their everyday life. It is more critical at this stage of their life as preparation for their after-life. At 66 Jaafar considers living "at an advanced age, (living) on a bonus." Taking prophet Muhamad as an exemplar, to Jaafar and other Muslim men studied, living beyond 63 is living on borrowed time. They want to be prepared to meet their maker.

Many participants believe that they have to give back to others. Being experienced and respected by their family and community they are aware of their social role as mentors, advisors. The conviction that it is now their turn to contribute and provide leadership inspires them to continue learning. Safei read religious books to provide leadership at his community mosque. Gopal shares his reading and ideas with the young Indians in his community.

Discussion

This study sought to understand how Malaysian older adults view aging and learning. It also explore what shape their learning in older adulthood takes. From interviews with 19 Malaysians who are above sixty years old, it was discovered that learning is non-formal and experiential. Their learning serves to help them deal with challenges and concerns in aging such as health, spiritual, family and community. These findings are discussed both in terms of what we know about older adults and learning and the Malaysian cultural values of collectivism, hierarchy, relationship and religion (Abdullah, 1996).

That older adult learning in Malaysia in nonformal and embedded in the context of everyday life is hardly surprising given what we know about adult learning in general. Throughout human history, learning had been firmly linked to living, indeed humans had to learn to survive. The association of learning with formal institution such as schools is a 20th century phenomenon. So firmly is the link between learning and schooling that adults have a difficult time identifying learning, which is a part of their everyday life. Being a young nation, only within the last couple of decades has education been a priority in the country. The current cohort of elderly Malaysian has had minimal formal schooling (Pala, 1998). In our study, three participants had no formal education and seven had less than grade six. During our interview, only through careful probing and attentive listening was their embedded learning surfaced.

While the majority of adult learning, including learning by older adults in all cultures is through nonformal and informal means (Merriam & Brockett, 1997), there are also some contextual factors helping explain its prevalence in Malaysia. Being a developing nation, the country's priority is on formally educating its youth. There is no specific educational policy for adults in the country.

The participants view aging as a non-discrete natural process. They learn to deal with the challenge and demand of aging like declining health and changing environment, function, and role. Girlie learned to move around the old-folk home where she stays with the help of walking stick due to arthritis. When they were children, both Girlie and her sister Mary were given up for adoption. Without family and unable to support themselves anymore, both single ladies try their best to be comfortable in their new environment. Being communal, 31% of the elderly in Malaysia live in nuclear family households while another 56% were part of extended families (Pala, 1998).

The compulsory retirement age in the Malaysian public sector and some private sector is 55. Even after compulsory retirement, Shakran, William, and Manan continue to work fulltime. All learn new skills to cope with new work function. Devi learns English to communicate and help her grandchildren with their schoolwork. Ismail and Safei seek religious education partly to enable them to advise younger people who seek them for advice. The Malay, Chinese, and Indian culture practices respect to the elderly. As someone "who has taken more salt" (experienced) and a respected community member, the senior citizen serves as role model and mentor and enjoys the privilege of being sought for advice, ideas and leadership.

The Malaysian elderly believe that it is their responsibility to contribute and give back to society. Triandis (1995) points out that "in collectivists culture, helping is a moral obligation, thus obligatory, not voluntary (as it is in individualistic cultures)". Ali reported "I am what I am because somebody gave me a break – period". He appreciates that opportunity and likes to do his part in return, "I ask God to make use of me until I am completely used up". Manan would like to meet his maker in peace, having met his duty contributing to others. To elderly like him, serving others is both a moral and religious obligation. They learn to fulfill their duty. For example, Amy and Daniel learned Tai Chi so they could teach it to the elderly where they volunteer.

Elders studied talked of learning as a social activity where they enjoyed being in group and relating to other learners as much if not more that what they were actually learning. Socializing from birth "to maintain harmonious relationships in social setting of mutual interdependence as found in the village . . . family, friends, and the community take precedence over self-centered interest such as profit and materialism" (Abdullah, 1996, p.26). This orientation help explain why Aziza cares more for making her batik shop a place to socialize than for increasing her profits. Gopal gets satisfaction from sharing his ideas about improving the community with his clients while having their haircut.

Irrespective of their religious background, all participants talked about their spiritual value. According to Yin "Religion always teach people (to be) good. Indian (Hindu) religion, Islam, Buddhist, church (Christian), they always teach people to do good. The community does bad (things). Religious belief plays a positive role in their life. For example, to Ramli, religion helps to shape how he thinks, how he sees life, what he does. Islam, the country's official religion, looks at learning as duty calling "To seek knowledge is a sacred duty of every Muslim, male and female" (Abdullah, 1966, p.33). According to the Quran, learning is an obligation for every Muslim to meet individual needs (for example, how to pray and community needs (as in learning to prepare the dead for burial). God rewards learners for their learning effort. Muslims are expected to learn from cradle to grave. They are reminded that the first word from God to the 40-year-old illiterate prophet Muhamad was "Read! In the name of your lord, who has created all that exists" (Al Qu'ran, surah 96, verse1). Further, the companions of the prophet studied in spite of being old. Other major religions in Malaysia – Buddhist, Hindu, and Christian – also recognize the virtue of learning and education. The close association between religion, community and learning in Malaysia is reflected in the role of the places of worship. The Muslim mosque, Christian church, and Hindu and Buddhist temples all double as places of learning as well as community centers.

In summary, aging is a non-discrete natural process for the Malaysian elderly. They learn informally to deal with the changes that take place as they age. They learn to meet their own needs and community needs. They appreciate the company and social support of their family and community. They are respected. They are spiritually driven. Their ability in learning to cope, and their culture and value system help them to grow old gracefully with contentment.

In Retrospective

The older Malaysian characterization of aging and learning was seen to reflect Malaysian culture and values. Malaysian value and strive to uphold their cultural heritage. They embraced modernization and the changes that came with it, while at the same time holding tight to their traditional lifestyle that reflects their worldview and contribute to their civilization. This study underscores the importance of considering the cultural context when investigating questions of adult development and learning.

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Transformation Toward What End?
Exploring Later Life Learning in Community Volunteering

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Abstract: *A qualitative study of 15 older volunteers in Toronto details how informal learning takes place in community volunteering, and urges the expansion of the concept of later life education during an era of increasing longevity and languishing welfare support.*

Introduction

The 1998 New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) survey of informal learning in Canada confirmed what Livingstone (1999) has termed the current "iceberg" situation of an immense yet largely invisible amount of self-directed adult learning in the informal domain. One of the four aspects of informal learning investigated in the survey was community volunteer work related, where it was found that over 40% of Canadians devoted approximately 4 hours week to informal learning through community volunteering. This reminds us that community volunteering is one of the hot spots in adult learning which should be more fully studied in the light of lifelong education. In this paper I examine what kinds of learning are experienced by older adults through their volunteer work, and if and how these affect aging at both the individual and the societal levels. I conducted qualitative research of 15 senior volunteers in Toronto. I employed life story interviews and participant observation, analyzing the data inductively through transformative learning theory and other theories of later life education. The following is a summary of the context, theoretical framework, research design, and findings of my study, followed by a discussion of its implications for adult education theory and future practice.

Context: Why Does It Matter?

Studying community volunteering in the light of later life learning is of special importance today when the combination of an aging population and a fraying social safety net challenges the ingenuity of many industrialized societies. Although this demographic shift is raising concern, it would be a mistake to characterize all seniors as "dependent", neglecting the "structural lag" which limits opportunities to utilize and reward the contributions of older people (Riley & Riley, 1989). In current North American popular culture, ageism marginalizes older adults as incompetent: what Miller (Toronto Star, 1999) terms "the Grandpa Simpson syndrome," where older people are portrayed, like the cartoon character, as incontinent and liable to walk into walls in their old folk's homes. "Old age", after all, is a social construct based on cultural perceptions of "older people's value", which needs to be reconstructed depending on social conditions. Given the increasing number of younger and healthier retirees today, it is important that we promote the idea of "productive aging" (Butler, 1985). Volunteering is a key element in this endeavor.

Canada's fraying social safety net has also added to community volunteering's importance. As the welfare state is replaced by leaner governments, more privatization, and an emphasis on self-sufficiency, we turn to third sector NPOs to fill the gaps in community social services. Due to its non-monetized status, volunteer work tends to be invisible, but in 1997 its time contribution was estimated to equal 578,000 full-time year-round jobs in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1998). As Quarter (1992) has emphasized, volunteer work is a vital part of Canada's "social economy". As the voluntary sector is also facing serious reductions in funding, the need for relying on volunteers will grow continuously. This in turn invites us to consider the potential of older people as an untapped community resource.

Theoretical Framework: Transformative Learning and Older Adult Education

To frame my analysis, I employed transformative learning theory as a major theoretical perspective in tandem with other theories regarding later life education. The theory of transformative learning, originally introduced by Mezirow (1991, 1994), has generated many intriguing interpretations in the field of adult education. Nevertheless, it has never been directly applied to the study of aging. Its core can be found in our meaning structures– the broad set of psychocultural assumptions that frame our world view. The constant revision of these meaning structures through experience and learning can lead us toward more liberated viewpoint, the process Mezirow (1994) identified as adult development.

Mezirow's theory has been built upon by many other researchers. Taylor (1997), based on an extensive review of empirical studies, suggested that it should be reconceptualized within a more holistic and contexually-grounded framework (i.e. one which pays more attention to the role of emotions, alternate ways of knowing besides rational thinking, collaborative and supportive relationships with others, and compassion). Transformative learning can not only promote individual autonomy, it can also build interdependence and connections, empowering adults to take collective action in their own communities to reform social practices.

The strengths of transformative theory derive from its unconventional view of adult development as learning process. Most stage or phase models of adult development tend to incorporate hegemonic and age-graded stereotypes, basically viewing individuals as mere reactors to normative life-cycle changes. In contrast, transformative learning theory, by being "directed at the intersection of the individual and social" (Tennant, 1993, p.36), has the capacity to articulate the dynamic interplay between individual and social transformation, allowing researchers to analyze social structures through the experience and reflection of each individual.

Theories of later life education also help us understand the nature and extent of older adults' informal learning within community volunteering. For example, the five categories of older adults' educational needs (coping, expressive, contribution, influence, and transcendence) identified by McClusky (1971) call for a reformulation which includes the process and outcomes of later life learning. Moody (1988) moved in this direction, summarizing the expansion of older adult education over the last forty years in the U.S., and identifying the four historical stages of: 1) "rejection", which deems it a waste of time and money to provide educational programs for socially obsolete older people, 2) "social service", which regards education as a way to keep the elderly busy, 3) "participation", which maintains that older adults should be encouraged to actively participate in the mainstream of community life and develop self-sufficiency, and 4) "self-actualization", which identifies psychological growth and spiritual concerns as the major objectives of education for older adults. Moody's four stages reflect the changing underlying assumptions about the value of education for older people held by adult educators and society in general.

Research Design: Methodology and Mode of Data Collection and Analysis

I employed a qualitative approach "life history" research method with interviews and participant observations. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 15 older volunteers, nine women and six men, who are retired and affiliated with NPOs in Toronto, followed by participant observation at their volunteer sites. Although participants were basically recruited by word-of-mouth, effort was made to diversify my sample. Their ages ranged from 54 to 94. Except for two female participants who had been full-time homemakers, all the participants had had occupations: sales clerk, social worker, civil servant, teacher, corporate executive, to give a few examples. The type of NPOs for which they worked also varied: health care, animal protection, education, social services for the elderly, international development, human rights, advocacy, etc.. All but two had volunteered for more than one year, and some had long histories of volunteering for a number of different NPOs. All were Canadians whose first language is English, though they had different ethnic backgrounds. Each interview was approximately an hour to an hour-and-a-half long, tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed. I began each interview by asking participants to tell me all about their volunteer experiences. If there were any points which I wanted to know about in more detail I asked them at the end. Data collected through participant observation was used for the purpose of "triangulation". The data analysis followed Seidman's (1991) two-step scheme; the first step crafting a profile of individual participants; the second analyzing the data according to themes and categories with coding and sorting.

Findings

Each participant's narrative embodied their "life world"– their values, life principles, joys, hopes, sorrows, agonies, fears, etc. – powerfully conveying how much an activity like community volunteering involves the whole person. In spite of their significantly different life experiences, ages, living circumstances, and the content and frequency of their volunteering, several overarching themes emerged from a comparison of their cases.

Motivations

All the participants pointed out multiple motivations for their involvement in volunteering, which could be divided into two major domains: social and personal. The former includes 1) social obligation– "pay-back time" was the term often used– for their community; and 2) altruism and compassion, which many modestly phrased in terms of "wanting to help people in need out there". The personal domain of motivation comprised 1) managing increased free time– although this doesn't mean volunteering to kill time since many have active social lives; 2) social contribution– most mentioned that they want to keep contributing to society, which is the other side of their desire to " feel useful and recognized"; 3) pursuit of interests and principles or religious beliefs, evidenced by the fact that many chose NPOs whose goals match their own; 4) social interaction– they want to stay active, interacting with people and being involved in on-going social issues; 5) personal growth– they want to keep learning out of intellectual curiosity and for self-development. Overall, personal motivations were articulated more clearly and strongly than social motivations, although the latter seemed to outweigh the former as people grew older. In particular, the last motivation, self-growth, was emphasized regardless of age.

There was a difference in the motives that propelled people to continue volunteering from those that led them to start it. Except for two participants who had began volunteering less than one year ago, most older volunteers had the experience of quitting a volunteer post in the past. Their main reasons for changing organizations were 1) being misused (either overused or underused) by an unappreciative NPO; and 2) being involved with ill-organized programs which they didn't feel were making any difference. For volunteers in a big city like Toronto, shopping around among NPOs to find the "right match" seemed very common. The reasons for continuing volunteering were summed up by the word "rewarding".

Rewards for Volunteering

The first reward all participants mentioned was the satisfaction and self-esteem they gained, although the sources of satisfaction didn't always connect directly to the content of their work. The terms used were rather abstract: 1) the sense of contribution and making difference; 2) the sense of being appreciated, needed, and recognized; 3) the sense of accomplishment; 4) the joy and stimulation of socializing with other people. Volunteering seemed to provide the confidence that one was healthy and capable of solving problems that arose in the course of one's work. In particular, the meaning of volunteering as a source of well-being seems to increase as other social functions and sources of joy like spouses, families, close friends, and hobbies, disappear with age. The second reward mentioned by many older volunteers was that volunteering keeps them physically and mentally active, getting them out of the house and moving around and keeping their brain alert. The third reward from community volunteering was that it involves one in an on-going community or world-wide movement, providing a sense of connection to, borrowing one participant's word, the "mainstream of society", while allowing retirees to throw their knowledge, skills, life experiences and interests behind favorable social causes. For old-old volunteers, in particular, the feeling of making society a better place within a larger movement "beyond oneself" seems to provide meaning in their life, and possibly even a sense of spiritual immortality. Finally, the fourth reward mentioned by all participants was the opportunity for continued learning.

Learning

The types of learning that emerged in volunteers' narratives included both communicative competence and instrumental knowledge. In particular, interpersonal and communication skills (i.e. "how to work with others to achieve a common goal") and specific knowledge about social issues of interest (e.g. governments' welfare policies, human rights, elder abuse, literacy among immigrant children, computer skills, economic conditions of developing countries, biology, botany, condominium act, foreign languages, etc.) were discussed by almost everyone. "Administrative" volunteers involved in policy-making as board or committee members mentioned that they learned leadership (i.e. "how to be influential and persuasive") trying to negotiate the tricky power relationship between NPO volunteers and staff. Overall, younger seniors seemed to appreciate the explicit and practical instrumental knowledge gained through volunteering more, while older and long-term volunteers emphasized implicit and tacit interpersonal skills. The other important component which emerged from all participants' narratives was that volunteering helped them understand themselves better through questioning who they were, what they wanted to do and be, what they really cared about, etc.

The process of learning took place through 1) formal training and educational opportunities provided by NPOs; 2) self-directed study (e.g. taking courses or reading books on related issues), and 3) problem-solving and communication with others at volunteer sites. The first two can be identified with instrumental learning. Yet, in the first case, except for a few NPOs which offered well-organized pretraining followed by occasional educational opportunities such as inviting guest speakers, most NPOs had almost no funding left for volunteers' education. The most commonly used learning approach among participants was the third, which is more experiential and holistic. Most participants pointed out that the challenge and frustration of volunteering often involved differences of opinion with staff and other volunteers working on the same project. However, at the same time, these difficulties seemed to help facilitate older volunteers' communicative learning, improving their ability to listen to and understand others and modify themselves.

The outcome of learning through volunteering was perceived in terms of behavioral and perspectival change, although many emphasized that this had not happened in one night. Words like "more patient", "more lenient", "more open" to other people, and cultural heterogeneity were used to articulate what was perceived as a part of their personal growth. As well, most mentioned that they had gained more self-assurance. As for new insights about society, participants mentioned their realization of the vital role played by volunteers and the growing need for social services in their community. Appreciation from service receivers had also made them "more committed" to volunteer work, while unappreciative and inefficient volunteer managers were roundly criticized.

Discussion

My findings suggest that older volunteers undergo a variety of informal learning activities, encompassing the four categories of volunteer work-related informal learning outlined by the 1998 NALL survey: 1) communication skills; 2) knowledge about social issues; 3) organizational/managerial skills; and 4) interpersonal skills (Livingstone, 1999, p.61). They can also be identified with the third ("participation") and fourth ("self-actualization") stages of Moody's (1988) theory of the expansion of later life education.

The multiple motivations and rewards of community volunteering that older volunteers mention can be further connected to McClusky's (1971) list of older adults' educational needs: coping, expressive, contribution, influence, and transcendence. The life histories of older volunteers reveal that volunteering functions as a coping strategy when they face difficult life changes (e.g. retirement, the death of family members, deteriorating health due to aging), sustaining continuity in their life, giving them an agenda and purpose, and keeping them busy on a day-to-day basis. Volunteering meets these needs by providing opportunities to get involved in community reform, while stimulating intellectual curiosity and provoking critical reflection about social issues, people, and cultures. The heightened self-esteem and satisfaction gained from serving worthy causes energizes older people while enhancing their commitment to collective needs. Furthermore, volunteering offers a supportive setting for life review: while solving problems through interaction with others and gaining new information, older adults constantly examine themselves and others in order to "establish the validity, or justification, for their beliefs" – what Mezirow (1994, p.225) characterized as the goal of communicative learning.

This type of learning seems to promote individual autonomy, fostering "cultural generativity", "ego-integrity" and "transcendence", i.e. those higher developmental tasks of adult development advanced by Erikson et al. (1986), Kotre (1984), and Friedan (1993) as well as "the progressive realization of an adult's capacity to fully and freely participate in rational dialogue, to achieve a broader, more discriminating, permeable and integrative understanding of his/her experience as a guide to action", using Mezirow's (1994, p.226) words. Although the activities (organizing volunteers to run fundraising and recreational programs for elderly, reading books together with school children, informing students about human rights and natural conservation, driving the Meals on Wheels truck, traveling to help economic projects in developing countries, etc.) may seem small, perhaps even invisible, they impact on society when they work in concert, a pattern one participant described as a "jigsaw puzzle". Most older volunteers developed a better realization of the importance of "collaboration" to achieve goals and "interdependency" to support self-sufficiency, consistent with the outcomes of transformative learning (Taylor, 1997).

Whether or not this personal transformation leads to political action – like advocacy or governmental lobbying – largely depends on things like personality and the environment of a given NPO. Yet, the volunteering movement itself is a collective social action. By volunteering in a certain organization, one has already taken the first step. Of course, not everybody starts out with developed political insights--veteran volunteers' stories show this kind of perspective tends to be cultivated and enhanced as one continues volunteering. Such "emancipatory" change at the individual level may, though what one participant described as "baby steps", push our society in a more inclusive less age-graded direction, and force policies which provide older adults with more choices in later life.

Conclusions and Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

It is not my intention to generalize the results of my study, given the small number of participants and the qualitative nature of my inquiry. Nevertheless, the narratives of my 15 older volunteers remind us that learning is a lifelong process and the desire for spiritual growth continues regardless of age. If the proper environment and conditions are provided by NPOs, older volunteers can continue to learn and grow while contributing their skills and wisdom to society. Their frequent anecdotes about the negative side of volunteering in NPOs indicates that greater organizational investment is needed to develop programs which allow older volunteers to be involved in the decision-making process. After all, volunteers are the ones who have direct contact with clients and thus pick up their needs faster and better than administrative staff do. As well, since younger seniors tend to lay more stress on instrumental knowledge in community volunteering, NPOs should try to include more educational materials to benefit their volunteers. Establishing new partnerships between NPOs and other existing adults education programs (e.g. lifelong education courses at colleges and community centers, pre-retirement programs in corporations) should also be considered.

As we move into a society where seniors are no longer the "exception", lifelong learning will become significant more than ever. The challenge for the adult educator is to reconsider the meaning of later life development and learning at both the personal and social levels, and encourage those types of learning whose outcomes will meet the needs of older adults as well as society at large. Although creative programs for later life learning (e.g. Elderhostel, University of The Third Age, New Horizons, etc.) have been increasing in Canada, the general trend of educational programs for older adults has often held the principle of "keeping them busy, keeping them from mischief" (Thomas, 1992). Given the simultaneous growth in the number of active retirees and the gap between government funding and social service needs, the concept of later life education should be expanded "beyond the classroom". This will make the relationships between knowledge and action, as well as individuals and communities, more implicit, and fortify the liaison between individual development and social transformation.

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Cultures of Teaching

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Abstract: *This paper explores some of the hidden regularities of classroom practices in adult education and examines possible explanations towards developing a clearer understanding of the social practice of teaching.*

Discussions of teaching in adult education often downplay the influence of situational, political, and social contexts even though these factors can strongly influence both teachers and their practices. Yet teachers' approaches and strategies are not established alone but built up and defined through regular interaction with others (Hargreaves, 1995). In other words, teaching is a socially-embedded practice. Unlike the multiple descriptions of teaching which conceptualize it as though teachers have complete and undisputed control and autonomy, daily classroom practices and behaviours, when looked at over time, are strikingly repetitive and limited in ways teachers do not always choose. It is these repeated classroom patterns that are here referred to as "cultures." Defining culture in this way thus includes not only teachers' and students' material experiences but also the societal influences that help shape them. This paper examines some aspects of the cultures of teaching towards developing a clearer understanding of teaching as a social practice (Darder, 1991; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Pratt & Nesbit, in press).

Analytic Framework

Linking the minutiae of teaching situations and activities with larger social processes and structures is necessary for a broad understanding of teaching. Studying what happens in classrooms from a "cultures" perspective allows educators to discern the social character of teaching and the relationships between educational sites and society at large. It can also highlight certain cultural and political issues such as the supposed impartiality of curricula or how different forms of education might embody struggles over ways that authority, knowledge, and regulation are legitimated and transmitted. Situating teaching within larger social structures and processes is, of course, complex. It is crucial to be aware, first, of how teachers' ideas and beliefs are themselves shaped over time. As Feiman-Nemser and Floden claim "teaching cultures are embodied in the work-related beliefs and knowledge that teachers share—beliefs about appropriate ways of acting on the job and rewarding aspects of teaching, and knowledge that enables teachers to do their work" (1986, p. 508). Whether or not teachers overtly identify a particular belief about the nature of that which they teach, they must hold preferences, beliefs and values with respect to what to teach and how to teach it. Clearly, these ideas and beliefs are part of what manifests in classroom regularities. However, teachers do not always act autonomously, and their teaching is substantially circumscribed by social conditions. As such, analyses of the cultures of teaching must embed teaching practices and settings within these wider structural influences. Engeström (1998) suggests that between the formal structure of educational systems and the content and methods of teaching lies a middle level of relatively inconspicuous, recurrent, and taken-for-granted aspects of classroom life. Here lie a whole raft of issues: the patterning and punctuation of time, the bounding and use of the physical space, patterns of discipline and control, grading and testing practices, uses of textbooks, connection to the outside world, and interactions between teachers.

One approach – frame factor theory – explains how teaching processes are developed, enabled, and constrained by certain frames, themselves the product of larger social structures (Lundgren, 1981; Torper, 1994). Because any society, and the educational system it promotes, are inextricably linked, the political, economic, and social structures of society have effects on educational processes and can be regarded as frames. A frame can be "anything that limits the teaching process and is . . .outside the control of the teacher" (Lundgren, 1981, p. 36). Because frame factor theory seeks to explore how regularities are reproduced both educationally and socially, it is useful for studying the social relations of educational processes in terms of both structure and agency (Torper, 1994). For example, it suggests that social structures do not directly cause classroom interactions but act more as influences through mediating variables, even to the level of the minutiae of teaching situations and activities.

To understand how such "frames" operate resulting in such distinct cultures, it will be useful here to turn to three earlier empirical studies (Dawson & Nesbit, 1999; Nesbit, 1993, 1996) which provided in-depth descriptions of common teaching situations, episodes, and behaviors, and the meanings that these had for participants. In each of these studies, researchers had observed the teaching in several classes over a lengthy period (at least one, and often two, semesters) and collected data in such a way as to portray teaching processes in dynamic rather than static terms. This data has now been re-examined to identify common patterns of behaviour and ways that the persistence and repetition of these patterns might be linked to wider supra-classroom structures and processes.

Three Settings

The data comes from studies of teaching in three separate Adult Basic Education (ABE) settings: an urban community college math program, a rural community-based adult education program, and a workplace-based literacy program. The three programs covered broadly similar curricular content and each involved some collaboration with their local community college systems.

College Math Program

The first study concerns a Canadian urban community college providing a broad variety of ABE courses for adults. The college offered a range of semester-length introductory mathematics courses for adults during both daytime and evening, corresponding broadly to grade levels 9 - 12. The study focused on the three sections of their most basic course which offered "a review of basic math skills and introductory algebra and geometry." It was deliberately designed to reflect a balance between the formal and practical mathematical needs of adult learners, especially those who have "never studied academic mathematics before or . . . lack a strong foundation in basic skills." Each course section consisted of two 2-hour sessions a week – 30 sessions in all – and was taught by a different instructor. Each section recruited about 15 students.

Here the teaching followed what might be regarded as a "traditional schooling" approach: the desks were set out in rows all facing the teacher's desk; the teachers either read directly from the textbook or worked out problems on the chalkboard. Teaching appeared to be based upon the textbook's model of show–drill–test. Without exception, each class was structured into the same pattern: the first 30-45 minutes on difficulties from the previous homework, 10-20 minutes presentation of new material, and then 45-70 minutes of in-class exercises (to be completed for homework).The dominant pattern of discourse was invariably that the teacher asked questions to which the students responded; students were discouraged from talking to each other. Decisions about classroom activities were made, almost without exception, by the teachers; the learners' influence was minimal. Teachers made all the choices about course planning, the pattern and pacing of classroom activities, homework, and assessment with little consideration for the needs and interests of their learners. The overall goal for most teachers was to "cover the assigned material" without losing too many students along the way. "There's a lot of pressure here to get through the material," agreed another teacher, "You can't always do what might be best for the student." Further, the range of choices that teachers could make was limited. Most of the decisions about the structure and content of each course were already made before the course began. The overall curriculum followed provincial standards; within them, the form and content of each course and individual lessons replicated the structure and content of the textbook: a cyclic pattern of presentation, practice, and assessment.

Community-based Program

The second setting was an adult education program in a sawmill town in rural British Columbia. Based in a specially-designed training centre, the program was a joint initiative between several local employers and provincial government bodies. Local forestry employers were interested in developing "foundational educational skills" courses for their employees and saw the program as an efficient way to deliver this content. Courses in the program fell into 3 distinct categories: computer skills training, academic upgrading, and career exploration. Within each category were a structured variety of courses that covered such topics as learning different word processing and data management computer programs, using the Internet, writing skills, GED preparation, personal development workshops, and group research projects. In general, these courses were free to all students (and their families) who worked in the forest industry. Non-forestry workers paid a small instructional fee, although this also entitled them to use the Centre at any other time. Courses were offered in a flexible format that was designed to both accommodate the needs of working adults and ensure that the Centre was available for use as much as possible during its opening hours. For example, each course was offered at several different days and times each week to accommodate those students who worked shifts or who had other commitments. Each of the courses ran in 7-week modules, reflecting the program's concern to meet students' needs. Temporary work in the area is seasonal and hence a 7-week course allows students to better plan their education around their patterns of work in a way that more traditional semester-length college courses could not.

The courses and each lesson were relatively unstructured and tended to consist of a short period (10-15 minutes) of presentation of new material followed by up to an hour of individual and group project work designed by the instructor and students together. Students could then, if they so wished, continue their work in the adjoining computer lab. "This is great," said one student. "I can come here when I want and stay as long as I like." Because the program tried to accommodate the demands of learners' seasonal work, instructors were loathe to plan too rigidly or too far in advance. "I like to start each lesson with the students reviewing what we did last time," said one instructor. "That way I can check they've got a clear grasp before we move on…sometimes we just go back over the same material all over again." All four instructors observed followed this approach, claiming that it indicated, as one put it, "a commitment to 'student-centred' rather than 'subject-centred' learning." Another suggested that, "What's most important is having respect and appreciation for the students. You can know all you want about Math or English, but if you don't have some understanding of what they mean and where you are you'll never do anything. You need to be able to relate what you're learning with your own life."

Workplace Literacy Program

The third setting was a joint program between a major international union and a local college in the San Francisco Bay Area. The program offered on-the-job literacy and basic skills classes to health care workers at three local hospitals. The ten courses offered focused on the skills identified by workers as necessary for improved job performance and career mobility within the healthcare field. The program deliberately sought to base its curriculum around the needs of workers and their unions rather than the needs of employers or institutions. It supported this curriculum with a comprehensive framework of educational, counseling, and other social support services. Each class used a team-teaching approach involving an instructor, an educational counselor, and a "learning advocate" (drawn from a pool of trusted peers who acted as resources for work and community-related needs and interests). This team worked collaboratively towards several goals: to combine skills and knowledge which drew upon existing networks of support within the union and the workplaces, to overcome barriers to participation and learning, to create a cooperative "worker-centered" learning environment, and to keep the instructional material relevant to the students and their community and work settings. Through collaboration with prospective learners and other teaching teams, each team determined the skills and content needed for each class and integrated them with the specific needs of the learners and their workplaces to develop a series of 4-week "modules." By developing interpretive understandings of the values and uses of literacy in specific learner's lives, the teams were able to customize teaching units and materials to reflect input from a variety of perspectives. The "content" of the courses often seemed to be generated out of learner's immediate daily experiences and teaching involved repeated whole-group discussions interspersed with more individual and small-group work.

Discussion

These three studies identified examples of teaching quite distinct from each other, but characterized by patterns of behaviours and interactions that showed remarkable persistence over time. As such their "cultures" can provide a basis for examining the influence of frame factors. The first factor is well known to adult educators: the institutional provision and ordering of space and time. In the math program, such provision was established amid a plethora of other college offerings: the class was tightly scheduled, the course dates were set at least a year in advance, the classrooms were never used for any other subjects, and in some cases, the seating itself was fixed. All of these subtly underscored notions of inflexibility, subject-centeredness, and acontextuality. In the community-based program, a very different institutional pattern prevailed: the Centre was a purpose built and dedicated space, available for a range of other courses and more general meetings, and time boundaries were flexible and highly student-oriented. This "allowed" the teaching itself to be more fluid; teachers felt comfortable to abandon any preconceived plans if a new topic provided more fruitful opportunities for exploration. In the literacy program, the institutional provision blended with the workplace itself. In spatial, rhythmic, and sensory domains, the teaching was linked directly to the workplace and its practices and classroom activities focused on developing greater union and workplace affiliations. Even the length of the courses– 4 weeks– reflected the organisational structure of workplace shift patterns. Clearly, the constraints on teaching locations and the time available comprise key pedagogical factors yet were substantially outside the control of the teachers.

A second frame factor concerns broad suppositions about how knowledge is to be assessed and demonstrated. In the math class, for example, knowledge was seen as abstract, tightly defined, decontextualized, and primarily to be performed individually and assessed on specially designed tests. Little in the classroom activities, the teaching norms, or the social interactions were allowed to deviate from these goals. Although the teachers claimed that they sought to develop "understanding," in practice, this meant nothing more than the ability to reproduce textbook definitions and single rule procedures outside of any contextual application. When asked why this might be so, teachers invariably cited the pressure of having to cover a large number of topics so sufficient students could "pass the test"– the main criterion by which the institution considered the courses successful. By contrast the community-based teachers claimed that appropriate application of knowledge was not externally measured, but rather manifested through "the students' need to relate learning with [their] own experiences . . .[and] the demands of local industry." Hence, classroom activities were structured to support such an approach: jointly-designed project and portfolio activities that were home, community, and work-related; regular emphases on personal and educational development, and an open approach to assessment that allowed learners to develop their own criteria for success. The literacy classes offered a third version: application of knowledge was seen as directly linked to "skills identified by workers as necessary for improved job performance and career mobility." Further, the manner in which this knowledge was to be both generated and applied was saturated with peer-based and service connotations. Knowledge was seen as collective, interactive, and inherently socially-produced. Again, in all cases, the "application of knowledge" was conceived as beyond teacher control.

A third frame factor, related to the previous two, relates to dominant conceptions of the subject content. In the math program, content was seen to be external, codified in textbooks, and best sought through the direction of experts. Teaching here was akin to inculcation: students were required to engage in repetitious activities to practice set facts and procedures until they could adequately demonstrate their abilities. In addition, the mathematical problems that students were asked to solve were often repetitious and largely irrelevant to their daily lives. Mathematical knowledge was transmitted through either the textbook or the teachers' explanations and was never regarded as a subject to be created or investigated. In the community-based program, content was seen to be amorphously internal: "you can learn all you want about math or English, but if you don't have some understanding of what they mean and where you are, you'll never do anything." Content here was inherently assessed as that which led to personal development and action. In the workplace literacy site, content was seen to arise from work and union-related issues and gaps which might or might not have links to more formal subjects such as "English" or "Math." So, whether teachers positioned themselves more as "experts" or "facilitators," these dominant notions of the content to be learned were, once again, beyond teacher control.

Conclusion

This research has shown how considering "cultures" of teaching might lead to a clearer understanding of teaching as a social practice. By shedding light on the way teaching is affected by factors which circumscribe teachers' autonomy, this work foregrounds the crucial role social structures play in shaping teachers' opinions, values, practices, and knowledge. More precisely, it suggests that social forces beyond teachers control also contribute to persistent and repetitive classroom practices—the "cultures" of teaching. These are not individually chosen but arise through tradition, from the "beliefs, values, habits, and assumed ways of doing things among communities of teachers who have had to deal with similar demands and constraints" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 165). Reconsidering these traditional classroom patterns also draws attention to the presence of alternative sites or practices, themselves shaped and informed by different approaches and ideologies

Exploring the cultures of teaching can be a powerful force for professional development. Teaching can only be truly understood by referring to the framework of thought in which practitioners make sense of what they're doing. Teachers cannot "practice" without some knowledge of the situation in which they are operating and some idea of what needs to be done (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). Thus using the cultures of teaching as a focus for reflection can lead teachers to reassess the reasons for their own teaching decisions and can help them give meaning, support, and identity to themselves and their work. Finally, by focusing on a "cultures" approach, teachers can explore other aspects such as classroom discursive patterns and social interactions, the negotiation of meanings, and how subject content affects teaching. Subjects such as languages, social science, history, mathematics, or music are each differently conceptualized, codified, structured, translated into "teachable knowledge," taught, assessed, and revised. Adopting such an approach also allows teachers to examine how such knowledge can be classified according to the degree of insulation between other content areas (Bernstein, 1996), and translated into discussions of appropriate ways of teaching it (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998).

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Control, Learning, and Resistance

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Abstract: *This paper argues that learning can be a tool for social and political change. It proposes a theoretical framework for educators and learners living out part or all of their lives in struggle. And it examines a moral dilemma for educators who see learning as indivisible from action.*

Social Control

We are all of us subject to social control, be it control by custom and convention, legislation, the courts, publicity, technology, our friends or the schoolyard bully. In a middle-class family in a developed country like Australia, for example, the children are kept in line by the parents, who use subtle and not so subtle forms of control ranging from personal example to persuasion to sanctions to physical restraint that may border on violence. The parents in their turn are kept in line by the legal, social and moral responsibilities that come with having children and by the emotional, physical and economic demands made by the children themselves.

For the purposes of this paper I want to identify and discuss three interrelated forms of social control – physical force, institutional control and control by ideas. By singling these out and examining the ways they "fold over" into each other, we can begin to understand how we are severely constrained in various aspects of our lives, and how we can be made to behave in particular ways.

People are controlled by physical force. We are pushed around, and we can push others around. We take a child by her shoulders and shake her. There is domestic violence and rape. A street gang menaces us. We lock up boat people. An oligarchy employs torture, and murder by roving hit squads. One country invades another. In a sense, physical force is easy to identify, and easy to understand. But social control by physical force rarely occurs spontaneously. Behind most manifestations of physical force is an organisation – a ministry of health, political party or corporation, a family, that street gang, the tactical response group of the police, a government … In these cases, physical force is an expression of institutional control.

Institutional control encompasses both coercion and consent. All of us submit to institutional control, and in many cases do so willingly. We give up a range of freedoms in exchange for the membership, services and security those institutions provide. We abide by the rules of the local sports club in order to use the club's facilities. We run with a gang in return for a sense of belonging. We meet the requirements of our employment in return for a wage or a salary. We follow the educational paths set by schools, colleges and universities in return for qualifications. We submit to the laws of the land in return for the services and security the government and bureaucracies provide us. Institutional control is everywhere.

Physical force and institutional control are intimately related. Some institutions, such as the penal system, a health department and the education system, make overt use of physical force in the form of detention and incarceration. They lock people up. Other institutions make use of the threat of physical force. We keep up our re-payments to the bank for the loan on a house out of a justified fear that we will be evicted if we do not. Physical force in actuality or in the form of menace underpins many social relationships. And since social relationships are formalised in institutions, such as the family, the club and the workplace, we can argue, as Foucault (1973) does, that institutions are structured embodiments of physical force.

The third kind of social control is control by ideas. Just as physical force and institutional control fold over into one another, so control by ideas folds over into institutional control. Institutions are made up of groupings of people, procedures, and property. But they are also constructed on sets of values and ideologies, which those institutions espouse, promote, and in some cases seek to make ascendant. If a social class or group succeeds in making its ideas and values the dominant ones in society then that class or group achieves hegemonic control. Its ideas become embedded in institutions, such as public utilities, private corporations, the churches and the education system, which form part of the superstructure of the state. The ideas and values become uncontested, accepted as common sense and therefore in need of neither justification nor explanation. In this form of social control, the majority accepts as normal what is in the interests of a minority. Control is achieved not through coercion but by consent (Gramsci, 1971). If developers can get people who are living in the path of a proposed freeway to say: "You can't stand in the way of progress", then they do not need the courts or the police to move the occupants out of their houses. The occupants will move of their own accord.

Learning

As adult educators we have a role in helping ourselves and others learn about social control, and about the strategies we can use to combat unwanted expressions of that control. If we accept this role, we are using learning as a tool in social and political struggle.

The three kinds of social control tie in with the "tripartitions" that recur in critical theory. Habermas, for example, examines human interaction in terms of subject-object, subject-subject, and subject-to-itself; identifies the modern value spheres of science, ethics and self-expression; and distinguishes between the objective, social and subjective worlds (Dallmayr, 1996). To identify the kinds of learning we might pit against different kinds of social control, it makes sense to go to adult educators like Mezirow (1991) and Welton, (1995) who draw on critical theory. These adult educators have interpreted Habermas' (1972) discussion of "knowledge constitutive interests" and promoted what we can now call "a critical theory of adult learning." In keeping with Habermas' tripartitions, this theory postulates three domains of learning—instrumental, interpretive, and critical.

Instrumental learning enables us to control our environment, to do a job, to move and build things, and to manage people when we think of them as functions and part of the physical world. In this domain we learn about cause and effect, and solve problems by commonplace logic. As adult educators working in this domain, we will help ourselves and our learners acquire skills and information to deal with practical matters and to use material structures and systems to resist or bring about change. In the objective world, in the value sphere of science, in our subject-to-object relations, we will pit instrumental learning against physical forms of control.

Interpretive learning helps us understand the human condition. It is the learning that focuses on what people are and how they relate, on symbolic interaction and the social construction of meaning. In this domain we solve problems through discourse, through reflection and insight, and by seeking consensus. As adult educators working in this domain, we will help ourselves and our learners understand the way people construct institutions, and how they communicate and give meaning to their social lives. We will help ourselves and our learners use these understandings to resist or bring about change. In the social world, in the value sphere of ethics, in our subject-to-subject relationships, we will pit interpretive learning against institutional control.

Critical learning helps us identify the assumptions and values that constrain the way we think, feel and act. It helps us understand what "makes us tick." It helps us strive for a meta-awareness in which we are not only more acutely aware of ourselves and of the world around us, we become aware of our awareness. In this domain we address problems by adopting a form of self-reflection which may transform our ways of thinking, feeling and acting, and so may transform our being. Critical learning is a political act. It helps us see through ourselves and so become better at seeing through others. It helps us separate out "truth" from "ideology," and understand how our social, cultural and political contexts have shaped our thinking. It helps us understand how others may try to shape our thinking for us, and so makes us much less easily fooled. In the subjective world of ideas and belief, in the value sphere of self-expression, in our subject-to-itself relation, we will pit critical learning against hegemonic control.

Most manifestations of social control will be a mix of coercion, different kinds of institutional authority, and various attempts to influence people's thinking. Learning in opposition to unwanted social control in its turn will be a mix of the instrumental, interpretive and critical. But the framework I have presented allows us to make choices about the kinds of educational response we might make. So, when the police charge picketing workers during a lawful strike (as they did recently at Pilbara in Australia), in the immediate aftermath of the charge the union educator will want to help the picketers learn how best to protect themselves from the batons, and how to form more effective human barriers. With a little more time in hand, the educator will want to provide information on workers' rights in case of arrest, and instruction and practice in the skills needed to organise and insist on those rights. And only when there is ample time and no threat of imminent attack will the educator and picketers be able to discuss how they might change the values of a society which espouses the principle of fairness yet employs the police to attack ordinary working people.

Action

Learning of the kind I am discussing is bound up in action, and the educator (when one is identifiable) is an activist. The educator in the example above is a member of the union and acting in solidarity with the picketers. The coordinator of a women's refuge working with victims of domestic abuse will identify with the women, may have experienced domestic abuse herself, and will be anything but neutral in the kinds of learning she encourages. These adult educators not only help people learn from their experience. They help them decide on action. To the framework of social control and learning, therefore, I want to add a taxonomy of action, upon which the educator can draw in the design and provision of learning, and which she or he can offer to the learners.

McAllister (1992) and Dalton (1996) talk of "participation" in the affairs of the state, and use terms such as "conventional" and "unconventional" participation, and "legal," "semi-legal," and "radical protest." I am drawing on their ideas but will collapse their different forms of participation and protest into three kinds of action; and call them "conventional," "confrontational," and "violent" action.

Conventional action enables us to participate directly and peaceably in the affairs of our community, society and state. It involves activities such as voting, taking part in election campaigns as party members or campaign workers, entering into communal activity, making contact with politicians and officials through letter-writing, email, phone and meetings, organising petitions and lobbying, and engaging in consumer boycotts, lawful demonstrations and lawful strikes. In this kind of action the people involved are intent on changing policy and procedures within the existing structures, and not with altering the structures themselves. Middle-class people might take to the streets to protest government changes to the public education system, but they are not challenging the existing order, of which in many other respects they are a part. Indeed these kinds of modern demonstration are often carefully managed, with people being bussed to pre-arranged meeting points and kept in order by marshals provided by the protesting organisations themselves (Dalton, 1996, p. 68).

Confrontational action is what it says. It takes on those in control more openly and directly, and is more "in your face." It will involve action designed to disrupt, such as invading a meeting, blockading a road, holding demonstrations which have *not* been coordinated with the police and the local council, occupying buildings, and going ahead with a strike that has been decreed unlawful by the authorities. So environmental activists, for example, will picket a uranium mine, block an underwater outlet from a chemical works, and dump waste outside a company headquarters. In many countries people involved in confrontational action tread a fine line between action which will result in prosecution and action which, although technically illegal, will not be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. Activists may occupy a building not knowing whether the police will arrest or simply eject them.

Violent action involves damage to property and violence against people. So the students or workers in some countries take to the streets, and literally do battle with the police or armed services. Taking such action involves flagrantly breaking the law, or confronting authorities who will offer little leniency if the activists are detained. Taking such action is physically dangerous, and involves stepping across both legal and moral boundaries.

The three kinds of action I have described correlate loosely with Harbermas' tripartitions. We can see that violent action in its simplest form relates to the physical and objective worlds. Successful confrontational action is premised on an understanding of institutions and their procedures and so relates to some significant extent to the social world. Conventional action is commonly aimed at changing the thinking of people and effecting changes in policy, and so relates to the world of ideas, and underlying values and assumptions. A framework made up of forms of social control, forms of learning and forms of action emerges to which the activist adult educator can refer in the process of responding to the needs and interests of learners involved in struggle.

Moral Responsibility

I have left the moral problem to the end. Can we really envisage helping learners plan for and engage in violent action? Violence against people is repugnant. Yet violence occurs. Thugs, militias and government forces wage campaigns of terror in Timor, Kosovo, and Chechnya. People are exploited, some killed or maimed, in countries where there is little legal protection in the workplace. A gay person is bashed on a city street. A child is abused behind the closed doors of a suburban house. It would seem a denial of our own morality not to consider every possible form of response.

An activist friend talked about how, in a particular district of a particular country, it was virtually accepted practice that the owner of a clothing factory and his sons raped women in their workforce. "Why," he asked "when there is violence against us it is all right, but when we consider violence in return we are condemned?" Earlier I asked why the police at Pilbara used force in support of employers and abandoned their responsibility to protect the workers. During a campaign against the closure of a factory in the US, a union activist exclaimed: "There must be a way to get the National Guard on *our* side!" (California Newsreel, 1978).

Is it not possible to use violence in the interests of good? This was the challenge issued by Nelson Mandela in 1964 at the Rivonia trial when he explained to his prosecutors how he and his supporters had moved from lawful protest to sabotage in their struggle against the apartheid policy of white South Africa (Mandela, 1994). Speculation about violence is not out of place in the world of the adult educator. We already teach violence. In some conventional adult education institutions there are courses in self-defence which teach aggressive responses to even the hint of an attack.

I have no easy answer to this collection of challenges. However, I argue that we need to ask questions, point to precedents, and tell stories. Horton talked of encounters with hired killers, of the murder of a union activist friend, and of helping a group of strikers decide whether or not they would kill the killers (1990). Foley tells of activists who, in an otherwise non-violent anti-logging campaign, broke ranks and took action in a way that endangered the lives of the loggers. The actions of these mavericks swung the campaign in the environmentalists' favour (Foley, 1991). In a recent book I recount the story of a friend who used educational and industrial action to combat the use of child labour. At a crucial moment, when the release of a number of children from their virtual slavery was under threat, my friend's comrades kidnapped the employer's son. They used the child as a bargaining counter to get the campaign back on track (Newman, 1999).

By asking questions, identifying precedents and telling stories we can provide activist learners with a store of discussion, examples, and other people's experiences to draw upon. We can help them do their thinking beforehand. By presenting them with the framework of social control, learning and action, we can offer them choices. And because these choices extend to and include violent action, we will be confronting them and ourselves with an ethical dilemma. We will be adding a profoundly moral element to our teaching and learning.

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Lifelong Learning as Metaphor: Researching Policy in the Education of Adults

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Abstract: *Analysts of policy have hitherto not paid much attention to how policy language acts to build up representations of reality. This paper agues for the usefulness of a discursive approach to policy analysis, and illustrates it in the context of emerging policies for 'lifelong learning'.*

Introduction

The increased interest in discourse and discourse analysis as an approach to policy in recent years has done much to open up fresh avenues of investigation and understanding (Taylor, 1997). However, with some notable exceptions, it has often lacked depth in its understandings of how language is deployed in the attempt to produce certain meanings and effects. This involves studying discourse as social action rather than as mental representation wherein "telling stories is discursive action doing discursive business" (Edwards, 1997, p. 277). The possibility of deploying such resources opens up further spaces of investigation.

It is to an exploration of these issues that this paper is addressed. I want to suggest the usefulness of a discursive approach to policy analysis in the context of emerging policies for lifelong learning. The latter has become a major focus of policy attention in recent years at national and international levels and is articulated not only in the realms of government, but in the economy as well. While there have been some attempts to examine "the kinds of language" (Tight, 1998, p. 474) used in policy texts of lifelong learning, most readings have engaged in conventional and unsystematised forms of ideology critique. What I want to suggest is that a discursive approach to the policy texts of lifelong learning can open up the mobilisations of meaning at play in policy in a more systematic and productive way. In particular I wish to argue that lifelong learning can productively be thought as a metaphor and examined as to the work it does in this light. The paper therefore both argues for a discursive approach to policy analysis and illuminates such an approach through a brief examination of lifelong learning.

The paper is in three parts. First, I outline some of the debates surrounding the study of policy in education. Second, I argue that it is both necessary and desirable to adopt a discursive approach to policy analysis, in particular, I emphasise the importance of metaphor to such analysis. Third, I explore some of the work of "lifelong learning" in policy by putting aside questions of what it might "really" be, to ask what metaphorical and literal strategies are deployed to engender certain effects and meanings as opposed to others, and what "facts" are fabricated in this. I am not attempting an exhaustive analysis of the policy texts available. I wish to illustrate the potential for the approach with an examination of the United Kingdom government's 1999 White Paper on lifelong learning (Secretary of State for Education and Employment, 1999).

Studying Policy

There has been much debate in the last ten years as to the methods most appropriate for policy analysis and the need for more "useful" methods than have hitherto been dominant. Underlying this has been on the one hand concerns about the validity of such analysis - what makes it more than opinion? - and on the other hand concerns over the lack of impact on policy of such analyses. These debates have taken place largely outside the realms of those concerned with the education of adults. However, with the increased attention given to lifelong learning in policy, there emerges a question as to how best to engage in policy analysis.

Policy theorists have argued for the adoption of particular methods and perspectives. For example, Evers (1988) suggests an approach using particular scientific epistemological frameworks and methodologies for the analysis of values. Chibulka (1994) argues for a greater focus on system improvement as an outcome of policy studies. Many contributors to the debate suggest a refocussing (Power, 1992), or use of additional strategies of analysis (Codd, 1988, Scheurich, 1994). The diversifying of opinion on suitable approaches to policy analysis led Hatcher and Troyner (1994, p. 161) to question the coherence within the field: "what meta-theory is necessary to achieve a non-reductionist, totalising theoretical coherence?"

However, Ball (1994) argues for the relinquishing of notions of any one unifying grand theory in favour of plural, poststructural and postmodern approaches. Rather than seeking scientific truth or uncovering ideology and power, policy analysis examines the workings of power-knowledge through the meanings fabricated through and around it. Ball argues that the importance of "clarity" in the determination of policy meanings actually works against an appropriate analysis of policy: "For me, much rests on the meaning or possible meanings that we give to policy; it affects "how" we research and how we interpret what we find." (Ball, 1994, p. 15). This approach both draws upon and promotes the linguistic turn in social theory that brings to the fore the discursive work at play in policy texts and their fabrication of certain issue as problems and responses as solutions. This is examined through approaches drawing on discourse analysis wherein it is not simply policy texts themselves, but also the realm of policy analysis itself which becomes an object of study in the truths of policy inscribed by particular approaches to policy analysis. In other words, policy analysis is itself part of the object of study and not separate from it. Policy analysis is part of practices through which policy is fabricated as an object of study. It therefore needs to be discursively reflexive of the work it does, rather than treating policy as independent of the practices through which it is studied. Through discourse analysis, analysts of policy can focus upon the way in which forms of practices of policy analysis are complicit in the constitution of policy and education objects and problems in particular ways which powerfully shape both policy and education.

Discursive Analysis

Much policy analysis assumes a realist epistemology. Even forms of ideology critique have this assumption; it is the uncovering of the real behind the ideological which is the task of analysis. Indeed many of the attempts to draw upon discourse analysis still seek the safe harbour of realism. In realist analyses, the descriptions in policy texts are taken as literal rather than there being an examination of the metaphorical work they do in fabricating and representing "the real". Yet factual and fictional stories share many of the same kinds of textual devices for constructing credible descriptions, building plausible or unusual event sequences, attending to causes and consequences, agency and claim, character and circumstance (Edwards, 1997, p. 263).

For those interested in examining discourse as social action, it is the capacity for story telling which is posited as central to human ontology. In telling tales, tales are told, some of which are more telling than others. Thus, for instance, Potter (1996, p. 107) refers to a discourse which is constructing versions of the world as solid and factual as reifying discourse. Reifying means to turn something abstract into a material thing; and this is the sense I wish to emphasize, although material should be understood very widely.

Fact construction can be seen as a process of attempting to "reify" the world as real and solid through particular forms of discourse, something with which we are familiar in policy documents which authoritatively state the problems to be addressed as "facts" (Nicoll, 1998). For Potter (1996, p. 181) all discourse can be studied for its rhetorical and constructive work. This is as true for policy as it is for other areas. A part of such a reading entails examining the way texts work though presenting certain descriptions of the world as real, even though the world may be able to be described differently.

A metaphor is a term from one field that is used in another, often to illuminate the familiar in an unfamiliar way. The use of metaphor is a form of conceptual mapping that is crucial to the synchronic fabrication and diachronic development of meaning.

> Parts of such mappings are so entrenched in everyday thought and language that we do not consciously notice them; other parts strike us as novel and creative. The term metaphor is often applied to the latter, highlighting the literary and poetic aspects of the phenomenon. (Fauconnier, 1997, p. 18)

To think of policy texts as literary and poetic may seem absurd, but it is precisely through an exploration of their textuality and narrative strategies that I believe fresh insights can be developed. The reasons for this become clear when we think of the distinction between the literal and the metaphorical and the implications of reading policy as literal when it might be more productively read as metaphorical. As Potter (1996, p. 180) suggests "literal descriptions may be just telling it how it is, while metaphorical ones are doing something sneaky". The distinction is important as

> someone may discount a description as 'only a metaphor'; or build it up as 'quite literally' the case; and this can be an important topic for study. Indeed the literal-metaphorical distinction is hard to keep separate from the factual-fictional distinction. (Potter, 1996, p. 181).

What this suggests is that in the fabrication and reading of texts there are attempts to deploy metaphorical and literal strategies to engender certain effects and meanings as opposed to others. Partly, and depending on the reading, this is related to the fabrication of "facts". This is not to equate the literal with the factual or the metaphorical with the fictional in some common sense manner. Rather it forces us to consider the textual strategies at play in constructing certain things as facts and others as fictions.

> the literal/metaphorical distinction is particularly important . . . it is employed, for example, in drawing a distinction between serious and non-serious writing, academic and colloquial language, research and poetry, where, in each case, the former, truer, more referential medium is legitimised partly by the extent to which it manages to exorcise metaphor from its modes of expression. (Parker, 1997, p. 84)

Here the most powerful metaphors might be said to be those which hide their own work by making metaphor appear to be an illegitimate part of a text. In this situation, metaphorical readings become disruptive of the literality of texts.

> Metaphor opens potentialities of understanding rather than fixing understanding detrimentally and uniquely. A metaphor is permanently an opening for re-reading, reinterpretation . . . (Parker, 1997, p. 84)

Prior acceptance of a metaphorical description leads to what has been termed "vassalage" (Potter 1996, p. 99). The word has been used in relation to the work of the researcher in social science but it might equally be drawn upon in relation to realist readings of policy:

> These sorts of tangles that result in vassalage are not restricted to work on scientific facts, although they are vividly apparent with that topic. In any area where factual versions of some group are taken as a start point for analysis the analyst may end up as a vassal. (Potter, 1996, pp. 98-9)

In opening up policy analysis as a metaphorical space I hope to counter such vassalage, although aware that such readings can also be done of the arguments put forward in this text and assumptions and metaphors through which it has been fabricated.

I am suggesting therefore that policy texts and policy analysis both depend upon metaphorical descriptions of the world through which their representations of reality are worked up. Analysis of the ways in which policy propositions and their critiques are formed and reified through such processes therefore become important, as any common acceptance of metaphorical systems may circumscribe critical engagement. Reflexive consideration of these issues may enable forms of critique which refuse or counter practices of reification by drawing deliberately upon alternative metaphors and systems. Thus, the politics of language is not about the uncovering of the truth behind ideology, but the fabricating of alternative metaphorical complexes.

Metaphorical Work of Lifelong Learning in Policy

I have indicated in broad terms the argument for a discursive approach to policy analysis and in particular the potential of metaphorical readings of policy and the use of metaphor in the rhetorics of policy. In this section, I wish to briefly illustrate this in relation to a particular policy on lifelong learning recently published by the UK government - the White Paper (Secretary of State of Education and Employment, 1999). What follows then is an illustrative examination of the way in which this text works though presenting certain descriptions of the world as real, even though the world may be able to be described differently: What metaphorical and literal strategies are deployed to engender certain effects and meanings as opposed to others? What "facts" are fabricated in this?

The beginning sentence of the *Preface* to the document returns to an earlier Green Paper "In the Green Paper *The Learning Age* we set out our vision of how lifelong learning could enable us to fulfill our potential and cope " (Secretary of State of Education and Employment, 1999, p. 3). Here, at the very beginning of the White Paper "lifelong learning" is presented as an already present material object. "[O]ur vision" is a description of some "thing", to be taken quite literally as already present. Having been presented powerfully in this way, lifelong learning is then the premise upon which the document as a whole can unfold "naturally." It is the shared vision upon which, if it is "ours," then the rest of the text may appear rational and logical. "Lifelong learning" then, is a reifying discourse in that it is constructed as solid and factual, whilst at the same time its acceptance as fact makes space for the changes then suggested.

However, lifelong learning is not only reified and reifying in that it is presented as factual, it is premised upon a description of a particular kind of world which is also reified. The world described is one of "rapid economic and social change". This description is presented as quite literally the case. Because it is presented in this way, it does not require to be questioned. In this move the social construction of the world described is masked, as its materiality is emphasised. "Lifelong learning" takes a place in this document as a metaphor that governs through its reifying work– work to not only reify itself, but the facticity of a world of "rapid economic and social change".

"Lifelong learning" does more even than this within this initial section of the text. It presents everyone with a "challenge" with which they must "cope", and a need "to fulfill their potential". Here the description of the world is a "problem" to which we "must" respond. There is no scope left here for individual choice as "everyone" is to be included. However, the text that follows "seduces" us by offering, across a range of discourses, descriptions of the sorts of aims for education to which we commonly ascribe.

> Lifelong learning can enable people to play a full part in developing their talent, the potential of their family, and the capacity of the community in which they live and work. It can and must nurture a love for learning. This will ensure the means by which our economy can make a successful transition from the industries and services of the past, to the knowledge and information economy of the future. It also contributes to sustaining a civilised and cohesive society, in which people develop as active citizens and in which generational disadvantage can be overcome. (ibid.)

"Lifelong learning" is seductive in that it subsumes all education and training into the service of goals representing a range of discourses already at play; humanism, liberalism and the market putting in question the existing interests and assumptions about institutional structures, curricula and pedagogy. It troubles the spaces of existing practices through opening a space in which specific questions are then asked as to the effectiveness of those practices in achieving specific goals. To entice us to collusion we are told that this view has already been "widely supported", and so "confirmed" the government's own view that change was necessary. In so doing the inherent worthwhileness of "the traditional" within education and training in supporting lifelong learning and its patent "failure" is exposed to scrutiny. In this sense lifelong learning is not only a policy goal, and policy arena, but works as a strategy to trouble the spaces of educational and training practices through the constitution of a problem.

This in itself is not unambiguous, as the harnessing of support for reform sits uncomfortably alongside a metaphorical complex which suggests that lifelong learning is the solution to "the facts" of the contemporary world. Here lifelong learning is posited as a necessary adaptive response to the contemporary condition, without which we fail to fulfill our potential and cope. Thus, it enables us to accept that to stand still is not feasible. In the government's White Paper:

> Standing still is not an option. The world has changed and the current systems and structures are real obstacles to success. Our aims can only be achieved through new arrangements at national and local level which build on the strengths, and eliminate the weaknesses, of the present arrangements. (ibid., p. 15)

We find that lifelong learning has been adopted both at the national and supra-national levels as a framework for policy and practice, increasingly with the espoused normative goal of supporting the development of a learning society, where the latter is primarily, though not solely, framed within human capital theory.

> The challenge we face to equip individuals, employers and the country to meet the demands of the 21st century is immense and immediate. In the information and knowledge based economy, investment in human capital – in the intellect and creativity of people – is replacing past patterns of investment in plant, machinery and physical labour. (ibid., p. 12).

Here, the goal is of enabling individuals to look after themselves in conditions of uncertainty through a process of "adaptability", a Darwinian metaphorical complex.

Darwin's view was that it is the "fittest" who will tend to survive. Populations survive if their genetic pool is diverse enough to provide the genes that give the required advantage in contexts of continuous environmental change. Both populations and individuals require adaptability for survival over the short and long term. This view of populations in competition with each other for survival that has become "naturalised" – as social Darwinism – and can be found in the texts of lifelong learning. "To continue to compete, we must equip ourselves . . . and develop the adaptability to respond to change" (ibid., p. 12). This resonates with well with social Darwinism, and acts convincingly in that this is already a commonly held description of the social. Lifelong learning is then powerfully presented within a dominant view of the social.

In a sense then, a discourse like this seeks to promote the very thing which is said to be lacking - a culture of lifelong learning. The new age of lifelong learning therefore seems to be conducive to a type of new age discourse, wherein the harnessing of emotions, attitudes and values displaces the requirement for rigorous argument, evidence and debate. A set of assertions on the desirability and necessity for lifelong learning is posited as both the way to succeed, and in a way which is consistent with this aim, a position inscribed in the title of the text – *Learning to Succeed.*

The affective dimensions to the discourses of lifelong learning are not in themselves surprising, for as Ball (1998, p. 124) suggests "policies are both systems of values and symbolic systems . . . policies are articulated both to achieve material effects and to manufacture support for those effects". An effective policy would appear therefore to be one which is affective. It is an appeal which is appealing to many educators, employers as others. Questions remain as to what forms of learning by whom, when and where have these effects, and whether such effects can be identified as the outcomes of learning, lifelong or otherwise. In what senses does learning help us to succeed, and how? What sense does the new age of lifelong learning make when we put the claims for it alongside some of the more rigorous analyses of contemporary change, in particular changes in the nature and availability of paid employment?

Implications

This paper has been intended as a contribution to debates that suggest that there can be productive engagements with post-structuralist theory among adult educators. In particular, it points to ways of engaging in policy analysis that move beyond the realism of much existing literature. "Lifelong learning", as presented within the policy text that has been analysed here, is presented literally as a vision that must be achieved if we are to succeed. Through this, there are textual strategies at play that work up the facticity of lifelong learning and a particular view of the present and future world. They work up this facticity by working effectively and affectively upon those who read this text, or read or hear similar texts elsewhere. In this there are attempts to deploy literal strategies to engender certain descriptions of the world and our actions in response to it, as both fact and necessity. In the context of the globalisation of policies for lifelong learning this kind of discursive approach to the policy texts of lifelong learning can open up the mobilisations of meaning at play in policy in a systematic and productive way.

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Lessons from Central America: Action Research in an Adult English as a Foreign Language Program

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Abstract: *An environment of intense competition among tuition-supported adult English as a foreign language (EFL) programs revealed a degree of accountability to which we in the U.S. are unaccustomed.*

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to introduce new ideas and to possibly change programming methods in a language institute for adults located in San Jose, Costa Rica. My presence as a researcher from outside the country was solicited by the director of the institute to provide the institute with formative evaluation data that could help the institute thrive in an intensely competitive environment. Precisely because of the intense competition for quality programs of English in a city where 23 tuition-supported peer programs (Instituto Costarricense de Electricidad, 1999) competed with each other, the director of the institute invited my participation as an action researcher for seven months. He wanted me to conduct research that would generate formative evaluation data. The institute was widely known in Costa Rica where it enjoyed a very positive reputation. Word of this institution even reached me in the United States where Costa Rican graduate students who had studied there spoke highly of its quality.

Another factor that attracted me to this project was to learn if English as a foreign language (EFL) programs with different contextual assumptions could contribute to our better understanding and better management of English as a second language (ESL) programs in Canada and the United States. I wanted to know if the environment of intense competition produced innovative methods of teaching English as a second or foreign language to adults, methods that might prove useful for ESL program planners in the United States and Canada. The research questions were stated as follows: 1) What was the institute's central theory of language learning and teaching? 2) Did the institute demonstrate concepts of adult education theory or teaching methodology? 3) What accounted for the positive reputation of the institute, both within the country and in the United States?

On my part as a researcher I wanted to discover, if those English language programs outside the United States could provide useful models for either teaching or managing ESL programs in the United States and Canada. Especially, I wanted to see how programs that existed in an intensely competitive environment were conducted. Although I was invited to help improve this particular program from an adult educational point of view, I came away from the experience with some counter-cultural ideas that I believe could serve teachers and managers of ESL programs in Canada and the U.S.

Theoretical Framework

Merriam and Simpson (1984) described action research as a form of qualitative inquiry that aims to affect change in the phenomenon studied. Such changes include changes in management approach, teaching methods or curriculum. In this form of inquiry, the researcher not only observes the phenomenon, but interacts with it by entering into the educational project itself. I began my research as a trainee in the methods used to teach English as a foreign language at this institute. I later taught a series of classes under the supervision of a tenured teacher at the institute. After a short internship, I taught classes on my own, attended in-service teacher training workshops, and, finally, teamed with the director of the institute to plan and present an in-service workshop for the instructional staff of the institute. To make sense of the data, Sternberg's (1984) theoretical functions of global and local intelligence were used to frame up our findings.

Methodology

The method of data collection could best be described as a combination of case study and action research. Merriam and Simpson (1984) define case study as "... an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit such as an individual, group, institution or community (p. 95)." In this case, the limits of the study were bounded by information gathered at one particular adult language institute. Action research describes a form of qualitative inquiry which has as its goal to affect change in the phenomenon studied, such as changes in management approach, teaching methods or curriculum development (Merriam & Simpson, 1984).

I entered into the phenomenon studied as participant observer. From August 22, 1998 to March 5, 1999, I became successively an observer of teachers and students in the classroom, then a teacher trainee. As a trainee, I taught classes first under the supervision of a master teacher. I then taught my own classes independently and, finally, designed and conducted an in-service workshop for the teachers. In addition, I interviewed students, teachers and administrators informally, without an interview guide, almost daily for the seven months of residency at the institute.

The focus of the study was limited to teaching methodology, instructional materials used, reactions of the adult students to methods and materials, students' reasons for choosing the institute and student achievement as measured by students' ability to engage in spontaneous, free conversation. In other words, the study focused on instructional effectiveness, program effectiveness related to student outcomes, student satisfaction and student proficiency. Other possible data, such as budgetary data, teacher tenure, personnel matters were excluded from the study.

After interviews with students or teachers, notes were recorded in a journal periodically during the course of each day. On occasion notes were made after the interviews, on occasion during the interviews and always during classroom observations of the teaching methods used at the institute. Interviews were not tape-recorded. The journal was maintained throughout the seven-month period. Validity checks consisted of frequently returning to those interviewed for correction and clarification. Validity checks were also made by triangulating the data gathered in interviews with teachers and students with data gathered from language coordinators or the director of the institute. A final validity check was made by presenting a research report to eight members of the administrative staff of the institute for their verification, correction or debate. Thus, diverse individual perspectives of the staff were incorporated into the draft document.

Data was analyzed in the following manner: notes were taken in a small notebook and later categorized by recopying each interview or observation on a 3x5 card At the top of each card I placed a short title or statement describing the theme of the narrative segment. Cards were then grouped according to their respective themes. Through this process, certain themes considered descriptive of the program were judged for their degree of saturation, highlighted and later reviewed. The program director and I later reviewed the narrative to insure its accuracy. In our final review certain statements were highlighted when they were judged to contribute to emergent themes.

Findings

The Power of Linguistic Theory

The director of the institute, a twenty-five year veteran of teaching EFL, took special pains to clearly articulate a theory of language learning to me and to his staff. That theory was based largely on the writings of Hammerly (1985, 1991) who espoused a form of structural linguistics. As a former structural linguist who at one time had been on the staff at the Foreign Service Institute, Hammerly (1991) claimed that current methods and theories of language learning over-emphasize communicative exercises at the expense of accuracy which result in an adult's learning a pidgin rather than acceptable English. Hammerly (1991) insists that adults do not learn languages as children do. Accordingly, they need planned exercises to help them internalize the basic structures of the target language before attempting free conversation. This theory counters popular communicative and immersion theories currently in vogue in the United States and Canada. The theory of language acquisition that emphasizes communication even at the early stages of learning can be exemplified by the following article that appeared in the *New York Times* under the byline, "Becoming an American 101." Describing her visit to a community based English as a second language program in New York City, Thernstrom (Oct. 19, 1997) related how the teacher divided the students into pairs and asked them to find out four things about each other. The students constantly turned toward the teacher asking for help. She, in turn, kept reassuring them to speak English right or wrong. She continually brushed aside their questions for acceptable grammatical forms. "Don't talk to me, talk to your partner," she said as she walked around the room (Sec. 6, p. 88, column 2). However, the *New York Times* reporter observed that the feelings of the learners were palpable; they wanted to learn correct English, not "street speak" (Sec. 6, p. 88, col. 2).

The above article illustrates the very opposite of the theory that permeated the institute, the theory of Languistics (Hammerly, 1985, 1991). This theory proposed that all languages have a unique structure. Adults do not learn languages the way children do, points out Hammerly. They need structured exercises when learning a second or foreign langauge to enable them to internalize the basic patterns of the language. Until those patterns are internalized, the learner ends up trying to communicate in a pidgin. This theory so permeated the day to day operation of the program, that four cardinal principles of language teaching based in on Hammerly's writings (1985, 1991) hung framed in the teachers' testing and materials room. The framed set of bold letters read:

OUR PRINCIPLES

1. Always think in terms of the entire group rather than in individuals
2. Prepare your students for success; don't ask them to do what they haven't been prepared to do.
3. If your students can do it, don't you do it
4. Intensive oral practice is the key to achieving speaking proficiency, not explanations. (Framed and hanging on the wall at the institute)

Teaching Principles Related to Adult Education

This set of core teaching principles were, first of all, linguistically robust if one subscribes to the theory of structural linguistics. The principles also related to some well- worn credos of adult education without, of course, the program director or teachers ever having been trained in adult teaching methods. In emphasizing the group over the individual, the institute attempted to maximize practice time, thus involving all the students in large group and small group exercises. Much time was spent, for example, in pair work in which one student would model the pattern or ask the question from the printed materials while the other would answer without the aid of print material. During this time the instructor moved around the room as facilitator and monitor, going from small group to small group, listening, providing useful feedback and modeling when the students so requested. This pattern of teaching involved the students in a very active way, while the teacher served as instructional designer and facilitator rather than drill leader. In one class I observed, the students spoke more than 90% of the time, while the teacher spoke less than 10% of the time. This principle capitalized on two suggestions first advocated by Knowles (1980, p 237) when he spoke of "Skill practice groups" and "Dyads: two-person groups organized to share experiences, coach each other..." In the dyads used at this institute there was a great deal of peer coaching.

The second principle – preparing the students for success – counteracts fear, which the institute insists is the number 1 enemy of learning. Here the institute echoes one of the foundational Rogerian ideas inherent in andragogy: ". . . all threat to the learner must be reduced to a minimum in order for the learner to be able to differentiate his/her perception of the material (Knowles, 1990, p. 42)."

The third principle emphasized student control of the material. This principle assigned the adult educator to the role of facilitator and monitor by emphasizing the student's role as a very active participant. The third principle also reminded the teachers that teacher talk, explanations of grammar were to be avoided or at least to be kept to a minimum. A corollary of this principle instructed the teachers to explain a grammatical point or a sentence pattern only once. After the teacher modeled the sentence pattern, the students were to practice while teacher served as a monitor listening to the student's production of the language, correcting mistakes, helping with pronunciation.

Finally, the last principle echoes what I have often heard in adult skill classes – the need and desire for practice. Therefore, teachers should mainly organize the students' practice time. Because the institute makes the assumption that life is hectic for its adult students with work and family obligations, it assumes that students will not have time outside of class to practice or study. Consequently it emphasizes structured group exercises that maximize student practice during class time.

A Modular Curriculum

Students at this particular institute knew their progress at all times because the program was divided up into 52 modules. They moved up and down among the 14 homogeneous groups according to their rates of progress. Teachers were rotated every week because the language learning theory, the curriculum, and the teaching methodology were so well intermeshed that teachers could pick up from any other teacher at any time. At the end of the week, teachers filled out forms indicating what had been done up to the point they left off on Friday. These forms were then given to the teacher that rotated into a particular section the following week. This practice gave the students maximum exposure to different accents and individual eccentricities of voice and diction.

When students first enrolled in the program, they were promised in an orientation session that they would advance to FSI 3 (Foreign Service Institute, Level 3) within 12 months if they gave serious attention to the learning activities provided for them by the institute. This promise contained a bold claim. Hammerly (1991) theorized that the attainment of FSI Level 3 allowed the learner to then enter into an immersion setting where learning from experience should continue at a rapid pace because all of the English sentence structures had been learned. By comparison, the Peace Corps goal for the language training of its volunteer trainees is FSI level 2, a level many fail to reach in 3 months of intensive language training (Nolan, 1989).

In 1998-1999 the institute graduated 12 groups of adult learners. I attended one of these graduation ceremonies held in the cafeteria of the institute. Graduates were seated at a head table of sorts, since there was no elaborate table covering, while the table faced a small audience. The director of the institute stood next the table holding a microphone in the style of Oprah or Phil Donahue. He asked them questions about their future careers, about their families and about their experiences at the institute in a free question and answer session. Students displayed surprising command of the language at about the FSI Level 3 range of fluency and accuracy, just as the administration of the institute had promised.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

The results of this study highlight the value and power of adhering to theory in the design of ESL programs. The sixteen page curriculum was essentially a guide within which many materials such as commercial texts, video tapes and charts were used and frequently changed. The approach of basing one's entire program on one well-defined linguistic theory that was, in turn, articulated in a curriculum guide rather, than on a possible mixture of theories grounding commercial materials has been advocated by researchers in the field. Hammerly (1991) goes as far as urging the elimination of textbooks in favor of curriculum guides. This approach follows an exhortation given to practitioners of adult basic education by Dill (1997) when he urged ABE programs to develop a sense of continuity. Continuity gives both teachers and students a sense of purpose and direction.

The linguistic theory of the institute could be compared to Sternberg's (1984) concept of global and local intelligence. Using Hammerly's insistence on structured exercises that promote automaticity we can see in the following figure that Hammerly's theory is no more than an application of Sternberg's concept of practical intelligence.

Global Intelligence	Local Intelligence
Novel Facet of Intelligence In novel tasks such as free conversation The mind focuses on one task and operates serially on one set of meaningful sounds at a time. The more proficient speakers have a greater degree of automaticity.	**Automatic Facet of Intelligence** The mind unconsciously operates on many tasks at the same time in parallel, such as sound recognition, pronunciation, streaming separate phonemes in sense patterns.
Free Conversation which requires Creating meaningful utterances and responding to questions in ordinary conversation	Practicing sentence structures and patterns until they become automatic. Once automatic, little or no attention given to sentence structure or pronunciation

Table 1: Adapatation of Sternberg's Theory of Practical Intelligence (1984, pp. 275 - 279)

At the end of most modules beginning about module 6, the institute begins to introduce more and more free conversation using the sentence structures studied up to then. As a teacher-trainee, I failed my supervised teaching, because according to the master teacher I introduced free conversation in one of my classes before the students were ready, thus ignoring the first of the Institute's core principles. As a side note, of the four teachers who started training with me in September, only one was selected. Two were dismissed outright, I was allowed to sign up for the next training program and retrain, while only one trainee was hired to teach.

Using Sternberg's (1984) model, it appears evident that the only way to evaluate second language learning is in free conversation. Observing the graduates at their commencement, I could see where participants in this program would have an opportunity to evaluate themselves in the final ceremony according to how well they communicated with the program Director. This activity was a single piece of the entire program and replicated what they had done at the end of each module when the language coordinator came to the classroom to question the students on the material of the module. The language coordinator would then ask general questions exemplifying the sentence structures they had already studied and allow them to demonstrate their grasp of the material creatively.

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Cultivating Imagination in Adult Education

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Abstract: *The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of imagination in teaching and learning, and to explore how Kieran Egan's (1992) concept of "imaginative learning" contributes to adult education theory and practice.*

Introduction

The poet Archibald MacLeish (Williams, 1970, p.887) once commented at the height of the Cold War that the "real crisis" facing modern society wasn't nuclear holocaust, but the demise of imagination:

> To me – not many others think so – the real crisis in the life of our society is the crisis of the life of the imagination. Far more than we need an intercontinental missile or a moral rearmament or a religious revival, we need to come alive again, to recover the virility of the imagination on which all earlier civilizations have been based: Coleridge's 'synthetic and magical power' by which 'the whole soul of man' may be brought to activity and knowledge may be known.

Nearly 35 years later, Kieran Egan (1992) echoes MacLeish. However, the focus of Egan's concern is not society, but education. Egan argues that educators are not doing enough to foster imagination in students, that imagination has been relegated to the dusty cloakroom at the back of the educational classroom. Just as significantly, the failure to stimulate and develop the imagination in teaching and learning shapes education theory and practice. "So much of the focus on students' cognition is in terms of logico-mathematical skills that our very concept of education becomes affected," Egan says (1992, p.5).

In this paper I will examine the role of imagination in education and explore a framework for developing what Egan calls "imaginative learning" (1992, p. 53). I will also set out how imaginative learning fits within the broader goals of adult education. As well, I will identify and discuss potential problems with imaginative learning. Finally, I will look at imaginative learning's place within a philosophy of practice.

The Role of Imagination in Education

Egan contends that developing imagination is crucial in education. The question that must be asked is: why? There are a whole range of reasons. For instance, imagination helps transcend conventional thinking, or as Karen Hanson (1988, p. 138) writes: "Imagination is what allows us to envision possibilities in or beyond the actualities in which we are immersed." Imagination is the ability to consciously conceive of the unconventional, or, to paraphrase Coleridge, it is thinking unsubdued by habit and unshackled by custom. Imagination is also closely connected with creativity. Immanual Kant ([1790] 1952, p. 134) notes: "The imagination is a powerful agent for creating as it were a second nature out of the material supplied to it by actual nature." Then there is the role imagination plays in the development of what Brian Sutton-Smith (1988, p. 22) calls the "narrative concern". Sutton-Smith claims that people make sense of the world and of our experiences in narratives and that we recall items in narrative structures better than in logically-organized lists. Imagination is not only a vital component in the composition of narratives, but also in understanding narratives. As Northrup Frye (1963, p. 49) points out: "The art of listening to stories is a basic training for the imagination."

Egan has his own reasons for promoting imagination's importance in education. One is that imagination plays a key role in the learning process. There is a view common in both society at large and in the education system that the human mind is a sort of computer in which information is stored for later retrieval, such as on a test. Egan writes: "This has been going on so long and so ubiquitously in schools that the meaning of learning that is most common is this kind of mechanical storage and retrieval" (p. 50). Egan argues, and I agree, that the human mind does not work in the same way as a computer and that our memories are quite unlike computer "memories":

> The human mind does not simply store facts discretely when it learns. Perhaps it *can* do this, and we might occasionally use this capacity to remember a phone number or a shopping list in the absence of a piece of paper. More typically when we learn even the simplest fact – that Vasco de Gama set off from Lisbon to sail to Africa in 1497 or that spiders have eight legs – we do not simply lodge these as discrete data in our brains. When learned, they mix in with the complex of shifting emotions, memories, intentions, and so on that constitute our mental lives . . .Whether and *how* we learn and retain these particular facts is affected by the complex of meaning structures we already have in place, which in turn are affected by our emotions, intentions, and so on. (p. 50)

The point is that almost nothing emerges from human memory in the same form that it was initially learned. All kinds of associations are made with each new fact or bit of data, and these associations are constantly shifting and blending, being constructed, taken apart and reconstructed. And imagination is a crucial part of that process.

Another reason why Egan believes imagination is vital to education is related to Sutton-Smith's idea of the "narrative concern": imagination helps provide meaning to experience and understanding to knowledge. MacLeish makes this point when he says that imagination is important, in part, because it is how "knowledge may be known"(p.887). In other words, it provides understanding that goes beyond facts. Though he doesn't call it "logico-mathematical" thinking (as does Egan), MacLeish is clearly critical of the trend toward thinking that relies solely, or even heavily, on facts: "We are deluged with facts, but we have lost, or are losing, our human ability to feel them. Which means that we have lost or are losing our ability to comprehend the facts of our experience. . ." (p. 887).

Egan makes a similar point when he says that education--by which he means the formal process of teaching and learning within an established structure--is not only about the accumulation of knowledge, but also about the meaning that knowledge has for the individual. He argues that what is absent from what he calls the "neo-conservative curriculum", which stresses knowing a lot, is "attention to, and a clear sense of, how knowledge becomes meaningful in the lives of learners; how we can ensure that students engage, in the sense I am developing the phrase here, in *imaginative learning*" (p.53). Teaching and learning which ignores the imagination--or what Egan calls "imaginative learning"--ignores a central component that will help learners to make meaning of their experience. Put another way, ensuring that knowledge and skills are meaningful requires engaging the imagination in the process of learning.

A Framework for Developing Imaginative Learning

Egan provides a framework, or model, to help teachers plan lessons or units in such a way that students' imaginations will most likely be engaged. However, the framework refrains from establishing learning objectives. Rather, taking a cue from Sutton-Smith's emphasis on the narrative, the curriculum is set within a narrative structure. Egan (p. 64) points to the primary role that narrative can play in making meaning of experience:

> The development of the narrative capacities of the mind, of its ready use of metaphor, of its integration of cognitive and affective, of its sense-making and meaning-making, and of its overarching imagination, is of educational importance because these capacities are so central to our general capacity to make meaning out of our experience.

Barbara Hardy (1968, p. 5) goes even further in detailing narrative's role in individual lives: "We dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, gossip, learn, hate and live by narrative." The development of the "narrative concern" is, arguably, educationally relevant to any teaching practice. (By narrative, I don't mean fictional narrative, but rather the narrative shaping of content).

The narrative, then, forms the basis for the framework. But what must be included within this narrative? Certainly, we must include characteristics that engage learners' imaginations. Egan suggests several, among them: transcendent human qualities that are central to the topic (and the affective images they evoke) such as romance, wonder, awe, heroism, revolt and idealism. Egan then suggests pursuing the content through details and by humanizing the knowledge. All are designed to stimulate the learners' imaginative lives

Egan's concept of imaginative learning is not without flaws. The paramount problem for teachers of adult learners is its focus on students within the Kindergarten to Grade 12 education system. In particular, Egan structures his planning model for teachers of students aged eight to 15. The question that those in adult education must ask is: can the model serve adult learners? Egan acknowledges that adult learners and adolescent students are not the same: "As the imagination goes through age- and experience-related changes, so too do the characteristics of the narratives that students find engaging" (p. 71).

Clearly, there are differences between the way an eight-year-old responds to narratives and the way a 48-year-old responds to narratives; differences based on age and experience; and differences not just of degree, but of kind. For instance, the eight-year-old is still in the early stages of forming and shaping meaning, while the 48-year-old may have many meaning-structures already in place. As well, developments in literacy bring with them other intellectual tools for making sense of knowledge and of experience – tools like analysis, reflection and reason.

However, such differences do not negate the value of imaginative learning, with its meaning-making capacities. Nor do such differences negate the role that narrative can play for adult learners. Rather, teachers of adult learners have to ensure that they construct narratives with characteristics that will engage their students. That may require some experimentation. And though the framework has been structured to engage the imaginations of younger students, it can still make a valuable contribution to adult education.

The Role of Imaginative Learning in Adult Education

That contribution may be glimpsed, in part, in imaginative learning's capacity for meaning-making. As Stephen Brookfield (1986), Jurgen Habermas (1971) and Jack Mezirow (1990) point out, meaning-making is a crucial element of adult education.

Brookfield says one of the goals of adult education is assisting learners in the creation and re-creation of their worlds:

> It is likely that most facilitators will sooner or later fall unthinkingly into patterns of facilitation that supports structures of organizational convenience and confirm learners' patterns of dependency learned in the school classroom but have little to do with assisting adults to create, and re-create, their personal, occupational, and political worlds. (1986, p. 297)

Brookfield's comments are remarkably like those of the poet MacLeish. In fact, MacLeish uses the very same word – "re-create" – to describe imagination's role in helping people to understand the world about them when he says that imagination provides a "re-creation, in terms of human comprehension, of the world we have" (p. 887).

Mezirow (1990) also points to the role of meaning and understanding in adult education. He defines adult education as a process of reflection and action, adding:

> From this vantage point, adult education becomes the process of assisting those who are fulfilling adult roles to understand the meaning of their experience by participating more fully and freely in rational discourse to validate expressed ideas and to take action upon the resulting insights . . . Rational thought and action are cardinal goals of adult education. (p. 354)

Again, one of the key reasons for teaching imaginative learning is to give meaning to experience and understanding to knowledge.

As well, Habermas (1971) identifies meaning-making as a key to adult learning. He describes three types of knowledge that are critical to adult learning: instrumental knowledge, practical knowledge and emancipatory knowledge. His definition of practical knowledge refers to making meaning of knowledge.

Patricia Cranton (1996) points out that all three forms of knowledge are valid and necessary. However, like Egan, she says that instrumental knowledge has been pervasively applied to inappropriate domains, such as adult education: "For adult educators, there is important instrumental knowledge, and we should not trivialize this. On the other hand, what we cannot do is view all of learning about teaching as the acquisition of instrumental knowledge" (p. 21).

Imaginative learning clearly has a role to play in developing meaning, which is in turn a key element of adult education. But imaginative learning can also play a crucial part in two other aspects of adult education: critical reflection and transformative learning. Cranton notes that the components of Brookfield's critical thinking are: "identifying and challenging assumptions, exploring and imagining alternatives, and analysis and action" (1996, p. 80). The ability to identify and challenge assumptions involves stepping outside conventional thinking, which is clearly the domain of imagination, as Hanson (1988) indicates. But even more directly connected to imaginative learning is the component that Brookfield calls "imagining alternatives", which requires that people "break with existing patterns of thought and action" (1987, p. 117). Cranton says this feature is "one of the characteristics of critical reflection that makes it central to transformative learning" (p. 91). She also suggests how adult learners might go about "imagining alternatives". All of the suggestions involve the imagination. For instance, she suggests (paraphrasing Brookfield):

> Immersion in an aesthetic or artistic experience can lead to imagining alternatives, especially for people who normally think in linear problem-solving ways. Brookfield (1987) suggests writing poetry, creating fantasies, drawing, photography, songwriting, and dramatizing problems or situations as some media for stimulating imagination of alternatives. (p. 91)

It is plain that imagination is a key part of critical reflection, which in turn is central to transformative learning.

Imaginative learning is connected to adult education practice in Egan's (1992) comment that engaging students' imaginations is not simply a matter of technique. Teachers must themselves be imaginatively engaged:

> No doubt someone could, as it were, fill in the blanks by answering the framework's questions in a routine and dull way. But the call on teachers to construct affective images requires primarily that they vivify their own *feelings* with regard to the subject matter. This framework cannot be adequately used if planning is seen solely as a conceptual task; it has to be *also* an affective task. (p. 113)

The problem for many teachers is that we are not sufficiently attentive to our own feelings with regard to the subject matter. We are often unaware of the affective images. Too commonly, we focus on the concepts or the content that we want to get across to students. Becoming better attuned to the affective components of our subject matter is clearly an area of professional development that deserves further exploration[1]. Egan even suggests that learning how to engage students' imaginations should have a "central place in teacher-preparation programs" (p. 114).

If engaging the imagination is to be more than a skill or technique, and if teachers themselves are to be imaginatively engaged, then imaginative learning requires a place within a teacher's overall philosophy of practice. Cranton (1992) and Brookfield (1986) suggest that educators develop a broader view of professional practice. This broader view should include an awareness of the educator's own philosophy and beliefs about working with learners. Brookfield writes: "Technique is, after all, only a means to broader ends" (1986, p. 289). And Cranton points out that if adult educators accept, even in part, that transformative learning for emancipatory education is the business of all adult educators, then "we must go beyond techniques--or minimally, we must think about and question the techniques we use and the bases for them" (1992, p. 3-4). That said, I believe that teachers need to understand why they are using imaginative learning and how it fits within their own practice.

Summary

I have tried to show the contribution that Egan's idea of "imaginative learning" can make to adult education theory and practice. In particular, I have explored how imaginative learning relates to several key concepts in adult education, such as making meaning out of experience and knowledge, critical reflection, and transformative learning. This does not mean that there are still not problems with Egan's framework, which is designed for younger learners. However, it is clear that the concept of imaginative learning fits well within the sphere of adult education.

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A Botswana Rural Women's Transition to Urban Small Business Success: Collective Struggles, Collective Learning

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Abstract: *Although (75%) of women who move from rural areas to urban areas engage in small businesses, most of these small businesses never grow due to problems related to patriarchal structures. Context, non-competitive networking, and experiential learning are necessary to negotiate patriarchy for Botswana women's business success.*

Introduction

In Botswana an increasing number of women migrate from the rural areas to urban areas due to economic hardships in the rural areas that are characterized by poverty and lack of employment opportunities. Although most (75%) of those engaged in the unregulated sector are women, a majority of these businesses never grow (Daniels, 1990). They either fail completely or remain at the initial stage of occasional street vending. Mead (1994) found that in Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe most enterprises that started with 1-4 workers never expanded; further less than 1% employ ten workers. Research elsewhere and in the region (Nattrass, 1990) suggest that this situation could be explained by problems related to patriarchal structures, colonial experiences, apartheid, and the international division of labor. In spite of the barriers research elsewhere and in Botswana shows that a small number of women have been able to develop enterprises that have demonstrated remarkable growth. So we know that some women are successful in micro-enterprises but to date there is no research detailing the process in terms of what the few women went through, how they made the transition and factors that contributed to their success. The focus of this study was to understand how women learn how to move from unemployment in the rural areas that are characterized by poverty and lack of employment opportunities to owning successful small businesses within the formal sector of urban Botswana.

Relevant literature

The informal sector in Southern Africa shares most of the basic characteristics of the informal economy in developing countries and other regions of Africa in terms of activities, female dominance, unregulated operations and problems such as lack of capital and markets, the system of patriarchy, and oppressive economic systems. Because of a history of regional migration to South Africa from all countries in the region, there are high rates of female-headed households. A study in Botswana by Jefferis (1997) found that the average of such households was between 33-40%.

Access to financial services is gender-biased in Southern Africa. Recent studies in Botswana and the region (Grosh & Somolekae, 1996; Bolnick, 1992) show that the vast majority of women have no access to financial services. They require collateral, rapid loan processing procedures and convenient locations for financial services (Bolnick, 1992). This is a problem for women's businesses because as Rhyne and Otero (1992) put it "Financial needs of families or at least of individual enterprises are often not separate from the financial needs of enterprises themselves– this particularly true for enterprises owned by women" (p. 1565). In Botswana, financial service legislation is based on the patriarchal system that treats women as minors and at best as housewives. For example, all married women do not qualify for loans from commercial banks unless the husbands authorize the bank to process their loans. With male migration to South Africa and recently to urban areas in Botswana, most women have no choice but to go into informal business. Governments have also been criticized for the absence of realistic policies even where there is evidence that the informal economy has created employment. Although governments in the region differ because of different political histories, they share some things in common, such as lack of gender-focused policies. Such policies are not there because the prevailing opinion is that women have a nurturing role, hence are dependent on the kinship systems. In addition, women in the informal sector operate in hostile environments. For example, there are occasional cleaning campaigns where rural women working in the urban informal sector are forced to go back to the rural areas and work in agriculture.

In Botswana existing literature on the efforts made by both government and non-government to assist women in the informal sector on both access to capital and skill training shows that most women are not benefiting from these programs (Women's Affairs Division, 1995). Training programs for women in the informal sector have tended to focus on the acquisition of knowledge in technical and craft skills as well as commercial knowledge. Lack of education has been identified as a barrier to the performance of small businesses. According to Somolekae (1994), "In Botswana 39% of the entrepreneurs have no formal education and an additional 53 % attended only primary schooling" (p. 1881). While specialized training is important, success in business depends on training interventions that are gender sensitive (Burckhart, 1996). This type of training has been overlooked in the training given to the informal sector.

In spite of the barriers faced by women in the informal sector, recent empirical research elsewhere and in Botswana (Osirim, 1992; Daniels, 1992) shows that a small proportion of independent businesswomen have enterprises that have demonstrated remarkable growth. Kapchan (1996) observed that in Morocco, businesswomen in the informal sector find that practices in the marketplace conflict with their traditional roles and values. Understanding how women have been able to successfully overcome their disadvantaged positions in complex business communities is crucial for developmental change.

Theoretical Frameworks

Recent interest in improving the lot of women in developing countries has led feminists and educators alike to stress improved educational and employment opportunities as critical means for women to attain greater control over their lives. For example, according to Molhotra and Mather (1997) education and employment are seen as the resource base essential for women to acquire greater independence from patriarchal constraints. Informed by the feminist economic development perspective (postmodern/post-structuralist) and the adult learning theories (informal/accidental and experiential), the purpose of this study was to understand how Botswana women learn how to move from poverty and unemployment to owning successful formal small businesses in an urban setting. These businesses started as unregulated businesses.

Methodology

This study employed a descriptive qualitative design that used in-depth, semi-structured interviews for data collection. The sample selection of 13 purposively selected small businesswomen reflected diversity in age, education, and number of years in business and type of business. Two research questions guided this study; (1) what situational and personal factors are associated with the success of women in the small business sector? Which factors facilitate the process? Which factors impede the process? (2) How do women negotiate personal and situational barriers so that their businesses can succeed?

Findings

Data analysis guided by the constant comparative method revealed that small business success for women should be understood within a specific context. The context for the participants of this study was defined as the interrelated nature of patriarchy and community orientation that emphasized a culture of sharing. The women's conception of context varied. At times they interpreted it as a macro-level trigger of personal events, other times as a barrier in finding solutions to their business problems, and occasionally as a benevolent patron offering potential opportunities.

Context

Patriarchy. Participants mentioned that in a context where there is a preference for boys, the society appreciates the hard work, intelligence, courage, and family economic responsibility of women in small businesses but not the woman as a person. Betty observed that her father described her hard work in this way; "In Betty, God almost gave me a boy." As an advantage, their patriarchal society ensures that businesswomen have access to free family labor. The social responsibility of women as care takers (mothers, daughters and wives), coupled with legislation that perceives women as minors were cited as restricting businesswomen's business movements.

Community orientation. This was described as the emphasis on sharing goods and services as well as the upliftment of one another, whether family or community member. Community orientation in this context sees the family unit as a source of support network in terms of provision of labor and information. At the business level, community orientation actually laid the bases for the participants non-competitive support strategy. Through its emphasize on communal survival, community orientation has influenced businesswomen to see their businesses as a means of self-actualization and their contribution to their sharing tradition of society. Finally, community orientation has helped to define business interaction as demonstrated by the women in this study. While some women adhere to the non-confrontational approach, others have used the same community orientation to adopt a challenging mode, especially when it comes to articulating gender inequalities.

Personal Factors

In addition to contextual factors (patriarchy and community orientation) that could facilitate or impede success of women's businesses, participants also identified social responsibility and persistent resilience as personal factors crucial for success. All mentioned that the need for money was not the motivation for success in business; rather, they all had a socially driven motivation. As one woman expressed it, "I think I have a passion for making a difference in other people's lives." Persistent resilience as described by participants involves suffering, perseverance, and willingness to take risks, and a high level of commitment to achieving business success. They stressed that every woman who wants to succeed in business within a patriarchal context has to adopt the strategy of persistent resistance. Patriarchal hegemony or the act of men exercising control without the use of force or any cohesive mechanism was another problem lamented by the participants.

Negotiating Patriarchy

Non-competitive networking. The major strategy and one that is said to be the backbone of the success of small businesswomen is non-competitive networking. This was defined as the tradition of relying on one another for financial assistance, labor, comfort, moral support, transportation, and problem solving for both business and family related issues. Participants noted that non-competitive networking manifested itself at three levels: family business and community. In addition to being on the receiving end of the family networks support, participants also mentioned that support was reciprocal in that they used their businesses to help the family directly or indirectly. Women pride themselves on their businesses as a first source of employment for family members.

Work or business networks refers to reciprocal relationships with other businesswomen. This included the sharing of business ideas, positive and negative experiences, frustrations, problems, and giving one another material support. Sharing family chores of other businesswomen was also cited as crucial for success in business. Through community networks, some participants reported having bartered some business items so that they can be perceived as culturally informed business role models. Others mentioned that they were known as anchors of their social networks in the city. Community networking extends beyond the villages and cities of Botswana to the region and internationally.

Pressure group approach. Another approach that small businesswomen use to negotiate barriers was through organizing themselves into pressure groups to question the unfair treatment from the City council authority and financial institutions. Participants of this study believe that as survivors of patriarchal harassment and role models of women's success in business, they are in a better position to mobilize and demand rights of women in the informal sector.

Learning Required for Success

Findings on learning and training that participants required also revealed their learning styles. The first type of learning, informal pre-business skill training was received from either a family member, through observation at a job situation, or through the use of "common sense" or the individual's ability to assess her situation and come up with a viable solution to resolve problems. This form of learning provided skills that participants associated with either their socialization as young girls growing up in their villages or as employees in business-related jobs. Although at the time of training they did not know that they would go into business, informal pre-business skill training is perceived as very important for the success of women's small business. The second type of learning, formal technical skill training was acquired through workshops, in-service training or specialized schools. In this context, formal technical skill training referred to training resulting in certification and in-service or on-the-job training. According to the participants in-service training is particularly valuable for training their own employees, other businesswomen, and even young girls who want the skills for future use. Those who went for formal training, especially workshops, did not find them particularly useful because the delivery was not directed at their felt needs. The third type was business-embedded learning, which manifested itself in problem solving, demonstration, and modeling, and learning from others. This kind of learning takes place in businesses on a day-to-day basis. Participants of this study believe that growing businesses develop their own unique functional system of operation.

Discussion of Findings

Participants in this study confirm that context is a key ingredient in both the business and learning process. However, context in the literature is mainly referred to and studied in an organizational context characterized by the corporate culture of the organization where learning takes place (Howe, 1991, Marsick & Watkins, 1990). The contribution of this study is viewed as adding to the definition of the social and cultural context in terms of the impact of patriarchy and community orientation. The context influenced the kind of businesses that participants went into as well as how they managed their businesses. This is not surprising given that these women had very little education (Grade 3 to Grade 12) and no formal business training prior to starting their businesses.

The role of the family in the business context confirms findings of business management studies that suggest that role models are important in affecting the decision to start a business. A recent study (Ismail, 1998) in Malaysia shows that past family experience in business; even at a low performing scale, affects women's entry into an entrepreneurial career. This study, however, expands this literature by showing that while the family is crucial in women's success in business, it is not necessarily positive. In this study, the Botswana cultural context that expects behavior such as being caretakers of other people, especially in marriage, is an obstacle to women's going into business. In addition, going against family norms, such as divorce and having children out of wedlock, can disappoint the family, which has power and control of resources necessary for the survival of each family member. The loss of economic support from family caused participants in this study to need money; hence they ventured into business.

Personal characteristics found in this study were congruent with results of studies conducted in other developing countries in both Africa and Latin America. These studies show that economic success depends to some extent on personality traits (Ismail, 1998; Burckhart 1996; Bakke-Seeck, 1996). This study, however, adds another dimension. According to the findings of this study, personality traits are informed by the cultural context. In Botswana the driving force for wanting to be successful in business at all costs is the cultural expectation of being economically responsible to the extended family. In addition, there is the social motivation to want to "give back" something to one's community, a part of the cultural socialization or community orientation as described by these participants. Betty sums it up for all the participants when she says, "Knowing that I have given other people (her employees and graduates of her hairdressing training school) an opportunity to give back something to their families and communities is what is more satisfying in life."

The major strategy that is perceived as the pillar of women's small business success is informal non-competitive networking. Given that women's movements in Africa and elsewhere have often been associated with working class struggles, the findings of this study underscore the notion that networking as a support system permeates all facets of their lives. Furthermore, participants of this study described their networking as non-competitive. This finding supports African feminists literature (Mbilinyi, 1996; Oduol & Kabira, 1995), which argues that to overcome the legacy of patriarchy in Africa, women's movements have to build on their traditional modes of organizing.

A major contribution of this study to this feminist literature is that women are not simply acted upon by harassment from male-dominated societies. With economic independence, women are empowered to actively negotiate and mobilize to challenge hegemonic forces for change. Similarly, through non-competitive networks, small businesswomen in Botswana have a subculture with its own tradition and power structure that not only undermines the capitalist approach to development, but also could possibly be used to restructure gender relations in this context.

Conclusions

The findings of this research offer theoretical and practical implications for adult education, and the role of women's businesses in economic development. First the viability of the unregulated economy as a rich venue for informal and incidental learning is strongly supported in this study. The concept of experiential learning, that adults reflect on lived experiences to construct knowledge that can be transferred to new situations, was also upheld in this study (Fenwick, 1999). Participants of this study explained that, they identified their relevant pre-business skills through reflection. In addition through critical reflection, they also evaluated the formal business training that they attended and concluded that the delivery system was not relevant to their learning styles (i.e. hands-on and group experiential learning). Preference for informal learning was not surprising given participants' culture and comparatively low levels of education.

The findings of this study especially non-competitive networking and emphasis on personalized instead of institutionalized training, show that networking and training are gendered concepts. The participants' business success, which was achieved through non-competitive activities, challenges the perceived value of competition in business. Based on the finding that business success is not about the individual but is routed in the culture of sharing, there is need for Botswana business educators to develop more culturally relevant curricula.

Finally, another finding of this study, which has implications for practice, is participants' emphasis on the collective. With low levels of education, this study showed that small businesswomen depend a lot on information coming through their own channels. Based on this finding, cooperatives for small businesswomen are recommended along with a government policy intervention to strengthen the non-competitive networks needed. These cooperatives will be useful for the dissemination of information to members. In Africa building confidence individually has limitations, but as a group small businesswomen's cooperatives can have a stronger voice and help each other to build self-confidence.

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The Role of Adult Education and Skills Training in Promoting Planned Change and Localization: The Case of ACORD - NEBBI Community Development Programme in Uganda

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Abstract: *The study explored the ways in which adult education and skills training programs can contribute to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development. Using a case study design, the research investigated the factors that support or hinder the ability of adult education programs to achieving equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable communities.*

Introduction and Purpose of Study

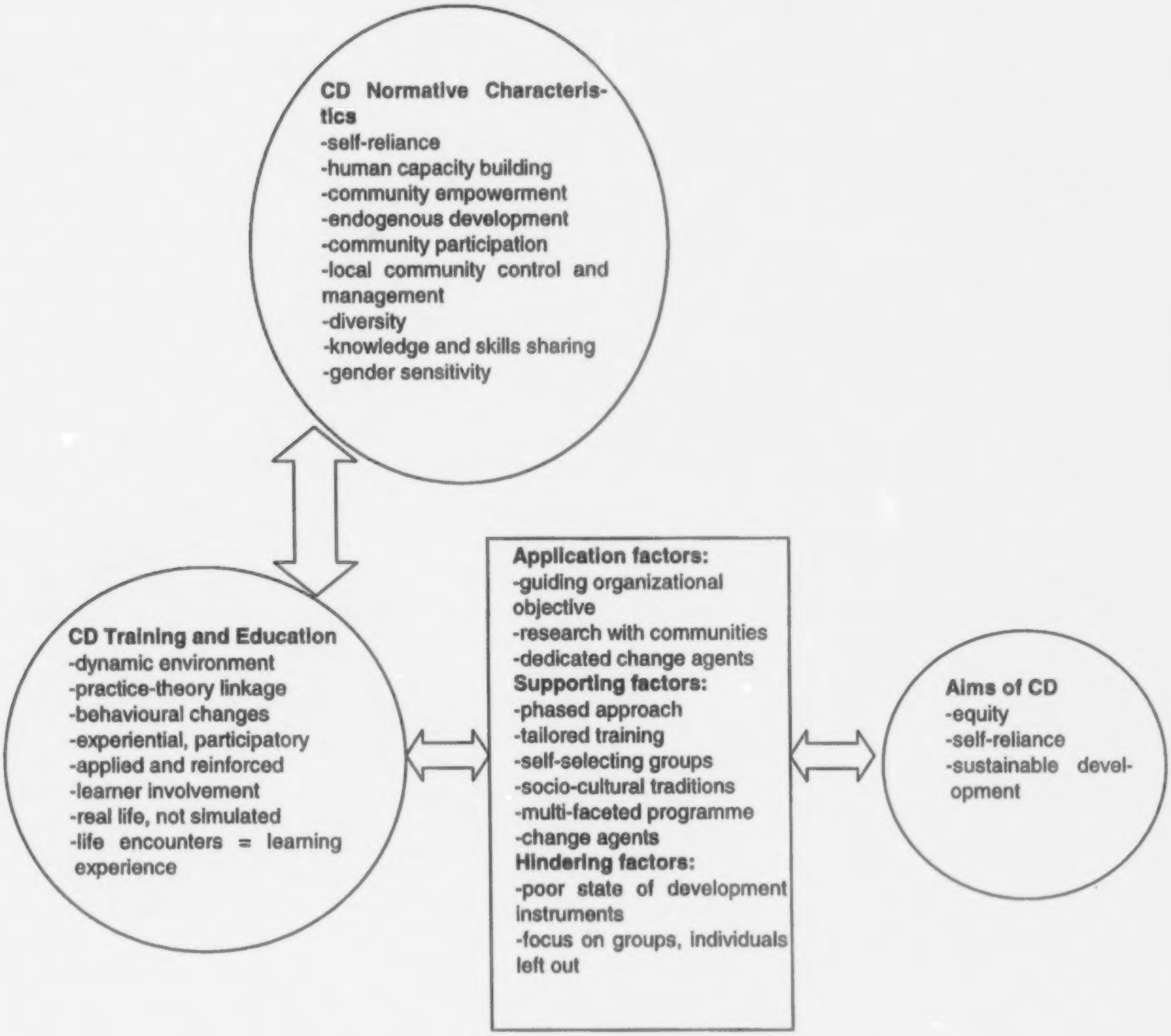
The Agency for Cooperation in Research and Development (ACORD), an international development consortium of European and Canadian non-governmental organizations with headquarters in Britain, was established in 1972 to implement long-term development programmes in parts of Africa where there are weak or non-existent local structures (Mafumbo, 1998). ACORD-NEBBI, an indigenous organization in Nebbi district in northwestern Uganda, has facilitated community development through the involvement of local people:

> Fundamental to ACORD-NEBBI's philosophy is . . . responding to development needs . . . to promote the self-reliance of communities concerned . . . The implication of this philosophy is that ACORD is not the principal protagonist of the development process in any given context, but plays an essentially ancillary role, providing encouragement, technical advice and, where necessary, material support, but not the will to develop . . . [this] presupposes that a local protagonist of the development process exists. (Roberts, 1985, p.5)

The purpose of the study was to explore the role of education and training programs in promoting community development. In particular, it sought to identify how such programs can contribute to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development. The research question that guided the study was: What factors support or hinder the ability of ACORD-NEBBI education and training programs in contributing to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development initiatives? This question is important because education and training, as vectors in sharing knowledge and skills, operate in dynamic environments where several factors influence their effectiveness in promoting development objectives.

The study was conducted using a case study design. The three sources of data used were taped semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis. Forty-six volunteer participants drawn from community development workers, former participants of ACORD-NEBBI education and training programs, the development programme personnel, and primary beneficiary groups affiliated with the programme, were interviewed. The first fieldwork was conducted in May/June 1998, and a second visit was carried out in November, 1998. In the following section, I present a discussion of the study's key findings as summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A Summary of the Key Findings



Methods and Content of Education and Training Curricula at ACORD-NEBBI

Based on a review of the principles of adult learning (Cross, 1982; Freire, 1972; Houle, 1996; Jarvis, 1987; Kidd, 1977; Knowles, 1982; Lovett, 1980; Lynch, 1977; Ottoson, 1994, 1995; Thompson, 1980) and community development (Boothroyd and Davis, 1991; Campfens, 1997; Nozick, 1990) a descriptive analysis of ACORD-NEBBI's education and training activities reveals eight specific conclusions. First, training is particularly important to organizations and people who are in situations that are very dynamic, and for people who have limited time to spend in a learning environment. Second, education and training are two separate activities, with very different methods and results. The primary goal of education is wisdom or ultimate knowledge, and that wisdom or knowledge is for its own sake and not for what it enables its owner to do, be, or become. Training, the dominant approach at ACORD-NEBBI programme, is specifically related to what a person can do from a practical perspective. Third, training, not education, is essential to the kinds of immediate behaviour changes necessary to make a group functional with determined organizational work objectives. The village communities needed immediate development to improve their lives, both as a collective, and as individuals. Fourth, training is best when it is experiential, participatory, and adapted to trainees' previous experience, learning style, and a favourable language as a medium of instruction. Training beneficiaries attested that not only did the training utilize their own communities' situations as a method to introduce the concepts, knowledge, and analytical skills, but also used their collective personal experiences to reflect on the root causes of the problems faced, and from which options for change evolved.

Fifth, training is most effective and long lasting when it is related directly to the tasks to be performed, and timed so that these tasks are the direct result of the training and can be viewed through effective performances by those being trained. Learning is enhanced when the behaviours and skills being learned are applied and reinforced. Sixth, training is most effective when trainees involve themselves in shaping the training agenda, format, objectives, and methods, negotiate the training methods as the training proceeds, and evaluate both their own and the trainer's performance. Seventh, learning is effective when the learning situation best approximates the situation in which the learning will be used. Trainees learn to be effective practitioners by successfully going through those processes, which are identified with effectiveness, and by going through them in the course of real, not simulated learning. Practitioners do not learn to be effective participants by listening to lectures on decision making or policy making. And eighth, every training encounter is a learning experience. The nature and the quality of the learning both depend upon how that experience is integrated within what the learner had identified as useful.

Supporting and Hindering Factors in the ACORD-NEBBI Programme

The study identified six factors that support the ability of education and training programs in contributing to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development: a) the application of a phased approach to change and localization that allowed the programme personnel to reflect and learn from their experiences, and accordingly made appropriate changes based on what they had learned; b) delivery of tailored training programs at the request and pace of the beneficiaries; c) support to, and promotion of self-selecting group formation based on common interests that in turn allowed the functioning of groups with less social friction; d) application of a development approach that is compatible with the socio-cultural traditions; e) the pursuit of multi-faceted programme that penetrated the village communities; and f) the use of change agents that supported emerging community groups.

Two factors were identified as hindering the ability of ACORD-NEBBI education and training programs to contribute to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development: a) the poor state of development instruments, and b) missed target groups - the poorest of the poor - who could not form groups through which training is delivered. The latter factor exists because the programme focuses on groups, and hence individuals who could not form or join the self-selecting groups were left out of the development process. Thus, the lower middle class strata of the village communities have benefited the most because they already had the basic resources - work capacity, knowledge, and capital - with which to gain access, influence and the most needed savings mobilization prior to group formation. The majority of the rural poor do not possess these important resources.

Recommendations

For Future Research within Community Development Initiatives

The study identified factors that support or hinder the ability of education and training programs in contributing to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development initiatives. A first suggested area for future research is to pursue a comparative study on the principles of adult learning, especially on how they are reflected in education and training initiatives in community development settings in similar contexts. The applicability of the principles of adult learning and their integration in education and training programs to different community development efforts, having similar general circumstances, could then be determined. This would be the basis for a comparison between communities regarding the causal relationship between inputs (education and training) and outcomes (the effectiveness of community development practice) in effecting planned change and localization.

A second area for future investigation relates to the nature of planning education and training programs, rather than on their delivery. Identifying the opportunities and constraints encountered in the process of program planning may provide more insights into the human dynamics of educational planning within the community development context.

A third recommendation for future research is to carry out a longitudinal study that addresses the implementation and outcomes of education and training programs, which are embedded in community development projects. Such a study would help highlight the influencing factors associated with internalization of knowledge and skills, their application through implementation of group activities, and their resulting outcomes which all occur long after participants have attended relevant education and training programs.

For Practice on Community Development, Education and Training

In the area of collaboration, ACORD-NEBBI's experience suggests that close collaboration between development agencies, government institutions, and communities is possible, especially if it builds upon a community's determination, interests, and needs. To attempt to initiate any form of development from outside the community and one that is predetermined is unlikely to trigger increased community participation. Thus, NGOs need to identify how they might best support what already exists in the community. This implies that NGOs need to work on their comparative advantage over the government, in regard to their unique relationship with intended community beneficiaries, and their capacity to supplement, rather than compete with government initiatives. Indeed, recognizing the role government continues to play in the promotion or regulation of the third sector will be equally important to the successful collaboration between development agencies, government institutions, and community groups in an effort to achieve equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development.

In the area of community health education, a challenge that ACORD-NEBBI education and training experience reveals is the need to develop a more vigorous community-collaboration health education program. At the time of the study ACORD-NEBBI was engaged in the training of community workers (TCW) program. The study revealed a general sentiment from the local workers that they felt powerless in the face of epidemics such as cholera. It would therefore be useful for development agencies similar to ACORD-NEBBI to develop a collaborative community education and training program that enhances community-coping mechanisms in the wake of such epidemics, or better still, how to prevent them from occurring. This is important because a country's national wealth or prosperity is directly dependent on the health of its people and communities.

For Policy Making on Community Development Education and Training

On support to local structures, this study found that it is a challenge to achieve the right balance of support to different levels (parish, county, district, and region) with that extended to the village community level. This is evident in ACORD's shift in greater emphasis on institutional building to the promotion of the self-selecting group formation in the 1990s. It is also a challenge to ensure that the least influential or unheard voices (women, the poor groups) are factored into the localization process. And this is why ACORD-NEBBI placed a deliberate emphasis on gender sensitive planning across all programme activities, and ensured a set proportion of its resources were directed specifically to the vulnerable segments of the community. While developing countries continue to seek partners that will support them to create the conditions which foster local development, it is the immediate support extended to local community associations and groups, as found in the ACORD-NEBBI case, that will undoubtedly enhance community efforts in achieving self-reliance. This indeed is the measurable result of a localization programme.

In regard to poverty alleviation, the ACORD-NEBBI experience reveals that efforts that empower also create more opportunities and encourage active participation of marginalized segments of the community in social, political and economic spheres. And in this regard, material poverty is a potential barrier to accessing available opportunities. ACORD's community consultation process defines poverty as the ultimate result of political and social injustice (ACORD Introduction to Strategic Plan, 1997-2001). In the poverty definition, a strategy for achieving community empowerment concerns "efforts directed at the most obvious victims of all forms of poverty . . . Starting with one at the very core of individual marginalization and societal breakdown: the lack of social capital. In all arenas, ACORD endeavours to promote this ability in each individual in order to take an active part in the community" (ACORD Annual Report, 1997, p.2).

Following the changing priorities of ACORD-NEBBI, as identified in its 3-phase approach, one main lesson it provides is that institutional building has limitations when the development effort is targeted at localization, especially in poverty alleviation. Accountability remains, almost exclusively, to institutional authorities that are accountable to their own superiors. As has been observed in the case of self-selecting groups, it is reasonable to conclude that an approach that emphasizes strengthening local structures appears to be a much more sustainable and equitable option, because the executives of groups are accountable to the group members who are personally known to each other.

Conclusion

This study has explored the role of education and training programs in promoting community development. Using ACORD-NEBBI as a case the study identified the factors that support or hinder the ability of education and training programs in contributing to the achievement of equitable, self-reliant, and sustainable community development initiatives.

The current trend toward globalization of trade and economies and the resulting outcome – poverty stricken communities – implies that coming decades will undoubtedly require greater attention to vulnerable groups affected by both local and international forces of market liberalization. This study has confirmed that community development programmes that first focus on the establishment of local structures in rural communities where they are either weak or non-existent is an appropriate approach to foster long-term, improved quality of life for the "victims" of market forces. The study further confirmed that poverty is much more than insufficient income. Poverty encompasses a lack of socio-economic and political security as well as the knowledge and skills necessary to empower the vulnerable. It is poverty that breeds a lack of hope, limits choices, and erode social values which in turn leads to a sense that life is without meaning. However, education and skills training reverses this thinking in the majority of the vulnerable people. And when education and training is embedded in community development programmes, not only does it reinforce hope, but also creates a viable alternative to "free" the materially and intellectually poor from powerlessness which is such a prominent feature of poverty.

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Postmodern Morality in Adult Education: A Cross-Cultural Study

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Abstract: *Drawing on the recent work of Zygmunt Bauman, this paper explores the evolution of new moral sensibilities in postmodernity. It then reports on research that seeks to understand the meaning and implications of postmodern morality for adult educators in Nova Scotia, Canada and Kingston, Jamaica.*

While the recent contributions of adult education theorists (Bagnall, 1999; Plumb, 1999; Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1997) have begun to reveal the implications of contemporary social and cultural transformations for adult education, we are still some way from sufficiently understanding the consequences of these transformations for the theories and practices of our field. While all of us are aware of the rapid emergence of information technologies and the vast economic, social and cultural changes being produced by globalization, we are only beginning to come to terms with what it means to be adult educators in postmodern times. This is particularly true of the ways postmodernity is impacting our moral sensibilities as adult educators (Bagnall, 1995). As a social and cultural practice, adult education has always been tightly entwined with ethical and moral thought and action. If, as social theorist Zygmunt Bauman (1995; 1998a; 1998b) insists, a central feature of postmodernity is the growing prevalence of new moral sensibilities, it is deeply important for adult educators to pay particular attention to the ways these new sensibilities are flowing into and transforming our thoughts and actions.

My interest in examining the implications of postmodernity for the moral sensibilities of adult educators was piqued, initially, by my encounter with Bauman's deeply considered exploration of postmodern morality. As an adult education theorist interested in social and cultural theory, I really value the insights of great thinkers like Bauman. His ruminations offer me new ways to understand and interpret the social and cultural processes of adult education. So, part of what I wish to do in this paper is to share what I have been inspired to think by this important theorist.

As much as I value "bookish" theory, I have been plagued lately with the nagging feeling that many of my theoretical ideas are rather free floating – a bit disconnected from the "real" world in which I live and work. Certainly, I do not mean by this that I think my theoretical ideas require empirical validation or grounding. I am very aware of the well-considered arguments that question the whole premise of grounding theory in objective, scientific experimentation and observation (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Rather, my concern is that I have not given enough time or energy to exploring the different transformative possibilities opened by theoretical discourse. So, rather than "just theorizing" about postmodern morality, I have engaged in a research enterprise in which I have enjoined two groups of adult educators, one in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the other in Kingston, Jamaica, to understand the ways our postmodern sensibilities are evolving in postmodernity. I wish, in what follows, to share some of what I have learned from these conversations.

From Purveyors of Goods to Sensation Gatherers: Morality in Consumer Society

For a decade, Zygmunt Bauman has stood out as a preeminent theorist of postmodernity. At the center of his formulations has been his deep concern for the ways contemporary social and cultural transformations are influencing our evolving moral sensibilities. Most important of these changes, in Bauman's mind, is the shift from producer society to consumer society. While it is true that people produce and consume in all societies, it is appropriate, Bauman argues, to identify industrial modern society as "producer society" because of the way it shaped its members to play a role in production. As Bauman (1998a) relates, "the reason for calling that older type of modern society a 'producer society' was that it engaged its members *primarily* as producers" (p. 24). In postmodernity (Bauman uses this term interchangeably with "late-modernity"), there is a very different emphasis on what role people are groomed to play. Postmodern society primarily shapes its members to play their role as consumers, not producers. While the difference is a shift in emphasis (both roles continue to exist), this shift has great importance. As Bauman argues, "the differences are so deep and ubiquitous that they fully justify speaking of our society as a society of a separate and distinct kind – a consumer society" (p. 24).

For Bauman, one of the most important and distinctive differences between producer society and consumer society are the ways in which people are equipped to meet the challenges of their social identity. Modern productive forces utilized a strategy of centralization and regimentation to assert control over nature and humanity (Bauman, 1995). Laborers had to be shaped to fit into the regimented life contexts of the workplace. Drawing on Foucault, Bauman identifies the space and time of the modern Panopticon as the primary means producer society shaped its members to assume their regimented roles. The Panopticon, a centralized system of social surveillance that ensured the homogeneity and regularization of thought and action, was the common feature of a host of modern inventions as diverse as clocks, schools, factories and prisons. As I have argued in another context, many of adult education's tried and true institutions and technologies (instructional objectives, competency-based education systems) clearly exhibit the mark of the Panopticon (Plumb, 1999).

The modern emphasis on production, ultimately, Bauman concludes, shapes the ways its members see and relate to each other. The pre-given tasks of production, the environment of regimentation, the emphasis on prediction and control all impact the moral sensibilities of people. To achieve efficient ends, people need to be able to rely on smooth-running and unproblematic systems of action coordination. Panoptical institutions therefore legislate tightly constraining and unquestioned procedures that enable people to "handle" each other as they would objects. Other people are viewed as a "chance for action," as a way to get things done. Producer's engagement with the Other is calculating and instrumental. In sum, Bauman (1995) offers the following:

> The Other of the producer . . . is defined beforehand by the end to be reached and the means to reach it. Assigning to such an Other any other significance would detract from the resilience with which the end is pursued and the precision with which the end and the means are matched. (p. 124)

Nowadays, panopitical institutions are much in disrepute. While many postmodern theorists assume that the reason for this is the growing power of people to see through and critically devalue homogenizing institutions and narratives, Bauman contends it is much more likely that, largely due to cybernetic technology, the panopticon simply is no longer required for production. For one thing, Contemporary global capitalism now draws on a vast and intricate information system to coordinate the diverse mechanisms (including people's labor) of production. As I have argued in another context, "technologies of speed permit [global enterprises] instantly to control the actions of laborers ... without regard for distance" (Plumb, 1999, p. 141). This transformation of the capacities of capitalism rests at the root of the shift in emphasis to consumption. People are no longer as valued for their contribution to production. Now, their real social value lies in their capacities to consume.

Ideal consumers are very different identities than ideal producers. Whereas, the main strategy for grooming producers was to legislate a regularized, predictable and well-ordered panoptical space and time, the strategy for producing the ideal consumer is to maximize the volatility of desire. Rather than a governed and suppressed identity, consumer society needs people ungoverned and unrepressed. The principle social role of people is not to handle the world but to *taste* it. The effort ceases to be to get people to conform to pre-given norms. Rather, the individual is "freed" to create a unique and ever changing "consumer self." Bauman suggests that this shift in identify from the purveyor of goods to sensation gatherer profoundly impacts our deepest moral sensibilities.

This is most easily seen if we consider the shift in attitude towards the other that manifests in consumer society. In producer society, the other is viewed as a means to a productive end. In consumer society, the other appears as a potential source of pleasure. While the purveyor of goods must sustain his or her engagement with the other to accomplish a task, the sensation gatherer only engages while the pleasure lasts. Bauman summarizes the moral outlook of the sensation gatherer as follows:

> The Other of the consumer is the pool of sensations; its relevance – and thus its treatment – is defined and redefined in the course of the encounter by the quality of experience received or hoped to be received. Assigning to such an Other any other significance would diminish the concentration, weaken the stimulation and eventually dilute the experience itself. (1995, p.124)

It is important, Bauman cautions, not to leap to quickly to dismiss the moral potential of consumer society. In comparison to the purveyor of goods, the sensation gatherer possesses qualities that might form a reasonable basis for responsible morality. For instance, while the impulse in producer society is to change the wayward Other to fit given characteristics (this, I believe, has been the impulse of adult education throughout most of its history), the sensation gatherer might proceed very differently. Rather than trying to make the Other fit with the given, the sensation gatherer would more likely prize, value and perhaps even encourage what is unique in the Other. Difference, heterogeneity and variation all join to engender the rich environment in which the sensation gatherer can consume. Many people previously oppressed by the strictures of producer society recognize, enjoy and celebrate their sudden value in consumer society. For many others, though, consumerism ends up a vapid, lonely and self-indulgent existence. Even worse, for the new poor, those dispossessed of the resources needed to gather the commodified pleasures of postmodern society, life ends up a prison of denial and deprivation. While rich sensation gatherers travel the world in search of new and exotic experiences, the new poor "travel surreptitiously, often illegally, sometimes paying more for the crowded steerage of a stinking unseaworthy boat than others pay for business-class guilded luxuries – and are frowned upon, and, if unlucky, arrested and promptly deported, when they arrive" (Bauman, 1998b, p. 88)

It is in this new consumer world shaping these new moral sensibilities that adult educators must now ply their trade. Only recently have we begun to appreciate the ways producer society has limited our vision of the role and purpose of our field. Only now are we beginning to sense the profound ways our moral sensibilities are transformed by the emergence and consolidation of consumer society.

Exploring the Moral Sensibilities of Adult Educators

A person's orientation to research is informed by the ontological assumptions she or he makes about the form and nature of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). As you may have surmised already, my view of the form and nature of reality is not the view of "legitimate scientific inquiry," that reality exists as an objective and apprehendable collection of elements, things, structures and systems. Rather, my more "dialectical" view is that reality is comprised of dynamic and interconnected processes and flows of which I, as researcher, am an ineluctable part (Harvey, 1996). In the specific case of my research, I do not think the moral sensibilities of adult educators are an "object" of study that I can objectively observe, describe or explain. Rather, I view these moral sensibilities as emergent and historically configured flows of human potential that are in the process of becoming. My hope has been that, in consort with other adult educators, I might achieve a clearer shared understanding of these processes and find ways to foster their potential. In this, I find myself much closer in spirit to what Murray Bookchin (1990) describes as the primary purpose of knowledge creation – *education* (the exploration of possibilities) rather than deduction (the production of specific truths from general truths) or induction (the discovery of general truths from specific observations) (Harvey, 1996; Gitlin and Russell, 1994).

To gain some sense of the ways that postmodernity is transforming the moral sensibilities of adult educators, I have I have been conversing with two small groups (5 people) of adult educators (Masters students in the Mount Saint Vincent University adult education program), one in Halifax, Nova Scotia and the other in Kingston, Jamaica. I have met face to face with each group for a one-day workshop and have conversed extensively with them using an Internet-based discussion forum. My approach in my research has been very open and exploratory. My interest has been to work with the members of my two study groups to make sense of their experiences as adult educators in postmodernity, to question the ways in which they feel their moral sensibilities are being influenced in contemporary times and to explore with them the current potentials of adult education. To understand how new postmodern moral sensibilities flow into and through the aggregate of communities that constitute adult education, I have begun exploring the complex traces of its passage that are deposited in people's memories and in cultural and textual artifacts (memos, institutions, manuals, etc.). Fortunately, qualitative research offers us a rich and proven toolbox for gathering, sorting and coding rich and complex data such as this (Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It also provides means for seeking patterns and meanings that can be mapped and then offered back to the adult educators as a basis for collective inquiry (Gitlin and Russell, 1994). I am deeply aware that the ultimate usefulness of my research – for my students, for you the reader of this paper, and for other adult educators–will depend to a large degree on the "richness" of my collected data.

Luckily, I had the opportunity in this study to engage with two geographically distinct groups of adult educators. While I appreciate the increased richness of insight that two distinct groups provide, I do not assume that a comparative and intercultural approach has left me, somehow, in a superior position to assert the generalizability of my findings. At this stage, when the impact of postmodernity on our moral sensibilities are so dimly understood, I feel that my rather modest investigation is a small first step towards assembling a more general and far-reaching understanding of adult education in postmodern times (Bracht & Glass, 1968). While my study might not place me in a position to assert broad truths, it does enable me to point the way to exciting potentialities.

Being Moral Adult Educators in Postmodern Times

Of all the experiences discussed in my two groups, the one that has been most prevalent has been the great confusion that all seem to feel in face of the vast social and cultural transformations now transfiguring our society. Both Nova Scotians and Jamaicans feel that the past five years have wreaked great changes in their worlds, both personally and as adult educators. As one participant in the Jamaican group so bluntly put it: "Everything is up for grabs, now. What we believed was solid fact just a few years ago, doesn't seem to matter anymore." Both groups attributed much of this change to the information revolution. On the Canadian side, the rapid growth of new technologies are exposing them and their children to increasingly diverse value and cultural systems. On the Jamaican side, the proliferation of cultural products from outside of Jamaica via television, movies, music and Internet seems to be creating great dissatisfaction with the way things are. On both fronts, participants observed how old patterns and values are increasingly deemed insufficient, boring or outmoded.

While both Jamaicans and Canadians clearly articulated similar experiences living in changing times, there was a deep difference in the extent to which they viewed these changes as positive. The Canadian group was unanimous in its view that many contemporary social changes were positive in that they made it easier for different kinds of people to be accepted in our society. The view of two people was that adult educators should devote themselves to fostering further social change so that it would be even easier for people who have been traditionally marginalized in society to find acceptance. The other three people were a bit more suspect of carrying the trend too far. They believed that adult education still has an important role in maintaining an ordered world.

The Jamaican students, on the other hand, were very suspect of any complicity that adult education might have with furthering rapid social change. This group talked much about recent government initiatives to engender a more skilled workforce by raising national levels of literacy. For the most part, the Jamaicans viewed their work as adult educators to be to help people develop relevant job skills and to assist them with living with the negative side-effects of urbanization and poverty. In one very interesting conversation, however, the students talked about the different "hobby courses" that several of them teach to augment their income. One student mentioned that she teaches Swedish massage techniques in the evenings and that recently she has been torn because some of her students are asking if she can teach them sensual massage. At the same time as she resists taking this step (she does not think it is proper), she is reluctant to give up on a potentially lucrative educational market. From this conversation, it seemed that, outside of their formal work as adult educators, that this Jamaican group was much more open to the different potentials of adult education. All of them saw adult education as an experience to be enjoyed for its own sake.

Participants in both groups made much of the concept of self-directed learning. The Canadian students strongly believed that adult educators should value the uniqueness and the autonomy of their learners. The role of adult educators should be to provide experiences that meet the expressed needs of adult learners. The Nova Scotians were very comfortable viewing the adult learners as consumers of and educational product. They felt strongly that adult educators should value the unique potentials of each student and provide individualized adult education experiences to maximize personal growth. The Jamaican group also believed that it is important to meet the needs of their students. In their case, though, the Jamaicans felt more strongly that students should be guided towards socially acceptable forms of behavior. As one student put it, "individual freedom is important but only if it doesn't undermine the freedom of others."

In sum, while students in both groups have a sense of vast social changes currently transfiguring our world, they were undecided about the fate of adult education. Some of them, especially the Jamaicans, still believed deeply in adult education's potential to foster a well-trained workforce. Most of them believed that adult education has more to offer than just work training. A few of them, this time mostly Nova Scotians, saw adult education as a way to provide people with exciting, enlightening and fun experiences. It was this small group who most easily took to the notion of adult education as a culture and social practice consistent with the emerging values of consumer society.

Conclusion

Bauman's theories and these adult educator's experiences conspire to suggest that we indeed are undergoing a transition in our field. The emergence and consolidation of consumer society is working its way through our moral sensibilities as adult educators. The realm of inquiry I have begun to traverse has tremendous implications. Changes in technology rapidly overtake us and create in us new ways of being alone and being together. The "togetherness" of postmodernity offers very different opportunities for collaboration, dissension, acceptance and dispute. The ways we learn, the things we learn and our motives for learning all are transformed. These changes create a very different landscape of morality within which adult educators must act. My hope is that adult education can retain its emancipatory potential in postmodern times.

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"When You Act Like an Adult, I'll Treat You Like One . . .": Investigating Representations of Adulthood in Popular Culture

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Abstract: *Our paper critiques the traditional "What is an adult?" debate. Using television as text, we examine untraditional representations of adulthood in order to keep the term "adult" in constant play. We suggest the need to move away from fixed notions of maturity in lieu of a fluid understanding that is mediated by social and historical specificities.*

Something is Rotten in the State of Adult Development

The most ubiquitous discussion in any adult education classroom usually takes place during a first-session exercise that involves delving into the question, "What is an adult?" The question is so familiar to practitioners and students that we simply take it for granted that there is (or should be) an answer. In such discussions, we make lists of typical adult behaviors, such as marriage, child rearing, employment, moving out, financial independence, paying bills, emotional commitments, and taking responsibility. Each of these characteristics denotes a societal hoop to be jumped through on the way to reaching the pinnacle of Western development: *full* maturity. However, failure to complete these tasks is often looked down upon in our society, resulting in derogatory labels, such as slacker, social failure, or generational labels, such as "The Lost Generation" or Generation X (Elliot, 1994; Coupland, 1995).

But for all our attempts to define adulthood in the classroom, the student of adult education may walk away from the "What is an adult?" discussion scratching her head. This bewilderment stems from the incongruity between what our society *deems* to be adult-like behavior and what John Storey (1998) has called the "cultures of everyday life". In other words, there is a gap between the official "adult" discourse and what is actually occurring.[1] This confusion is further compounded when traditional developmental theories are employed in the classroom to frame the "What is an adult?" discussion. Though each theory represents a different way of viewing adulthood, most revolve around ascending some sort of developmental ladder. But such theories merely freeze our conceptions of adulthood in an ahistorical space devoid of context. In light of postmodern assaults on a core or centered identity (Gergen, 1991), it is time to renegotiate the "What is an adult?" debate by considering fluidity instead of fixity. In this way, contemporary issues in critical and cultural theory breathe new life into a tired old discussion.

The purpose of our paper is thus three-fold. First, it is our intention to examine traditional adult developmental theory in juxtaposition to another, less traditional "text" – that of television.[2] We see television as a rich and integral component to the developmental discussion. Not only is television a vehicle for mass communication, becoming the single most pervasive reflector and/or initiator of normative behavior in our society (Fiske, 1987), but it is also a visual historical record of grown-up "performances" that effectively display the shifting construction of adulthood over a period of time. Our second goal is to scuttle the static boundaries of traditional developmental theories by introducing examples from television that do not fit into the traditional models of adult developmental theory. And third, we hope to contribute to adult education practice by suggesting that adulthood is an essentialist notion, as it is not historically or culturally located. Transforming the "What is an adult?" discussion thus necessitates problematizing the word "adult."

Staking Out Un/traditional Adult Developmental Theory

"Development" is the central component of the dominant discourse on adulthood, denoting a shift from one stage to another. It presumes growth, progress, improvement, and change. Various theorists of adult development have tried to measure these features in numerous ways. Though some have focused on transitional, individual, or dialectical patterns (Schlossberg, 1987; Neugarten, 1976; Riegel, 1973), many theories studied in the adult education classroom revolve around age and stage models that firmly segregate adulthood from childhood. Below, we briefly introduce some of the key players in developmental theory by asking the question, "What behaviours equal adulthood?"[3]

Erik Erikson (1978) locates eight levels of development based on chronological age. At each level a conflict specific to that age period must be met and resolved. Triumph over this conflict is a turning point, leading the individual to a stronger sense of autonomy and self-awareness. The adult stages of Erikson's model entail intimacy (love, sex, emotional commitment), generativity (establishing a home, carving out a career, caring for children), and integrity (responsibility, wisdom, and a moral conscience). Conversely, if the conflicts are not resolved, feelings of isolation (loneliness), stagnation (uselessness), and despair (incompleteness) will set in. As such, for Erikson adulthood implies meeting certain criteria defined by behavioural and cognitive acts.

Robert Havighurst (1972) clearly separated adults from children by carving out various duties ("developmental tasks") for each age group. According to Havighurst, shifting from adolescence to early adulthood, which he locates between ages 18 and 30, involves marriage, parenthood, home making, starting a career, and social responsibility. Similarly, Daniel Levinson's (1978) model suggests that development follows a linear blueprint. According to Levinson, early adulthood (age 20 to 39) is characterized by transition (moving out of the family home), stability (striking out on one's own) and settling down (developing permanent life structure goals). Roger Gould (1978) also viewed development as a product of "natural" life phases. He proposed a developmental theory based on the ability to separate oneself from the false assumptions of childhood. Once we make the split from youthful longings and desires to more mature pursuits, he argues, we can strive for a fuller, more independent consciousness, which is the mark of adulthood.

The above classifications are central to adult education as they help to create theories on how adults learn. As Brookfield (1995) explains, theorists of adult learning believe that there are specific forms of "reasoning, thinking and judging in adult life that are qualitatively different from those characteristics of adolescence and children" (p.230). For some theorists, learning is predicated on an ability to think critically and reason in ways that are different from children. In other words, adult learning theory is based on adult developmental theory, which, in turn, is based on explicating the difference between adults and everyone else. The literature of adult education is predicated on drawing a clearly demarcated line between adulthood/adolescence and adulthood/childhood. The "What is an adult?" discussion thus becomes increasingly more significant to adult education as a whole. But by relegating adults to the ghetto of developmental theory, are we in fact becoming too insular in our thinking about adults and adult learning? What possibilities are left unexplored by such a narrow definition?

Though each represents a distinct model of development, these theorists agree that, barring any "unusual" circumstances, adulthood will eventually bring about some kind of epiphany that signifies a substantial change from that which came before ... but does it really? Moving from traditional developmental theory to the untraditional text of television, a different story emerges. By scrutinizing adult characters on current American situation comedies,[4] it becomes apparent that adulthood is anything but a predetermined destination at which one ultimately arrives. The age and stage border crossings on such sitcoms deserve attention in relation to developmental theory as it signifies the possibility that, within the current cultural zeitgeist, the line between adult and children's behaviors is muddied, if not completely obscured.

In the mid 1950s Jim Anderson would come home after a long day, put on his comfortable sweater, and set to work righting the wrongs of his children. *Father Knows Best* very clearly exhibited two segregated worlds: adult responsibility versus youthful leisure and mischief. Similarly, from 1957 to 1963, the childish antics of Beaver Cleaver stood in stark contrast to his ultra-mature parents, Ward and June. By the show's end, Ward usually offered his earnest, yet fallible child some golden advice. "As you go through life," he told Beaver once, "try to improve yourself, not prove yourself." Such words of wisdom came readily to these adults, who were revered as the gatekeepers of special knowledge that the children could not access. The line between adult and child was solid and rarely, if ever, transgressed. Such representations of adulthood uphold traditional developmental theory. Children ascended into adolescence and then adulthood through rites of passage, such as dating, graduation, employment, marriage, and parenthood. There were no free rides and no way to circumnavigate the hierarchy. Ages and stages were respected as the "natural" order of things.

But by the 1990s, sitcoms had eroded the notion that adulthood was earned though battle scars. In fact, just the opposite occurred: sitcoms began depicting adults who shunned rites of passage, or who were *more* childish than children. The *Happy Days* (1974-1984) of asking the Cunninghams for useful advice on dating and friendship were finished. The *Family Ties* (1982-1989) that kept Alex coming back to his earnest parents for guidance despite mutually exclusive philosophies were severed. And on *The Cosby Show* (1984-1992), Cliff Huxtable's despotic reign fuelled by an innate sense of morality was toppled. By the early 1990s, adults of that ilk all but disappeared from the cultural landscape to be replaced by a new breed of grown-ups. In fact, these (almost) grown-ups blurred the boundaries between developmental categories so drastically that the distinction between adult and child became virtually unrecognizable.

We are now in uncharted waters. There are no developmental theories to justify current adult behavior on television. Why? The problem is that such theories merely provide one snapshot of development, with no possibility for metamorphosis. Like all over-arching narratives that prescribe how one *should* act, these theories are ahistorical without contextual connection to everyday life. But what would other possible permutations of adulthood look like? Surely developmental theorists have not covered the gamut on adult-like behavior. For example, many adult representations on television are now focused on a different approach to adulthood. The rites of passage that once framed maturity -- marriage, parenthood, moving out, and financial independence -- have disappeared. We will briefly present three examples in order to show the multiplicities of adulthood, as well as demonstrating its social construction. Unlike developmental theorists, who present a seamless picture of adulthood, our examination of untraditional text, or what Carmen Luke (1996) calls the pedagogies of popular culture, shows adulthood to be inconsistent, non-linear, and erratic. In short, adulthood is not a natural or essential condition.

On *Home Improvement* (1991-1999), Tim Taylor continuously slips between adult and juvenile personas. He occasionally performs the role of adult, guiding his children through dilemmas, but more typically he is child-like himself, endlessly embroiled in Dennis-the-Menace mischief. Tim's job, host of "Tool Time", a show about fix-it projects (a child's dream job) provides the perfect playroom for his bumbling mishaps. He routinely explodes, breaks, glues, and tinkers with things, wreaking havoc on anyone and anything in his vicinity. At home, Tim's wife, Jill, functions as the disciplinarian, not just for the children, but for her husband as well. Here, an interesting gender issue surfaces. Tim embodies a "boys will be boys" persona. He is carefree, infantile, curious, and spontaneous. Conversely, Jill's job is surveillance. She watches Tim, catches him in the act of misbehaving, and punishes him repeatedly. She often extracts a promise from Tim not to "touch anything" and enforces unpopular decisions. All the while, Tim is able to retain a Puckish charm. *Home Improvement* highlights the conventional notion that men and women do not function as adult-counterparts. Grown men *can* be boys, but grown women, in order to be taken seriously, must be wet blankets, spoilsports, and killjoys.

In both the home and work settings, Tim is a threat. His penchant for taking appliances apart (yet his inability to fix anything) is perhaps the surest mark of his infantilization. Though Tim has many of the traditional developmental trappings of maturity – home, children, wife, career, and money – it is a forced confinement brought on by a nagging wife who sidetracks him from the position he desires most, that of the knavish little boy, the Peter Pan who glorifies an alternative style of (adolescent male) (almost) adulthood.

The Drew Carey Show (1995-present) depicts the everyday life of four working-class friends in Cleveland, Ohio. Like a high school gang, the friends oscillate between sentimental camaraderie and a Little Rascals-brand of clowning around. Indeed, one of the characters, Mimi, is permanently dressed as a clown through carnivalesque clothing and makeup, enacting a childhood fantasy of the Halloween that never ends. The relationship between Drew and Mimi (co-workers in a large department store) is largely antagonistic. Each resolves to "one-up" the other in a game of mean spirited practical jokes. With lines such as "am not!" and "are too!" zinging back and forth, their war-of-the-pranks could just as easily take place on the playground as in the office.

Eating nothing but junk food and beer, Drew and his pals represent the ultimate extension of frat boy life. Kate, Oswald and Lewis function as the show's three stooges. Kate is frequently unemployed and trying to "find herself." Oswald and Lewis live above a bar surrounded by a bricolage of nightlife paraphernalia. Oswald, an express delivery "boy," is frequently shown in sneakers, slouch socks, short pants, a cap, and scrapes on his knees. Lewis is a professional guinea pig for a pharmaceutical company and is routinely injected with various kinds of drugs (another adolescent fantasy). Unable to sustain a romantic relationship, make any substantive changes in their lives, or move forward in their careers, the characters are trapped in a cycle of non-advancement, repetition, and high school reminiscences. Yet childish though they may be, the gang longs to have the very things they lack – family, relationships, stability, and career success. Unfortunately, they are incapable of making such things happen. For Drew, Oswald, Kate, and Lewis, adult development is not as easy as it looks. The proper stages do not correspond to the promised ages.

If adulthood is demarcated by certain behavioral and cognitive characteristics, then the antithesis to adulthood is stagnation, perhaps best embodied by the lives of Jerry, George, Elaine, and Kramer from *Seinfeld* (1990-1999). Each episode represents another struggle against the constraints and obligations of maturity. In fact, the characters equate traditional adulthood with death itself. For example, George, assistant to the traveling secretary at Yankee Stadium, has a carpenter build a bed under his desk so he can have frequent naps throughout the day. Jerry, a comedian who has never had a "real job", drugs one girlfriend with turkey and red wine in order to play with her G.I. Joe action figures. Kramer, who is gloriously unemployed, is represented by a convulsive bodily comportment. His body language, like his personality, lacks self-control. And Elaine, an editor for a fashion catalogue, is repeatedly obsessed with childish acts of revenge, such as hoarding all the toilet paper in a public washroom in order to get back at a woman who had previously explained that she did not have a "square to spare" for Elaine.

The "adults" on *Seinfeld* take satisfaction in their immature behavior, delighting in daily minutiae like a child playing with a new toy. When George becomes engaged to Susan, he spends every day trying to devise a way out of the impending wedding. Her sudden death is caused by poisonous glue on the cheap invitations George picked out. When they learn of her death, the gang does not know if they should send condolences or congratulations. In the end, everyone resolves, as they do in every situation, to grab a cup of coffee. This trivialization of major life events is characteristic of the show's treatment of adulthood. Maturity is something to be eschewed; those who engage in mature acts are to be pitied and avoided. The only consistency the group maintains is the coffee shop and Jerry's apartment. This "nothingness" structures every day in the seemingly non-adult world of resisting accountability and obligation.

These examples obviously contravene the more traditional representations of adulthood, thus illustrating its instability.[5] Tim represents a childish adult balancing the two worlds of family duty and self-indulgent play. Drew represents a childish adult who longs to be grown up but simply cannot take the leap. And the cast of *Seinfeld* represents childish adults who are dragged kicking and screaming (if you can catch them) into adult-like endeavors. Each example demonstrates how adult representations on television have been transformed from the 1950s to present day. As such, any adult developmental theory that advocates one linear path to maturity is misleading; we cannot assume similarities or homogeneity. For some, adulthood might be a personal quest to live a life *sans* the societal pressures that naturalize age/stage categories. Thus, adulthood may entail shunning those characteristics that have previously been considered "adult".

Conclusion

In light of this discussion, we wonder why adult educational theory has clung to an essentialized notion of adulthood? Our textual analysis of grown ups on television suggests that adulthood and childhood are not binary oppositions. Adulthood is not always the ultimate condition for which to strive. Childhood is not always something that must be overcome. Indeed, both of these worlds are represented in our examples as polysemic play, granting us the possibility of escaping static classifications of adulthood. In this fluid redefinition there is freedom to move between merging categories – not simply up and out.

We suggest that the "What is an adult?" discussion is incomplete without questioning why/how the term "adult" exists. The epistemological foundations of adulthood must be brought into the fore and challenged as social construction. This challenge can be achieved by expanding the conversation to include the history of adulthood (similar to education programs that offer the history of childhood) and representations of adults in popular culture. Expansion also necessitates going beyond the experiential, developmental, and cognitive factors mediating traditional adult development, thereby enriching adult education practice with a wider expanse of text and theory with which to work. In short, perhaps what is needed is a self-directed notion of adulthood, not one that is socially prescribed. Practitioners of adult education theory should not shy away from the possibility that adulthood, as a hard and fast concept, is now moot.

Endnotes

1. For example, we are both twenty-nine years old, yet we have not experienced many of the typical rites of passage associated with adulthood. So are we adults? Or are we stuck in some other stage of development?

2.The term "text", as we are using it, is employed by poststructural theorists to indicate anything that can be read semiotically, as a system of signs (Derrida, 1974).

3. It should be noted that the following theorists, though writing in a "universal" voice, are detailing theories that are from a middle-class, white, heterocentric, and masculine point of view – another good reason to expand the debate to include alternative and untraditional texts.

4. Ironically, children are now being represented on television as adult-like figures. For example, on *Dawson's Creek*, the angst-ridden teens perpetually wax philosophic and parent babyish grown-ups; on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, one feisty teenager is charged with saving an entire town from ruin; and on *Party of Five*, orphaned children discipline and punish themselves without any need of adult supervision.

5. There are numerous other examples that we have not discussed here. *Just Shoot Me*, *The Norm Show*, *Ally McBeal*, *Third Rock From the Sun*, *Friends*, and *Two Guys and a Girl* are just a smattering of alternative adult representations.

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The Teaching Perspectives Inventory (TPI)

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Abstract: *The teaching of adults is a complex, pluralistic, and multi-faceted enterprise, but there have been no published studies that beyond identification and description of perspectives toward measurement and quantitative forms of validation. This paper traces our progress toward developing and operationalizing five common perspectives on teaching adults with a new instrument called the Teaching Perspectives Inventory (TPI)*

Over a half-century of research has revealed that the teaching of adults is a complex, pluralistic, and multi-faceted enterprise. Yet within the past several years much of the research has shown a surprisingly high level of correspondence in identifying qualitatively different perspectives on teaching. For example, in reviewing thirteen studies conducted between 1983 and 1996, Kember (1997) found only five substantively different views of teaching in higher education. All of those studies found that people conceived of teaching in ways that were remarkable similar to one or more of five perspectives on teaching. Thus, while there may be a great many variations in personal style, there seem to be relatively few substantively different ways to conceptualize the teaching of adults, at least in the context of higher education. To date, there have been no published studies that move this work beyond identification and description toward measurement and quantitative forms of validation. This paper traces our progress toward developing and operationalizing five common perspectives on teaching adults with a new instrument called the *Teaching Perspectives Inventory* (TPI).

Conceptual Framework

This work is grounded in the empirical and conceptual work of Pratt (1992; 1998). Four of his perspectives closely parallel conceptions found in Kember's review. A fifth perspective, Social Reform, was kept intact for this study because it represented the views of a small but important group of adult educators involved in social change movements. We have taken these conceptual categories (Table 1 - *Summary of Perspectives*) and translated them into items related to actions, intentions, and beliefs about learning, teaching, and knowledge. As they are now defined and operationalized, the five perspectives are labeled Transmission, Apprenticeship, Developmental, Nurturing and Social Reform.

Instrument Development

Instrument development has evolved through successive stages of operationalizing Pratt's five perspectives into five scales concerning actions, intentions, and beliefs related to teaching. Starting with an initial 75-item, 6-point scale version and culminating in a 45-item, 5-point scale version. In 1993, an original pool of nearly one hundred items was reviewed and refined by a panel of trained adult educators acting as judges, who tested them against the conceptual framework; their inter-judge reliability in assigning items to the correct conceptual perspective was .87. The resulting 75 items were initially drafted into 6-point Likert-scale formats for response by 471 teachers of adult night school learners. Item analyses confirmed high test-retest reliabilities (.88) and internal scale consistencies (alpha=.79). Factor analyses showed that the internal structure among the items corroborated the scale scoring as posited by the item development procedures with correlations between factor scores and scale scores averaging .77. Of these teachers, 63% possessed one clearly dominant perspective and another 31% showed two dominant perspectives (Chan, 1994).

In 1997, a new group of eighteen adult educators reviewed a reduced and refined set of 45 items and classified them into the appropriate perspectives with over 95% accuracy. Their review indicated that the instrument could be further shortened without loss of precision (Table 2 – *Sample Items*). This 45-item streamlined version has been further tested on more than 25 groups of teachers of adults in law, pharmacy, dietetics, workforce training, nursing, industry, fitness, as well as on adult education

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graduate students and in locations spanning Canada, the United States and Singapore. These 1000+ respondents confirm the high internal consistencies of the streamlined instrument's five scales: alpha reliabilities are Transmission .81, Apprenticeship .88, Developmental .85, Nurturance .92, Social Reform .82 and the overall internal consistency is .80. More importantly, it shows that when teachers examine their own profiles, they recognize themselves and furthermore, colleagues recognize each others' orientations to teaching as represented in the profiles yielded by the TPI.

When teachers' perspectives scores are correlated with their rating of short, one-paragraph descriptors of the five perspectives (Table 1), there are moderate and significant correlations between their scale scores and the descriptive paragraphs—in other words, teachers' TPI scores validate their self-descriptions.

Findings

In total, more than 1000 respondents have thus far contributed to establishing baseline norms. As a result, respondents' individual scores can now be compared against norms of large numbers of teachers of adults (Table 3 - *Sample Profile*) and specific occupational groups (Table 4 - *Dominant Perspective by Occupation*). Across all who have taken the TPI, mid-range scores are common for Apprenticeship, Developmental and Nurturing, with somewhat lower scores common for Transmission. Still lower scores characterize the Social Reform Perspective, indicating that individuals are less committed to Social Reform (see the 50th percentile bar in Figure 3).

Among their individual scores, teachers of adults commonly possess one, and sometimes two, dominant perspectives, that is, perspectives with scores one standard deviation or more above their personal mean—the mean of all five of their TPI scores. They also commonly hold one perspective as 'recessive,' indicating their score on that perspective is one or more standard deviations below their personal mean. Teachers that are newer in their careers, and those still in training, tend to have higher Nurturing scores. Teachers whose learners are comparatively older show somewhat lower Nurturing scores. Professionals with greater fractions of their job duties devoted to teaching show higher Developmental and Nurturing scores (Table 4 – *Dominant Perspectives by Occupation*). None of the scales show gender biases (Collins, 1998).

Not surprisingly, the largest single fraction of teachers indicate Nurturing as their dominant perspective (43.7%); and as expected, less than two percent of all respondents held Social Reform as their dominant perspective. However, of the 1000+ TPI respondents, only 11% held a dominant Developmental orientation to teaching—a finding that seems to contradict the conventional discourse about constructivist orientations to learning and teaching. Some 16.9% showed Transmission as dominant, 20.8% showed Apprenticeship, and 5.8% showed no dominant perspective.

An additional 200+ post-baccalaureate students in teacher education programs are at the beginning stages of a four-year longitudinal study to better understand the effects of formal training and subsequent entry into professional practice on the development of teaching perspectives. We are also following twelve university faculty members for four years to better understand changes in their orientation to teaching both during and following a formal training certificate program in higher education teaching.

Discussion

Over the past five years there has been a resurgence of interest in teaching in adult and higher education. In adult education, this can be seen in the increased presence of papers on teaching within the proceedings of CASAE, AERC, and SCUTREA. Within higher education this resurgence is evident in the emergence of centres for faculty development and teaching at colleges and universities around the world. Once again, teaching has reclaimed a place of honor in adult and higher education.

At the same time, there is a call for teachers of adults to be critically reflective in their practice of teaching. For several years now professions have pushed for their members to reflect critically on the underlying assumptions and values that give direction and justification to their work. For many teachers this is not an easy task. What is it that one should reflect upon? How are the underlying values and assumptions to be identified? In other words, the objects of critical reflection are not self-evident. Indeed, it is something of a new twist to look not only at the world, but at the very lenses through which we view the world.

The *Teaching Perspectives Inventory* gives direction to the process of critical reflection by providing a baseline of information as well as articulating teachers' own beliefs about learning, knowledge, and the social role of "teacher." Initial work with the groups mentioned above suggests that the TPI provides a means of tracking and looking more deeply at the underlying values and assumptions that constitute teachers' perspectives on teaching. The TPI also provides a well-articulated basis from which to justify and defend approaches to teaching when under review or evaluation.

Table 1: *Summary of Five Perspectives on Teaching*

Transmission	From a Transmission Perspective, effective teaching assumes instructors will have mastery over their content. Those who see Transmission as their dominant perspective are committed, sometimes passionately, to their content or subject matter. They believe their content is a relatively well-defined and stable body of knowledge and skills. It is the learners' responsibility to master that content. The instructional process is shaped and guided by the content. It is the teacher's primary responsibility to present the content accurately and efficiently to learners.
Apprenticeship	From an Apprenticeship Perspective, effective teaching assumes that instructors will be experienced practitioners of what they are teaching. Those who hold Apprenticeship as their dominant perspective are committed to having learners observe them in action, doing what it is that learners must learn. They believe, rather passionately, that teaching and learning are most effective when people are working on authentic tasks in real settings of application or practice. Therefore, the instructional process is often a combination of demonstration, observation and guided practice, with learners gradually doing more and more of the work.
Developmental	From a Developmental Perspective, effective teaching begins with the learners' prior knowledge of the content and skills to be learned. Instructors holding a Developmental dominant perspective are committed to restructuring how people think about the content. They believe in the emergence of increasingly complex and sophisticated cognitive structures related to thinking about content. The key to changing those structures lies in a combination of effective questioning and 'bridging' knowledge that challenges learners to move from relatively simple to more complex forms of thinking.
Nurturing	From a Nurturing Perspective, effective teaching must respect the learner's self-concept and self-efficacy. Instructors holding Nurturing as their dominant perspective care deeply about their learners, working to support effort as much as achievement. They are committed to the whole person and certainly not just the intellect of the learner. They believe passionately, that anything that threatens the self-concept interferes with learning. Therefore, their teaching always strives for a balance between challenging people to do their best, while supporting and nurturing their efforts to be successful.
Social Reform	From a Social Reform Perspective, effective teaching is the pursuit of social change more than individual learning. Instructors holding Social Reform as their dominant perspective are deeply committed to social issues and structural changes in society. Both content and learners are secondary to large-scale change in society. Instructors are clear and articulate about what changes must take place, and their teaching reflects this clarity of purpose. They have no difficulty justifying the use of their teaching as an instrument of social change. Even when teaching, their professional identity is as an advocate for the changes they wish to bring about in society.

Table 2: *Sample Items from the TPI*

ACTIONS - What do you *do* when instructing or teaching?

1. I cover the required content accurately and in the allotted time.
2. I link the subject matter with real settings of practice or application.
3. I ask a lot of questions while teaching.

INTENTIONS - What do you *try to accomplish* in your instruction or teaching?

17. My intent is to demonstrate how to perform or work in real situations.
21. I expect people to master a lot of information related to the subject.
30. I want to make apparent what people take for granted about society.

BELIEFS - What do you *believe* about instructing or teaching?

32. To be an effective teacher, one must be an effective practitioner.
36. Teachers should be virtuoso performers of their subject matter.
38. Teaching should focus on developing qualitative changes in thinking.

Table 3. Teaching Perspectives Profile

Name ______________________________ Gender: M F

	Transmission	Apprenticeship	Developmental	Nurturing	Social Reform	Action	Intent	Belief	Total	
%ile	42	43	43	44	42	70	69	66	199	%ile
98%	40		42	43	40	68		65	193	98%
					39		68	63	182	
95		41	41	42	38	66	65	62	190	95
					37	65	64		186	
90	38	40	40			64		60	184	90
				41	35		62	59	182	
85	36		38		34	63	61		179	85
					33			58	177	
80	35	39	37	40		62	60		175	80
					32	61	59	57		
75	34	38	36				58		173	75
					31	60				
70	33			39		59	57	56	171	70
		37			30		56		170	
65			35			58			169	65
				38	29	57		55	168	
60		36					55		167	60
			34		28			54	165	
55	32			37					164	55
						56	54		163	
50	31	[illegible]	33	36	27			53	162	50
							53			
45						55			161	45
			32	35	26		52	52	160	
40	30	34				54				40
				34			51	51	158	
35					24					35
			31	33					156	
30	29	33			23	53	50	50	155	30
							49			
25		32	30	32	22	51		49	153	25
							48		151	
20	27	31		31	21	50		48		20
			29	30			47		150	
15						49			146	15
		30	28	29	20	48	46	47	144	
10	24			28	19	46			142	10
		29	27			45	45	45	140	
5	21	28	26	25	17		43	43		5
				23		43			137	
2%	19	27	23	21	14	40	40	40	136	2%
			22						125	
	16		18	19	13	38	39	39	121	
	Transmission	Apprenticeship	Developmental	Nurturing	Social Reform	Action	Intent	Belief	Total	

Scale
Scores Tr ____ Ap ____ Dv ____ Nu ____ SR ____ A ___ I ___ B ___ T ___

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Table 4. Dominant Teaching Perspectives for Seven Occupational Categories

Dominant Teaching Perspective

Occupation	None	Tran	App	Dev	Nur	S-R	Tot N Tot%
Higher Ed Teachers	5.8%	10.6%	28.5%	16.4%	36.2%	2.4%	207 17.3%
Adult Educators	7.2	4.8	20.0	6.4	60.8	.8	125 10.4%
Dietitians	8.3	17.4	29.6	6.1	37.4	1.3	230 19.2%
Under-Grads from Professions	1.7	10.3	25.9	12.1	48.3	1.7	58 4.8%
Graduate Students	4.2	8.3	29.2	25.0	33.3	0	24 2.0%
Teachers-in-Training	2.9	6.1	9.7	10.0	68.6	2.6	309 25.8%
ESL Learners	7.3	43.7	18.4	13.1	15.9	1.6	245 20.5%
Column N **Total %**	69 5.8%	202 16.9%	249 20.8%	132 11.0%	524 43.7%	22 1.8%	1198 100.%

More information about the research behind this inventory and these perspectives on teaching can be found in Pratt, D.D. and Associates (1998). **Five Perspectives on Teaching in Adult and Higher Education**, Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing. If you would like to contact the authors directly you can send e-mail messages to: <dan.pratt@ubc.ca> or <john.collins@ubc.ca>

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Making the Curriculum Culturally Relevant: Relations between the Global and Local

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Abstract: *This paper analyses findings from action research which explored the impact of devising higher education curricula which are culturally and socially relevant to marginalised adult learners. The theoretical framework draws on the relationship between globalisation and local identity.*

This paper focuses on one aspect of the research project. It first outlines the UK setting and theoretical perspective which informed the analysis. This is followed by a short discussion about the education curriculum in relation to certain social groups. The final part of the paper uses selected interview data to explore how these issues were addressed in one university adult education context.

The research took place in a university in the North West of England. The project team consisted of three researchers and one administrator, employing a number of sessional tutors and working with a range of community partners (colleges, schools, community organisations, state funded welfare organisations). Activities consisted of providing short 30 hour courses, each carrying an optional credit status for people who wished to submit work for assessment. Each course was developed through one of a series of university approved "skills" frameworks (enterprise, study, research, personal). Curriculum content was negotiated between community contacts, tutors and their students. Courses were provided throughout the year at a time, pace and place to suit the learners. Content would vary from advocacy courses to Islamic Studies, or research topics of individual interest. The findings for this paper use interview data from tutors and students from two sets of learners: working class white adults who attended a disability self help organisation and Muslim women of Pakistani heritage (some had been educated in Pakistan and others educated in the UK). Tutors were interviewed about their teaching approaches and students were invited to give a life history learning perspective plus perceptions of curriculum and teaching styles presented on this programme. The impetus for the research derived from a policy agenda for widening participation and literature which discusses the future shape of a mass higher education system, especially one catering for adults in a lifelong learning mode. Of central interest to the research was how to justify a distinctively "higher" education which engaged with local interests. Whilst this debate is not new, the pressures of globalisation on this agenda are.

Globalisation and Local Communities

Briefly globalisation reflects the constriction of time and space brought about by the rise of the "network society" (Castells, 1996). We are now part of a global economy, mediated primarily by information technology. The extent to which economies, politics and cultures are converging, or not, is open to debate. Most agree that the effects of globalisation (the recasting of national communication boundaries, increasing mobility and transnational companies operating independently of national policy, the formation of new kinds of compressed time-space boundaries, relationships and hierarchies) impact on countries, regions and communities. Walters (1995) conceptualises the concept of a global village - where distant events can have their effect on different locations across the world (p.35). Bauman (1998) proposes that the reaction of people on the receiving end of these processes is to regroup, forming new, localised identities. Friedman (1994) explains that "local" is not self contained. It depends on its interface with other locales and wider networks. He suggests that where global trends may try and influence the culture of the local, the local also appropriates these trends for its own gain (p.12). In other words, people want to shape what they consume in order to fit their own identity and needs. This means, of course, that people and communities position themselves differently in response to global interference. Higher education is geographically positioned within local communities but also interfaces, through a ripple effect, with its region and the wider world. It needs to be sensitive to the economic and political consequences of attending to all these. It is also an investment resource (now competing with other players) for the development of society's future human capital (the skills and knowledge required for wealth creation).

The economic need to maximise the nation's wealth creating resources and minimise the demands from its loss-making dependency population has led to an increasing political interest in the causational relationship between education and the labour market. The solution has been to devise a range of strategies to decrease welfare dependency by increasing work capacity. In order to achieve this it is encouraging a lifelong learning culture whereby individuals develop an expectation that they will return to formal skills and knowledge learning throughout their lives as circumstances change. These rationales leave unaddressed the value of learning for unwaged work and for those who do not have much prospect of employment. Interest is now growing in the potential link between continuous learning and people's involvement in local activities - of a citizenship or social nature. This coincides with the globalisation theorists' perceptions of people's inclinations to regroup in the face of global re-ordering of society. There is therefore a renewed focus, in the UK at least, in the "local." It has been consistently hard, however, to link "higher" education with local learners in an inclusive way. One feature of this difficulty is the nature of the curriculum.

A Curriculum with Social and Cultural Relevance

Those who argue for a new kind of curriculum suggest that current ways of constructing and teaching knowledge are value laden and designed to privilege only certain groups in society. Dominant power systems define who has authority to know and who determines what is valuable knowledge. The education institution perpetuates the status quo of this power relationship, thus making it difficult for those already silenced to get their voice heard (Goduka, 1998). Whilst the conclusiveness of this theoretical perspective is not without its critics it provides an explanatory rationale for claiming the need for the marginalised to be heard and made visible on their terms. Making the marginalised visible often means developing curricula which are outside academic disciplines. This point is of particular relevance to many of the students in this study and has been the subject of earlier debates on curriculum relevance for working class communities (for example, Jackson, 1980; Lovett, 1982).

It is the element of curriculum distortion in the education system which particularly features amongst critics on behalf of minority groups. Much of this criticism emanates from black writers who highlight the ethnocentricity of the teaching process. On the one hand existing knowledge is described as distorting the history of people's origins and development; on the other hand the black experience is either patronised or simply ignored. The effect is to deny the silenced person's identity and to create "disjunction between the values and beliefs about the nature of knowledge, its transmission, assessment and constitution" (Allen, 1997, p. 184). These sentiments are also expressed in different contexts for "working class ways of thinking and being" (Lynch & O'Riordan, 1998), and for disability identities (Marks, 1994).

To address this, hooks (1994) proposes a particular teaching approach – "engaged pedagogy." She describes this as a learning relationship where "everyone's presence is acknowledged" (p.8). In this process teachers are regarded as mutual learners and the students' lived experiences are central to informing the academic material. The teacher-learner relationship encourages students to challenge what has previously been taught. The goal is to shift the traditional academic position of neutrality so that the marginalised social or cultural viewpoint becomes the position of neutrality, against which other values are compared and critiqued. Hill Collins' (1990) stance is to call this "situated knowledge," where the oppressed or unrecognised voices can have epistemological privilege. The point behind all these arguments is that knowledge is relational and the dominant discourse of academic knowledge is not value-free. Difference, though, must necessarily be seen as multiple, otherwise one suppressed discourse will simply claim privilege over another. These values of difference amongst marginalised groups need to be rediscovered from a starting point of trust and mutual respect if new curriculum initiatives are to grow. From this, it is argued, identities will strengthen, with consequent effects on community cohesion and social growth.

We looked for examples in the tutor and student interviews, of situated knowledge and aspects of "engaged pedagogy." We wanted to see how people's identities were being validated to give the students a stronger sense of self and place. We looked for the promotion of insider views in the teaching relationship and examples of mutual learning. This meant finding ways in which the student voice and lived experiences contributed to the construction of knowledge and the development of critical being.

Teaching as Engaged Pedagogy

Whilst hooks and others discuss teaching in terms of student-teacher relationships, the learners indicated that this was also somehow entwined with where they learned. Every student interviewed made reference to their local learning environment as a contributory factor to their positive experience. The environment gave them a sense of place in their locality, contributing to their identity and motivation to learn. Local space helps validate the fragmented identities of communities who are increasingly under pressure to respond to global definitions of themselves as homogeneous members of the wider (in the UK's case) European community. Local courses have a symbolic as well as practical value. Arifa described this environment specifically in terms of her students' religion, gender and practical needs:

> They walk into the community centre, at that time there are no male classes, there is a crèche facility, they are all women crèche workers, they are all women tutors and its a real sense of community and belonging and sisterhood and they feel comfortable, they feel that they own that place and they belong there.

The women were able to appropriate the dominant space and localise it with their own shared identities. Whilst each group had practical needs for nearby teaching locations, such as access or crèche facilities, they also valued the atmosphere created in their learning environment. The opportunity to have a say in where the learning should take place also meant they felt valued particularly in its organisation: "We feel as though we are part of the consultation."

Those students who felt most marginalised in terms of their identity and culture were most appreciative of tutors who visibly shared something in the way of culture or physical appearance. For the Muslim students this was the starting point for building trust and engendering a sense of empathy. Tutor Arifa, for instance, said: "The women are still concerned about who has actually written this course ... I can understand their background and where they come from." With both sets of learners their positive experiences hinged on being seen as whole beings and valued on their terms: "She wanted to know our opinion as well, she wanted to know what we thought" (Musarat); "The tutor was actually coming round and asking us what ideas we'd come up with ... so the tutor actually became like another member of the class itself" (Paul). For some students the sense that the tutor was interested in your opinion and the opportunity to discuss issues with other students was something they felt was not a part of more formal teaching situations.

These exchanges in themselves, of course, would not have been worthy of the label higher education. This came about from a combination of subject matter which was meaningful to each student as individuals and as members of a group – and a teaching strategy which encouraged student narratives to become part of the tutor's educational tool. Tasneem said for instance:

> Arifa she taught us how to learn, think about history of Islam really – we know these things but we don't think about its history, how to put ourselves in the history, then pretend we're there and think about issues, why they were done and everything.

Similarly, in the other student group Mandy linked the opportunity to input herself and her particular disability experiences into the courses with her own development in the way she thought and contributed to those around her:

> Because its a subject very close to my heart and something that affects me very badly and ... you see doing that, putting bits on paper about feel-

> ings and soon it did encourage me to get out there and help, to reach other people who have the same problem.

For hooks, this is part of a process which she calls "coming to voice": "Coming to voice is not just the act of telling one's experience. It is using that telling strategically – to come to voice so that you can also speak freely about other subjects" (hooks, 1994, p. 148). It is also another means of reconciling difference in a way that enables people to re-shape what they consume. Devising a culturally or socially relevant curriculum which simultaneously engaged with critical analysis, the student voice and reflexivity could be potentially insular. The trick was to build on people's lived experiences as a knowledge base to construct new knowledge which was validated by and within their shared social or cultural heritage.

Situated Knowledge

In different ways tutors and students demonstrated how they explored knowledge which was specific to their "social situatedness." Arifa saw curriculum relevance as validating the student voice, using the learner's insider standpoint as a position against which other views could be critiqued with rigour. Arifa explained how courses on this basis could apply the same principles across a range of issues:

> A course which starts from the precept that you are looking at a particular group's norms, beliefs, values, way of life, way of thinking from an insider view and you are developing a course with particular people in mind ... it could be about the impact of unemployment on unemployed people and you are looking at it from the view of unemployed people. It could be about women in Islam so you are looking at it from the point of view not as an outsider whose looking in.

It was also about the value and status of such situated knowledge: "You are not saying that these are marginal views ... you are elevating those views to an important level ... by giving value to their beliefs and their way of life." For hooks (1994), this process is critical to distinguishing between simply listening to those on the margins and according "their work the same respect and consideration given to other work" (p. 38). Alex, for instance, used his insider knowledge to critique from a unique perspective how non insiders might view disability:

> I chose epilepsy because I'm an epileptic myself, I know what types of epilepsy there are – how people react to them and I know when people go into [a fit] – the colour of their faces changes ... I tried to find out inside people [their thoughts] who do not have epilepsy, how would they react if they saw somebody in one, would they know what to do ....

From these base lines, the students talked about how they critiqued and analysed issues, topics and perspectives which had little or no academic subject base but nevertheless were placed in a critical framework which meant that their analysis of situations was generating new knowledge. All these examples demonstrated a high degree of reflexivity.

The Reflexive, Critical Being

Being reflexive, as tutor Brenda said, also meant: "Giving students a perception in life that they had rights, that they weren't to be put in a corner and dictated to and forgotten, that they were able to speak up." Arifa developed this argument along phenomenological lines (Preece & Bokhari, 1996) which claim that her Muslim women's sense of difference should also be celebrated:

> They see themselves now as a different way of life but a very valued way of life ... its knowing your own history that empowers you ... they are exploring (Islam) and analysing it and they are repositioning themselves as Muslims in Britain.

The consequences of a globalising world in terms of time and space were particularly significant for the Asian women. Their personal boundaries had been reconstructed through Diaspora (the experience of living in a country twice removed from whence you originated). In a world where our identities develop from the discourses and images and attitudes of those around us the courses were a transformatory experience for women whose Islamic identity was marginalised by their social context in the UK but whose gender relations were also constituted differentially through "contingent relations of power" within their own families and communities (Brah, 1996). In this way the women would both benefit from and struggle against the recasting of time-space boundaries of their experience in the UK. The course content was both a reflection of the changing world and an opportunity for these women to regroup and regain some stability through a shared identity which they could link with their homeland through the global concept of Islam.

The students with disabilities revealed similar processes of personal reconstruction. Adult returners' stories of identity transformation are usually in relation to their ability to conform to dominant values. Clearly there were aspects of this going on too in these courses as the students learnt to use academic conventions in their writings and gain grades approved from within the university. But they were at the same time validating their own insider knowledge and giving public credence to their own sense of difference, often radically different from the position they were used to.

Perhaps the conclusion to be drawn from these snapshots of the students and tutors' comments is this. A culturally relevant curriculum needs a teaching style which validates the learner's experience as contributing to the creation of new knowledge. It can be explored in a critical framework through systematic inquiry and rigorous examination. But for marginalised adults this needs to be achieved in a context which allows people to be grounded in issues which directly connect with their own selves. This often means privileging the space of the local in order to contribute to more global concerns for social justice, civic awareness and shared values. Higher education tutors must also engage in mutual learning and see students as whole beings - allowing their individual narratives to be part of the syllabus. For Hill Collins (1990) this kind of knowledge construction was particularly pertinent to the African American student. This paper suggests that it is also applicable for the higher education student as a critical, reflexive being.

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La Tertulia: A Dialogic Model of Adult Basic Education in the New Information Age

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Abstract: *In the new information age dialogue and dialogic projects are increasingly becoming a social requirement.* La Tertulia Literaria *is a learning experience in which adults with non-academic background read Joyce, among other classics, crossing cultural barriers and transforming the horizons of their lives and environments.*

Participants' Experience in *La Tertulia*

"I was illiterate until I turned 40. Then, when winds of change came for the common people, I was eager to learn to read and write, to be able to read all the authors I had heard people talking about. Then, I became so keen on reading that I have already read all the Spanish poets and many foreign ones, and I am very proud of this reading, because I have come to read the Quixote, by Cervantes, who I consider to be the master of masters."

These words were spoken by Juan, a participant in *La Tertulia Literaria*,[1] which is a type of reading circle held in several schools for adults in Spain. These reading circles target adult literacy learners with no academic background (that is, those who attend adult basic education) and they focus on reading classic literature. Through this experience, adults who have never read a book come to read, discuss, and enjoy classic books by authors such as Franz Kafka, James Joyce, Émile Zola, and Federico García Lorca.

La Tertulia Literaria promotes an exceptional learning process for adult literacy learners. Usually, low literate, working-class people have been excluded from the great written works, although many of these works actually talk about the lives of common people. In *La Tertulia*, however, many participants have had the opportunity to demonstrate that they not only can read the classics, but they also like to do it. Thus, adult learners like Juan have learned to read and write motivated by reading the classics and participating in the discussions with the group, rather than reading with more traditional materials and activities adapted to low literate adult learners.

A woman who takes part in *La Tertulia* told us that the first time her son her reading a book he said, "Mama, how come *you* are reading *this* book?". She had just started attending the literary circle and that book was *Metamorphosis* by Franz Kafka. People with a college degree do not think that popular people can participate of the "high culture" they have access to, and that is why this mother had never dreamed she would be able to reach such literature works until she met people like her in this literary circle.

La Tertulia Literaria is defined by three main characteristics: a) the program targets adult learners with low literacy skills, b) the readings are universal literature classics, and c) the process is based on dialogic learning. In this way, *La Tertulia Literaria* and its approach to learning challenges many assumptions held in the field of adult literacy.

La Tertulia Literaria is an example of a program in which adults who begin with limited reading skills demonstrate that they do not have limited knowledge or intellectual capacity for learning, reflection, and discussion. In this program adults also demonstrate they are highly motivated to accessing domains often considered to be "for the educated" or "for the elite." By participating in this reading circle, many adult learners have become literate and voracious readers of the classics. In addition, some participants told us that they started voicing their opinions and becoming more active in domains of their lives other than education, thus experiencing a wider transformation.

Dialogic learning transform the relationships among people and between them and their environments (Flecha, 2000). Many depart from excluding situations, as working class, low schooled and/or women, and many end up doing profound changes in their family, work, and personal relationships. In La Tertulia, they do not subscribe to the idea that "we live in a oppressing system that determines our lives", an idea that do not allow to dream in the possibility of changing their lives. Instead, they find new meanings through sharing words. Today, some participants have even become leaders in community organizations or in social movements. In this sense, a member of FACEPA, the Spanish federation of participants' associations, told us:

> *"Some of us who learned to read in La Tertulia are now involved in cultural organizations, struggling for an education based on democratic and egalitarian values. The concern about social and educational issues has increased in our lives because we have recognized the role of education and the importance in the process of personal and social development."*

Dialogic Learning Model in a Changing Society

La Tertulia represents a clear example of a dialogic learning model. Dialogic learning is not a new concept but it is newly more important for the field of adult education. Recent societal changes are increasing the presence and need for dialogue and, as a result, dialogic pedagogies are becoming key in the learning experience of those adults who have been historically excluded from education and culture.

At the doors of the twenty-first century, most industrialized countries are witnessing many changes in how society is organized and how people function in it. Theories and analyses about these changes are suggesting that the former organization of the industrial society, highly bureaucratized and controlled by traditional authorities, is disappearing and giving rise to an information society, with increased pluralism, flexibility, and risk (Beck, 1992; Castells, 1996; Giddens, 1994; Habermas, 1998). Within the framework of this new society, dialogue is increasingly part of many people's reality, as we need to discuss issues and come to decisions with the people with whom we share our lives or our communities. For example, in the personal arena, it is no longer clear "whether one should get married or live together, whether one should raise a child inside or outside the family, . . . or whether one should do any of those things before, after or while concentrating on one's career" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, p.15). These decisions require true communication among people who come to agreements in their relationships through dialogue. Moreover, within the communities, citizens are demanding to see their voices represented in decision-making bodies. Consider, for example, members of a parents' association running for the first time in school board elections in central Harlem, NY, or an adult learners' federation presenting a participants' Bill of Rights for discussion at a national parliament in Spain.

In the new information society we are experiencing many changes that affect education, and it is necessary to address these changes with new solutions. In this paper we argue that new solutions are possible only through a process which disallows the imposition of already held beliefs and which allows for open, equal dialogue between all the participants in a given social situation. One of the consequences of the current dialogic tendency in society is a dialogic turn within social and educational sciences (Beck, 1992; Freire, 1997, 1998; Habermas, 1984), which are increasingly proposing transformative solutions grounded in communication and intersubjectivity. The latest theoretical developments go beyond former approaches that are no longer viable to struggle against current social and cultural inequality in the new information age.

Education in the New Information Age

The information age is characterized by the technological revolution of communication and media in a historical moment in which capitalism is restructured by means of globalization and increased flexibility of society. The process of social dualization is becoming more polarized, with a widening gap between those who have access and control over the networks (i.e. the wealthier minority) and those excluded from them (i.e. the poorer majority). Within this framework, education is becoming a key as it provides knowledge and tools that help to access these networks and flows of information (Flecha, 1999). Thus, adult education is increasingly a key for many people to tear down walls that exclude them from social participation.

Although the information age provokes new marginalization and exclusion at the global level, the rise of a *network society* opens new possibilities for dialogue between people and for social transformation. Castells (1996) contends that this society is "increasingly structured around a bipolar opposition between the Net and the Self" (p. 3) because, with the new technology and communication means, individuals can contact each other and construct alternative projects outside the control and mediation of the institutions. Thus, social networks are rising and overcoming former social hierarchies.

Globalization, detraditionalization, and increased flexibility of society have created situations and spaces in which individuals and groups need to make decisions in their lifeworlds and/or with the systems. While society pushes us to individually become autonomous, it also allows us to go through this process in communication with others, on the basis of social solidarity, orienting our actions towards equality and democracy. The new information age comes along with new challenges and requirements that can only ensure a transformative and egalitarian process if they are addressed dialogically. In fact, current social analyses are showing that people are already choosing dialogue in many spheres of our social lives. People are demanding and choosing dialogic procedures in the political arena, in personal life, within social movements and civic organizations, and even within the organizational structure of large corporations. New social solutions, then, are attending to be dialogic.

As part of the growing dialogic tendency, the field of adult education is also witnessing a growing demand for participatory approaches, not just from practitioners but also from participants (Sánchez Aroca, 1999). As a result of this demand, more schools have student councils and student representatives on their boards; more schools include former students and people from the community as tutors and volunteers who collaboratively teach their peers; communication and association between diverse participants' movements has increased; and members of cultural centers and civic organizations search for grants to create their own educational programs in order to address the needs of the people in their communities. Dialogue, therefore, and its implications for both educational politics and the teaching-learning process, is a fact to be taken very seriously today.

Dialogic Learning in *La Tertulia*

Given that increased dialogue is part of the current social landscape in Western societies, we argue that the field of adult education needs to provide answers to people's changing lives, and address their current educational requirements according to this dialogic tendency. In fact, many adult educators are already aware of such a mission. Proposals such as the Freirean pedagogy have promoted dialogic theory and practice for many years, and we could even say that, within the larger field of education, they were the first to link dialogic learning and rigorous teaching with democratic participation and social justice. Answering to new social challenges, it is today's educators' ethical duty (Freire, 1998) to continue fostering dialogic pedagogies and to announce that they are not a project from the past but the most updated project, given current societal changes. Furthermore, it is also an educators' task to counter postmodern discourses that deny the possibility of learning under such dialogic principles and which limit transformative high quality adult learning and spread fatalism in our field (Freire, 1997).

La Tertulia is a pedagogical model that promotes literacy development on the basis of dialogic learning principles. In the book *Sharing Words, Theory and Practice of Dialogic Learning*, Ramón Flecha (2000) explains the dialogic learning process that takes place in this literary circle, drawing from both his personal experience in *La Tertulia* and a communicative critical theory approach. In this way, and by narrating participants' stories, he explains dialogic learning in seven principles: *egalitarian dialogue, cultural intelligence, transformation, instrumental dimension, creation of meaning, solidarity, and equality of differences*. We could summarize Flecha's principles of dialogic learning as follows:

1. *Egalitarian dialogue:* All the contributions must be equally listened and considered. No opinion can be imposed as the only possible one, it is not important whether it comes from a person who has been attending *La Tertulia* for a long time or who just joined the group.

2. *Cultural intelligence:* Everybody has cultural intelligence, regardless of their educational or cultural background. All the participants have learned many things in very different ways and their knowledge and abilities can be transferred from one context to another. Everybody is able to participate in an egalitarian dialogue and to expand their learning through communication along their lifespan.

3. *Transformation:* Learning through egalitarian dialogue has led to transformations in the lives of many people. Participants' self esteem has changed and so have their relationships with others. By reading, dialoguing and reflecting together they overcome barriers that have been traditionally excluding them from education and social participation.

4. *Instrumental dimension:* When participants read and comment a book, they also talk about the history and social conditions of that period. Many ask their relatives or look up information in the encyclopedia to share it afterwards with the rest of the group. Unlike common held assumptions, dialogism increases the learning of academic and instrumental knowledge and abilities.

5. *Creation of meaning:* The loss of meaning prognosticated by Weber can be overcome. Although the spread feeling that we live in a system that determines our lives, participants in *La Tertulia* have demonstrated that through dialogic learning, the meaning arises because people relate to each other, decide together what they want to learn, and what they want to research when participants by themselves decide what they want to investigate and to learn.

6. *Solidarity: La Tertulia* is open to everybody and there are no economic or academic barriers to be able to participate in it. There are even participants who just learned to read. The group always give priority to the participation of people with the lower educational levels. In this way, a cooperative learning experience among all the participants is reached. If we believe in egalitarian educational practices, they can only be based on solidarian relationships that promote solidarity.

7. *Equality of differences:* All the participants in *La Tertulia* are equal and different. One of the most important principles is the equality among all the people, which means that everybody has the right to live differently.

Conclusion

Dialogic learning is increasingly more important in the new information age, and particularly important to promote education to those people traditionally excluded. For this reason, the experience of *La Tertulia Literaria*, is now becoming known and spreading across adult learning and cultural centers. It has demonstrated to be not only a way to promote reading but also, by breaking with cultural barriers of the elite, a way to open possibilities for adult learners to further their education and transform their lives and their communities.

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[1] The Spanish word *"tertulia"* means a group of people gathering together to have a conversation. Traditionally, every evening, people used to grab a chair from their home and gather with other people in the street. They used to talk about their journeys, about other people, to tell stories, and discuss life. Now, many people do the same but in cafeterias or in the community center. *Tertulias* have always been popular among the common

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people. *La Tertulia Literaria* is thus a group of non-academic people gathering around issues of literature, which could be translated by "literary circle". However, in this paper, we will keep the Spanish term *"tertulia literaria"* because, on the one hand, it refers to the Spanish gathering tradition in popular culture, and on the other hand, unlike many literary circles held by scholars or intellectuals, *La Tertulia Literaria* is a literary circle where common people discuss about literature.

Introducing the Community Development Concept in Ukraine: Facilitating Trans-cultural Learning

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Abstract: *This critical description of efforts to introduce community development processes in Ukraine to prepare the ground for civil society challenges our ability to "walk" our "talk." Development efforts are impeded by controlling behaviours by Canadians and Ukrainians which are more in keeping with centralised control and antithetical to the liberatory tradition in the adult education movement.*

Beginning

This is a critique of efforts to introduce the community development concept (CDC) in Ukraine as part of a Canadian International Development Agency project titled Civil Society Community Roots. The project's goal is:

"To contribute to the democratic reform process in Ukraine by strengthening the capacity of the NGO sector to manage itself effectively. A major focus is to engage ordinary citizens in participatory development processes, which contribute to substantive improvements in the quality of their lives."

As I conclude my year of direct work in the project, I am convinced more than ever that issues of power and control are central themes in this project, and that Ukrainians may be more understanding of this than Canadians. Our collective struggle is to replace "power-over" behaviour with "power-with" and "power-from-within" relationships, and thereby beginning to walk the talk of civil society. To this point, I think we are proving to be better at talking than at walking.

Two different teams are involved – one team to design a program of courses about various aspects of Community Development (CD), and another team to organise CD activities in the field of practice. As will become apparent as this story unfolds, the two teams are isolated from each other. I am under contract to Grant MacEwan Community College, which is a sub-contractor to the Canadian Bureau for International Education, as a "content expert" for one of the six courses in that part of the four-year project creating an Institute for Voluntary Sector Management and Development. My course – I use the possessive form to distinguish this course from others in the project rather than claiming ownership – is titled "Community Mobilisation, Participatory Development and Gender Issues". My course team met three times during 1999 – for a total of six weeks in Ukraine during January and November, and for one week in Canada in June. In between, there was some contact via electronic mail and this is continuing.

The community development concept (CDC) is the guiding light for my course. I define the CDC as a dynamic relationship between adult learning and social action creating local control of local affairs. It intends to democratise knowledge making so that the "social majorities" (Esteva & Prakash, 1998) reclaim some sense of being in control of their/our lives. This concept has a lengthy tradition in Canada although fading rapidly as the "global project" proceeds apace. Mexican activist Gustavo Esteva and Indian educator Madhu Prakash (1998) use the term "global project" to allude to the current collection of policies and programs, principally promoted all over the world by the governments of the industrial countries with the help of their "friends"– the international institutions and corporations equally committed to the economic integration of the world and the market credo. Do we have the will and courage to revive the CDC tradition? Can a dialogue with colleagues in Ukraine – a place we are told there is no CDC – help us/me in this revival? Yes, and the dialogue is growing. My colleagues and I continue to challenge each other, our assumptions and our biases, and we are growing stronger along the way.

Why Am I Involved?

I am involved in this project because it allows me to reflect back on my twenty-five years of exploring and living the CDC as it has been evolving throughout the world. This commitment includes a

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scholarly pursuit in articulating the liberatory tradition in the adult education movement as well as a practical activity in my routine practice of community-based adult education. The liberatory tradition (Welton, 1993) calls for the emancipation of humankind from all forms of oppression be they based on sex, class, race, sexual orientation, age, disability or religion. That tradition aims to create "power-with" relationships to replace "power-over" relationships as envisioned by American philosopher Eduard Lindeman in his 1926 meaning of adult education. Extending the categories to include "power-from-within" deepens our understanding of the nature of power (Park, 2000). My intention is to re-connect with my roots in an older more socially active, more democratic adult education than mainstream adult education tied to technical and value-neutral processes (Foley, 1999).

I want to revive commitment to social action in the adult education movement so we can become a vital force in the new century. The adult education movement is not a social movement in itself. Rather, it is a movement helping social movements move. This position is similar to Australian educator Grif Foley's (1999) study of learning in social action in which adult educators are re-connected with our action oriented past. Adult educators' function mainly outside educational institutions – in "real-life" settings like the workplace, church/temple, community, service clubs and brotherhoods – where most learning takes place. One major difference between educational institutions and these other learning sites has to do with power. Since adult education is based on a shared power relationship between learner/teacher – a sense of mutual respect and responsibility establishing a learner/learner culture, it has always been a radical notion within the educational establishment. This view of learning is not shared – or understood – by all members of the Ukrainian Project.

My Ukrainian colleagues have taken to the concept of "liberatory tradition" more readily than I anticipated because of a need to restructure Ukrainian history to prepare the ground for civil society and community development. In a practical sense, this receptivity to the search for freedom might attract more funding from agencies supporting civil society. In a philosophical sense, it provides indigenous roots for a revived Ukrainian identity needed to smooth the way to a confident future. Focusing Ukrainian energies on a search for freedom within their own experience and not conforming to Eastern or Western models, frees them to articulate a uniquely Ukrainian variation on the freedom theme. This approach may strengthen Ukrainian resistance to the homogenisation and standardisation intentions of the global project. Those of us Canadians wishing similar protection for ourselves in our own realities can learn from their efforts while sharing our experiences – a mutually supportive relationship.

After initial uncertainty of meaning / interpretation, Ukrainian colleagues are picking up threads in their history resembling CDC. One writes:

> *Here in Ukraine we also have deep roots of the civil sector. It is the part of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom. It is tightly interwoven with the processes of establishment of democracy in our history. There is an explicit tendency to create the amateur and folk arts centres in the development process of our society. This tendency cannot always be traced evenly which means that we can observe booms and crises in its development. But in my opinion this process became the most vehement in the middle of the 16th-at the beginning of the 17th centuries. At that time in the western parts of Ukraine that then belonged to Poland (the country then was one of the most democratic countries in the Western Europe) the brotherhood movement was born. The establishment of the public organizations to which the Orthodox brotherhoods belonged drew the Ukrainians drastically close to the creation of the independent state. (Words in bold print are unpublished thoughts shared by Ukrainian and Canadian colleagues.)*

Such examples indicate a rich Ukrainian tradition of struggle for expression of freedom which may even pre-date similar movements in Western Europe. These traditions could be the foundational material for current interests in civil society and easily find their way into the Community Mobilisation course.

Current Variations

Ukrainian eyes are focusing on the concept of civil society since it constitutes the central idea within CSCR.

> *Civil society is the notion that is used to denote the whole totality of the existing relationships in the*

> *society that are not determined by the state or political system but exist to denote such side of society's activity that is beyond the domain of the state's influence. Civil society is the emancipated from the state society, the domain of the spontaneous self-realization of individuals and voluntary created organizations of the citizens that is protected by the legislature from the direct intrusion and regulation on the part of the state.*

This view of civil society is in keeping with the current literature on the subject. The fact that it seems readily adapted to Ukrainian conditions and closely related to Ukrainian liberatory traditions supports the notion that "civil society is a rediscovered rather than a new concept" (Mitlin, 1999).

The Time is Right

The Institute for Civic Education was established in 1999 at the University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy to facilitate introduction of civil society. A new NGO is associated with this initiative – the Education for Democracy Foundation – was established, according to a website listing of the action plan for the Institute, "by a group of scholars and educators as a resource centre to improve teaching about democracy and civics, assist in the formation of civil society, and facilitate the development of democratic awareness and citizen's political culture, their increased, informed and responsible participation" (http://ukrcivnet.iatp.kiev.ua).

Communication Challenges

We struggle with definition, interpretation and meaning, as we work in English and Ukrainian, never quite sure if we understanding one another. There are advantages in this. We are spared the dangers of thinking perfection is possible and we get on with understanding each other as human beings while not worrying too much about precise explanation and description. We might view our dialogue as an open circle. A few of us engage at the moment but others will come and go, and this is okay. Control is shared and no one person takes over. The circle grows from the project and, if strong, will out last any one of us. This leads to civil society as we learn how to treat one another respectfully and joyfully, experience emancipatory learning. Foley (1999) argues that:

> *Consciousness and learning are central to the processes of cultural and social reproduction and transformation. The unlearning of dominant oppressive ideologies and discourses and the learning of insurgent, emancipatory ones are central to processes of emancipatory change. But these processes of emancipatory learning and action are not straightforward; they are complex, ambiguous, contradictory.* (p. 16)

Complexities, ambiguities and contradictions need not overwhelm us. Indeed, these factors are simply routine in the current state of knowledge making in the various parts of the action research family influenced by complexity theory and other attempts to explain our world. According to British systems scientist Robert Flood (2000):

> *Action researchers must grapple with complex interrelationships and emergent behaviour that is inherently unknowable to the human mind. Complexity theory questions whether long term intended action is possible. It points out that the way things unfold is inherently unknowable to the human mind, emerging through spontaneous self-organisation originating from some distant detail, rather than advanced planning. The most we can do is to manage what is local, whilst appreciating the incomprehensibility of global complexity. Managing what is local entails continually considering outcomes that extend over a small number of interrelationships, very few stages of emergence, over only short periods of time into the future.*

There is something liberating in the idea of learning within the unknowable (Flood, 1999) and embracing contraries as articulated by American English professor Peter Elbow (1986). We are liberated from the oppressive expectation of always being right. It is in the small human scale relationships that we can hope to discover meaning and joy in life.

We ran the pilot course on Community Mobilisation in the city of Lviv in November 1999 attended by seven learners, two Ukrainian instructors, a translator and me. Everyone was excited, nervous and challenged by the opportunity to transform our words into action. Our collective and individual confidence levels fluctuated under the strain.

In the heat of the classroom, my journal reflects anxiety with the confidence level of my colleagues and myself. We spent a few days after the pilot course ended trying to pick up the pieces, or so it seemed to me:

A sense of ending and in disappointment in my immediate colleagues and myself. The key word in all this is "confidence," a quality I would say is largely absent from Ukraine and for many good reasons going back a long time. One colleague lacking the confidence to set aside professional powers and allow me and others in. Another colleague lacking confidence in the classroom, in academia and in the ability to comprehend and write. What about my confidence? I thought I could with my personal commitment to both colleagues create sufficient trust and mutual respect to allow us to work as a team. Encourage love and respect, and all will be well! At the same time, I could see that we needed enough structure to secure a comfortable start for our learners. I chose to avoid controlling direction hoping confidence would miraculously appear. It just hasn't worked although I basically would have done the same thing again. (Words in italics are taken directly from my learning journal)

Rumour and innuendo exacerbated these weaknesses and the project managers were unable to provide comfort and support.

There is something controlling in the way we isolate ourselves into small groups claiming this is done in the interests of efficiency and expediency. This becomes a conflictual situation when administrative power confronts professional power. Yet even here there is room for a positive experience in CD. If the struggle for power is dealt with openly, a valuable lesson about civil society can be learned. Within these barriers lie elements that can work to facilitate dialogue. Returning to my official report, I wrote:

There were few opportunities to engage in large group discussion between all teams members and so the difficulties I was experiencing with my team – which became the subject of rumour during course delivery – remained hidden until I appealed directly and openly to the other teams. This produced some support and may have been a positive experience in itself since it brought into the open a difficulty best addressed by the whole community. This in itself was a good experience in the demands of civil society. The general problem in communication has existed throughout the project. I fear we fail to model behaviours essential to the workings of civil society and this is apparent to our Ukrainian colleagues who must wonder at our integrity.

The very fact I reached out for help seemed surprising to all. What was this authority figure doing admitting he was imperfect? One of my Canadian colleagues suggested I simply take over teaching the course! Fortunately clearer heads prevailed and I received strong support and encouragement from other Canadian and Ukrainian colleagues.

Elements Supporting Dialogue

Clearly there is an intellectual understanding among some of my colleagues about the importance of dialogue in achieving civil society through CD and liberatory adult education. There also is an intellectual understanding of the appropriate process skills.

This course presupposes the development of the skills in balancing between the different types of power, avoiding the tensions in community relations by facilitating understanding that there should exist the transforming mechanism of power into co-operation – and "power-over" into "power-from-within."

The challenge for Canadians and Ukrainians is to acquire the confidence to walk this talk by learning the techniques and methods of liberatory adult education, and then practising them in the classroom and Online.

Dialogue is impossible without supporting behaviour, integrity and mutual respect. I could not have survived the pilot delivery of my course in Lviv without the generous support from a couple of Canadian and Ukrainian teaching colleagues. Powerful relationships were established and are proving to be sustainable with the passage of time despite cultural differences and physical distance. This phenomenon becomes the most valuable legacy of the project as the network of conversations gains a life of its own.

Ending

Rather than the usual conclusion, I end this paper about CD in Ukraine with a challenge I have issued to my colleagues calling on us to reflect on and act upon what we are learning together. Can we agree to work at weakening the barriers and strengthening the elements supporting dialogue? If some of our colleagues are into control in a "power over" sense, do we try to weaken this and confront authoritarian behaviour? *Up till now, the various parts of the project have existed in a fragmented way. If this continues, we will see each other isolated in individual boxes and unable to enter the circles, unable to model the behaviours demanded by the CDC and civil society. It is impossible to establish, maintain and sustain relationships – whether Canadian or Ukrainian – while confined to a box and seemingly unable to walk the talk of CDC.*

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Beyond Participation and Stereotypes: Towards the Study of Engagement in Adult Literacy Education

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Abstract: *Mainstream adult education framed the critical issues of literacy non-participation within its normative participation models creating a serious setback for literacy. Research. Through a review of the literacy literature and an analysis of the IALS and NALL studies, this paper discusses how undereducated adults refuse to participate in formal education, yet how they engage in informal and incidental learning. It concludes with an argument for research into how and why the undereducated* engage *in learning rather than* participate *in education.*

The Stereotyping of the Formally Undereducated and Recent Research Challenges

Despite almost half a century of concentrated literacy programming in Canada, and U.S. literacy campaigns extending back to the 1920's, the rate of participation of eligible adults remains at less than 8%. Why does this number remain so low? There are undoubtedly multiple complex reasons; however, it is also apparent that educational psychology and mainstream adult education have contributed to a research hegemony that has obscured the unique explanations behind this phenomenon.

Prior to 1970, the adult literacy research was highly influenced by psychological paradigms and deficit assumptions. Educational psychology and adult education studies from the 1940's to at least the 1970's essentially reinforced and certainly did not challenge the historic negative stereotypes of the formally undereducated in North America. For example, Anderson and Niemi's (1970) meta-analysis of the pre-1970's research in Canada and the U.S. revealed a bizarre list of characteristics attributed to the undereducated; such as, they "often did not talk with their children at meal time . . . Hence, such children were ill prepared for entry into a middle class school" (p. 27). They are "authoritarian and resort to physical rather than verbal dominance" (p. 21). They are "markedly reactionary in socio-political areas but somewhat favorable to economic liberalism" (p. 21). In 1962, Reissman came to the conclusion that among the least educated adults "there is practically no interest in knowledge for its own sake . . . Nor is education seen as an opportunity for the development of self-expression, self-realization growth or the like" (1962, p. 12). What would certainly have been challenged as racist or slanderous if aimed at other adult groups in North America, became commonplace in the literacy research through the 60's, 70's, and 80's. In 1980, for instance, Irish based her literacy recruitment recommendations around the stereotypes found in Anderson and Niemi's (1970) work, asserting that low-literates all exhibit "insecurity, distrust, fatalism, low aspirations, limited time perspective, dependency, localism, and lack of empathy (p. 41, 1980). Such assertions have been perpetuated in mainstream texts, including Cross's still popular, *Adults as Learners* (1982).

The first major challenge to this line of deficit research began to emerge in the late1980's. It followed the theme that Cervero and Fitzpatrick (1990) established in a major longitudinal study that there are long-standing and enduring formative factors that arise early in the lived experiences of formally undereducated adults. Literacy research began to turn from quasi-psychological explanations of deviance to broader sociological perspectives, including studies of ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic factors (Beder, 1991; Fingeret, 1984; Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985; Horsman, 1991; Quigley, 1997; Ziehgan, 1992). Literacy researchers began to develop a unique corpus of research that assumed that non-participation may in fact be a well considered, ethically responsible, decision given the lived context of many non-participants and the deficit hegemony that pervades many ABLE programs (Quigley, 1997). However, why has this research evolution token so long to develop in the field of literacy?

The High-Jacking of Literacy and its Participation Research Agenda by Adult Education

Mainstream adult education took on participation as one of its "big research questions" as early as 1964, and did so partly out of the politics of forming a discipline of adult education. The 1964 Black Book, which was so seminal in establishing an academic discipline of adult education in North America, made the case for the "general acceptance of adult education" (Hallenbeck, p. 13). Co-editor Hallenbeck enshrined participation as a promising issue for future study with the argument that "the number of facets of society in which adult education has come to have a place, and the vast amount of money being spent for adult education [testifies to] . . . its important role in American life" (p. 13). Adult literacy was soon swept into the mainstream as "sub-field" of adult education. As early as 1958, Floud and Halsey named ABLE as "remedial, assimilative, mobility-promoting, and compensatory," and by 1970, Schroeder's taxonomy of adult education was including literacy. The assumed dominance of our "subaltern" field of literacy has had a number of (unresearched) affects through time, but perhaps the most deleterious has been the assumption that the mainstream theories of participation would naturally fit the issues of literacy. Ironically, despite a legacy of deficit research perpetuated and condoned by the mainstream, the formally undereducated suddenly became homogeneous with the formally educated in the quest to build the "big research question." In 1986, for instance, Darkenwald (1986) stated that adult participation models such as those advocated by Boshier; Rubenson; and Hogheim, all needed to be adopted by ABLE. With no supporting evidence, he asserted that if they were, "the quality of ABE participation/dropout research would be vastly improved" (p. 12). The issues of low participation rates in literacy have come to be framed in terms of mainstream. Beder dedicated a chapter to participation in his 1991 Okes Award-winning book by summarizing mainstream adult motivation and mainstream participation models–from Miller's Force Field Analysis model to Cross's chain of response model. Wide scale testing of these models in literacy has yet to be conducted to see if construct validity actually holds up. Happily, Beder went on to discuss nonparticipation and the complexities inherent in this phenomenon. However, this had to draw from the nascent literacy research because, on the topic of non-participation, search because, on the topic of non-participation, mainstream adult education is silent. Why? I have argued elsewhere this is largely, but not only, because formally undereducated adults often come out of a radically different lived experience than educated adults on their shared background of prior schooling and a caste system of norms surrounding formal education (Quigley, 1997).

Establishing a Corpus of Non-Participation Literature: Can it Lead Anywhere?

Research on the formally undereducated and their low participation rates in ABLE has evolved through two major phases in the past two decades. First, literacy research has begun to emphasize socio-economic, ethnic, and gender-related issues – all within the context of the world that is unique to many of the formally undereducated (e.g., Green, 1980; Horsman, 1991;Uhland, 1995). There have been increasing attempts to define and understand the phenomenon of non-participation as voiced by the undereducated (Taylor, in press) and as situated in the lives of non-participating adults themselves. This research has seen a move away from a focus on singular deterrents and stereotypical learner characteristics to a more robust conceptualization of the complexities of the sociological realities and dispositional barriers that are expressed by many formally undereducated adults (Quigley, 1997).

However, I ask if this line of emerging research is perhaps where we should put our energy in literacy? The issue, after all, is acting responsibly to assist adults in their learning where appropriate. I wonder if the next step should be to research the promising area of how the formally undereducated teach themselves – that is, how and why they engage in informal and incidental learning. Rather than ask why so few of the formally undereducated adults choose to avoid formal adult education programs, we might well ask why and how so many continue to learn, even to thrive, in our society without our help or interference (Quigley, 1997). Indeed, we might ask how we could learn from them.

Towards the Study of Engagement in Adult Literacy Education

The fact that the formally undereducated resist the formal programs that are offered them across the Western world is evident in the recent *1995 International Adult Literacy Survey* (OECD & Statis-

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tics Canada), summarized in Table 1 (Quigley & Arrowsmith, 1997).

It is remarkably clear from this table that formal education is avoided; however, these same adults across 7 countries also refuse to make use of public libraries either, as seen in Table 2. Yet, this does not mean they avoid reading books, that they are utterly unmotivated, dyslexic, and/or either unwilling or incapable of learning – as the early deficit research insisted.

Table 1: Participation and Non-participation of Adults With Less Than High School in Formal and Non-formal Adult Education/Training in Six Industrialized Countries

Participated in Adult Education and Training?		
Country	**Yes**	**No**
Sweden	34.70%	65.30%
Netherlands	24.00%	76.00%
Switzerland (Germ.)	***	***
Canada	19.04%	80.96%
Switzerland (French)	***	***
United States	13.19%	86.81%
Poland	6.18%	93.82%
ALL Countries	13.47%	86.53%
TOTAL N = 5146		

NOTES: ● Data based on IALS study and ISCED levels 2 or less. ● Population ages 25-65, except in Switz' French speaking, Switz' German speaking, and Poland (25-64). *** Sample size too small to release estimate.

Table 2 indicates that over 76% of the sample group in 6 countries *never* use libraries; yet, they do read books almost as often as high school completers. Despite the myths, they *do not* avoid printed material, even though they apparently avoid formal programs and public libraries for the most part. This observation is further supported by the recent New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) study conducted in Canada (Livingstone, 1997). In a telephone survey of 1,562 Canadian adults conducted in 1998, it was found that those adults with no high school diploma engaged in informal learning on an average of 16 hours per week. Those with a high school diploma engaged in 15 hours per week, with the Canadian norm at 15 hours per week. For Canada, we see a pattern of essentially avoiding formal programs but embracing informal learning. The NALL Study also found that only 28% of adults without a high school diploma participated in an adult education workshop or course during the previous year. The Canadian norm was 61%. When asked if prior learning assessment and recognition (PLAR) were to be made available, the anticipated participation rate climbed to 53%, with the norm at 61%.

If researchers were to study the more informal and incidental forms of "engagement" in learning among the formally undereducated, I am arguing that we would discover the world of learning that Fingeret (1983) referred to as rich social networks. This argument is supported by Table 3 from the 1995 IALS study (Quigley & Arrowsmith, 1997). It is obvious here that formally undereducated adults again engage in learning at rates compared to mainstream norms.

Table 2: Engagement in Reading Books & Public Library Usage in 6 Countries

"How often do you..."	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Several times/yr	Never
Use a Public Library? N = 14,708					
Less than High School	***	3.64%	7.32%	12.33%	76.48%
Complete High School	0.47%	7.31%	11.69%	31.25%	49.28%
Post-secondary	***	7.50%	19.04%	34.95%	38.00%
University	2.08%	11.84%	22.29%	41.65%	22.14%
All Educ. Level	0.78%	7.51%	14.06%	29.82%	47.83%
Read Books? N = 14,683					
Less than High School	15.75%	14.49%	14.95%	20.11%	34.69%
Complete High School	30.39%	16.78%	15.91%	21.17%	15.75%
Post-secondary	40.51%	19.67%	14.02%	18.93%	6.87%
University	41.54%	21.95%	12.29%	17.36%	6.86%
All Educ. Level	30.95%	17.81%	14.64%	19.78%	16.83%

NOTE: *** Sample size too small to release estimate.

- Population age 25-65 except in Switz' French, Switz' German Speaking, and Poland (25-64).

Learning into the Future

A major proportion of the formally undereducated in the IALS and NALL samples seen here are very much engaged in informal and incidental learning, but there remains a large group that is not. What if we learned how the formally undereducated learned, and sought to find ways to assist these processes as appropriate? Must we forever insist that the reproduction of schooling through formal ABLE programs is the one, best means to "reach" the formally undereducated? As Fingeret stated: "If we do not learn to work with them, many illiterate adults will continue to refuse to work with us" (p. 144, 1983).

Table 3: Engagement in Informal Learning About Current Events in 6 Industrialized Countries

"I would like to know how you usually get information about current events, public affairs, and the government. How much information do you get from..."				
Activity/Educ. Level	**Frequency**			
	A lot	**Some**	**Very little**	**None**
Newspapers? N = 10,301				
Less than High School	31.06%	32.89%	13.86%	22.19%
Complete High School	44.87%	37.86%	11.50%	5.77%
Post-secondary	48.27%	39.29%	7.85%	4.59%
University	61.34%	30.38%	6.18%	2.10%
All Educ. Level	46.88%	35.40%	10.11%	7.60%
Magazines? N = 10,279				
Less than High School	6.54%	23.88%	24.19%	45.40%
Complete High School	12.63%	38.44%	26.89%	22.05%
Post-secondary	18.24%	46.70%	24.02%	11.05%
University	23.44%	42.75%	26.22%	7.59%
All Educ. Level	14.96%	38.11%	25.84%	21.08%
Radio? N = 10,289				
Less than High School	35.53%	34.01%	12.40%	18.06%
Complete High School	57.16%	43.13%	11.75%	9.63%
Post-secondary	36.08%	18.95%	8.45%	3.75%
University	46.54%	36.22%	10.93%	6.31%
All Educ. Level	46.19%	34.06%	10.95%	9.05%
Television? N = 10,295				
Less than High School	63.47%	21.81%	6.78%	7.94%
Complete High School	70.16%	25.28%	6.74%	2.67%
Post-secondary	35.36%	16.92%	4.78%	2.59%
University	58.08%	29.67%	9.60%	2.65%
All Educ. Level	58.55%	23.81%	6.94%	3.51%

Note: Population ages 25-65, except in Switz' French speaking, Switz' German speaking, and Poland (25-64).

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Researching the Implementation of Work-based Learning within Higher Education: Questioning Collusion and Resistance

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Abstract: *This paper develops a framework for characterising the range of work-based learning practices within higher education. It suggests some directions for research in the context of competing discourses.*

Introduction

This paper aims to explore a framework for research which will help us understand the activities associated with work-based learning (WBL), particularly within the context of higher education. Our use of WBL in this context refers to learning through work (i.e., through engagement in the activities and purposes of the workplace).

Work-based learning is not a new type of activity. It has a long history associated, for example with various types of apprenticeship. It is also not new within higher education, in so far as areas such as medicine, education and social work have included work-based learning as central elements in their programmes for many years. However, it has now been explicitly recognised through the allocation of credit, and named as an important form of learning. It is also increasingly advocated in policy literature as an important form of provision which will establish new relationships between higher education and the world of work. This can be seen as part of a wider set of changes in the economy, society and the role of higher education. This paper aims to explore a framework which will help us analyse the nature and extent of these changes. However, it must be recognised that these changes are often issues of conflict and contestation and as a result change is limited and uneven.

The Context of WBL Development

The development of WBL can be understood as part of a more wide ranging set of changes associated with the development of mass higher education. Scott sets this in the context of "post industrial" and "post Fordist" society, and refers to a number of important changes in the economy which help to create the context for these developments. These include the shift from manufacturing to services, the emergence of the global economy, and the information technology/hyperautomation revolution in industry (Scott, 1995). However a number of analysts, drawing on the work of Foucault have argued that these changes and their impact, can best be understood through the perspective of discourses (Edwards, 1997). Ball has argued that "discourses are… about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority" (Ball, 1990, p. 17). However these discourses do not merely shape our understanding of these changes, they are themselves important elements of change. "Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them, and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (Foucault, 1977, p. 49). In this paper we will draw on these perspectives in developing a framework for the analysis of WBL.

A number discourses have been identified in the analysis of lifelong learning and WBL (Edwards, 1997; Solomon & McIntyre, 1999; Garrick 1999). For the purposes of this paper we wish to consider two discourses which it can be argued have been of particular importance in understanding how the implications of economic change have influenced developments within higher education, and particularly the emergence of WBL. The first of these is *flexibility.* Garrick and Usher have described this as "a key metaphor vivifying a number of contemporary life discourses" (Garrick & Usher, 1999, p. 61). Within this discourse are a number of related discourses of flexible organisational structures, flexible learning to promote multi-skilling and up-skilling, and flexible workers (who are to be self motivating and self regulating). Flexible learning opportunities should therefore provide the opportunities for workers to develop these attributes (Garrick & Usher). The second discourse which is of particular relevance at this level is *the knowledge based society*. An increasing number of policy documents, and human resource management texts emphasise the key role of knowledge, and "knowledge workers" in ensuring success in the modern economy (EC, 1995). This is associated with the importance of "intellectual capital," and the need to create conditions which will foster the development of this capital. (Edvinnson & Malone, 1997). This raises key issues about the nature of the knowledge which must be acquired. We will return to this below. It also raises issues about how this knowledge can be acquired and renewed. The increasing emphasis on enabling employees to be flexible workers, and on the management of intellectual capital, has led to the emergence of the discourse of the *learning organisation* (Burgoyne, 1992). While employees are expected to be self-motivating in this context, the responsibility for structuring the learning processes now rests with the organisation. This enables a closer link between the learning process of the individual and the goals of the organisation, contributing to what Garrick and Usher have described as the "management of subjectivity." They suggest that this is now a key task for organisations if workers are expected to be self-developing, self-motivating and self-regulating.

The discourses outlined above relate to the issues of change in the economy and the implications for learning. Associated with these are a further sub-set of more specific discourses which have emerged, and which we would suggest are of particular relevance in understanding the development of WBL over recent years. The discourses which we have identified have been derived from the analysis of key policy documents over the past 10 years in the UK.

The first of these discourses is *partnership*. This can be seen to be related to the idea of de-differentiation which Edwards identifies as a key element associated with the development of lifelong learning, in which boundaries between previously separate organisations or sectors become blurred. This emphasises the importance of higher education institutions (HEIs) developing partnerships with employers and was a major theme of the UK Employment Department documents of the early 90s (ED, 1990). Associated with this are issues regarding the need for negotiation of structure and content of programmes (ED, 1992). It is suggested that developments of this kind will involve an element of loss of control for HEIs, but this is presented as an important element of change with which they must come to terms.

Flexibility. This discourse, an element within the wider discourse which we have already discussed, can be seen as a major theme in many policy documents regarding the need for change in HE and particularly the development of WBL, produced during the 1990s. The Employment Department stated that its aim was to "... promote FE and HE which is high quality, flexible and responds cost-effectively to the changing needs of employers, individuals and the labour market" (ED, 1994). Associated with this was the idea of *responsiveness* and the need for universities to respond to changes and to "make this a way of life" (DfEE, 1997). This has then given rise to a number of sub-themes regarding time, place, and content. With respect to content an important theme has been the development of core/transferable skills for flexible workers (NAGCELL, 1997).

Relevance. In this respect there has been a growing emphasis on knowledge which is characterised by being produced in the context of application, as distinct from traditional discipline based knowledge. This has been referred to as Mode 2 knowledge (Gibbons et al, 1994). This raises important questions regarding the role of other agencies in this process of knowledge creation. WBL has been presented as having a key role in helping HE to "meet the needs" of collaborating employers (ED, 1990).

The final discourse we wish to emphasise is that of *accreditation*. This discourse refers to the recognising and giving value to a wide range of learning experiences, many of which would not previously have been deemed worthy of credit within HE. Within this context it has been argued that WBL can be of equal value to traditional academic learning, and should receive equal credit (ED, 1994).

Researching Work-based Learning

Our interest in this paper is in outlining an approach to researching the practices of WBL in HE – the "how" of WBL – by which we mean the forms it takes and the ways in which people are currently engaging in it. It was suggested above that what may be emerging within the policy of those promoting (and funding) WBL development, are more specific discourses which are attempting to shape the forms of WBL which are becoming established in HE. Notions of partnership, relevance, flexibility and accreditation may be significant in implying the need for certain changes in the curriculum, pedagogy, and relationships associated with WBL. Our interest then is in exploring the significance of such discourses in the emerging practices of WBL, and the extent and nature of the changes these practices represent in HE. However, as various commentators (Ball, 1994; Soloman & McIntyre, forthcoming) have reminded us the implementation of policy is problematic and in the practice itself control or dominance can never be totally secured (Ball, 1994). What we aim to sketch out then is a framework within which one might research the "messiness" of implementation of WBL. Going beyond, as Ball has suggested, the binary of dominance/resistance to these discourses, in part to explore the third space of "other concerns, demands, pressures, purposes and desires" (Ball, 1994, p. 11).

In outlining approaches to research in this terrain one perhaps needs to first map out some of the territory of WBL; what after all is the scope of one's investigation? However, attempts to categorise WBL practices may be seen as problematic in a context of researching the messiness of practice or hybrid practices. Not withstanding that danger we will review categorisations provided by other authors before suggesting a framework which may help to characterise a range of WBL. In the UK WBL in HE was given its initial impetus during the 1990s by a number of government programmes which funded a range of WBL projects under two categories: those which focused on introducing WBL for "traditional" students, and those which concentrated on people already in employment. Subsequent categorisations have tended to reflect this student/worker binary (Brennan & Little, 1996). However, WBL is itself contributing to the permeability of these identities. We can now find examples of full time workers who, through WBL, are undertaking the equivalent of a full-time programme, and of full-time students who use their own part-time work as a context for WBL. We will therefore suggest alternative ways of characterising WBL in our framework below.

Soloman and McIntyre (forthcoming) have described a continuum of practices in the integration of work into the curriculum reserving the term Work-based Learning Awards for programmes which are related to corporate objectives and are highly individualised. In the context of our research there is perhaps a danger in focusing too much on this radical extreme. Firstly, we recognise that the amount of work-based learning activity within HE in the UK is itself somewhat limited at present (Brennan & Little, 1996) whilst provision at this "cutting edge" is even more so. Secondly, our aim is to research the more "partial" WBL spaces to examine those practices which emerge from the accommodations made by different players, where tensions between competing discourses emerge and make their appearance in more hybrid practices.

So in framing the research we would resist assigning WBL to particular categories but think in terms of a number of spectrums of practices. Our initial mapping of these spectrums (outlined below) draws on the range of practices noted in the literature (Brennan & Little, 1996; Leeds, 1999) and in particular on the investigations of a WBL development project at Glasgow Caledonian University which gathered examples of practice from a number of HEIs in the UK. The framework (see Figure 1) identifies a number of individual dimensions within curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment which provide multiple locations for WBL practices (in relation to HE and the workplace). The central issues of control and negotiation are played out through different types of relationships (represented vertically as working on each of these dimensions).

Such a framework reminds us that WBL practices may vary in the extent of their "radicalism" and that HEI and employers may seek to concentrate their "control" in particular areas of the programme rather than across the whole programme. For example, WBL assessment may be designed to mirror more established forms of assessment, such as the project report, in order to secure approval for more innovative curriculum structures. In using even multiple spectrums we are mindful of the dangers of labelling practices as simply colluding with or resisting the powerful discourses at play in WBL. Instead we are interested in using the different dimensions to identify spaces in which developers and learners may be able to, as Farrell (1999) suggests, "work the discourses" drawing on local practices to shape knowledge and identity.

Figure 1. Framework for thinking about the range of WBL practices

Relationships	**Curriculum**
• Who are the key players in the WBL (i.e. HEI, employer, trade union, professional body, other accrediting body, individual learners. • To what extent are aspects negotiable and with whom? • Where does control rest?	• WBL is minor part of whole programme ↔ WBL is major part of programme • Content relates to existing HEI subject areas ↔ Content relates to work roles or organisational objectives
	Pedagogy • Learning activities and pace structured by HEI ↔ Learning activity and pace arise from work roles • Key people in support drawn from HEI ↔ Key people in support drawn workplace
	Assessment • Assessment mechanisms aimed at HEI purpose ↔ Assessment mechanisms aimed at work purpose • Key people in assessment drawn from HEI ↔ Key people in assessment drawn from workplace

Since our aim is to explore the forms of WBL which are being established in HE, the work of Bloomer (1997) may be helpful in highlighting two aspects to the construction of the curriculum: the prescriptive (which attempts to prescribe what the student experience will be) and the descriptive (primarily the learner's perceptions of what "actually" happens). This distinction points to the different levels of work being done in establishing a WBL programme in HE, the development of programme specifications (learning outcomes, proforma for learning contracts) and the use that individuals (or groups) make of these specifications. Bloomer concentrates on the descriptions which are accessible primarily through students (although some mention is made of others who have knowledge of the descriptive curriculum through their knowledge of students). However, in the case of WBL these others (university tutors, WBL facilitators and workplace mentors) may take on a much more important role in mediating between the prescribed curriculum of the developers and the attempts of learners to engage in WBL (Brennan & Little, 1996), perhaps thereby contributing to the description of WBL at the individual level.

Let us now look at one of the key dimensions identified above, control over the content of the curriculum. In examining a particular WBL development at an institution we might ask questions at both the prescriptive and descriptive levels. In examining the prescriptive construction of the curriculum we might consider: What kinds of knowledge and skills are presented as the focus for the WBL? How are they represented and organised? And who appears to be involved in this process of identification? Such questions shed some light on the significance, in a practice context, of the discourses which may be emerging at the policy level – such as partnership, relevance, flexibility, and accreditation– the strength of alternative established discourses within HE, and the contribution of other concerns and pressures. What, for example, can these questions reveal about the ways in which "control" of the curriculum is being managed and conveyed; what is not visible in these processes? What sort of relationships or "partnerships" does the programme construct? Are these programmes positioning themselves as addressing different types of knowledge and skills to existing HE, and where do they draw their authority from? What room is there in these constructions for agency on the part of the learner, employer or tutor? What is the interplay with more established values within HE, such as the primacy of research-based knowledge, or the new pressures of quality assurance and standardisation?

Of course as Bloomer reminds us the understanding of WBL which one might gain from examining the prescriptive curriculum is partial. Exploring the content of the programme with learners, university tutors and workplace mentors might enable one to approach the more descriptive layer. Central to this process would be an examination of the process of constructing learning plans - often described as a "negotiation" between these three key players. What are the concerns of learners and advisors in this process? In what sense do the advisors take on a role akin to that identified by Farrell (drawing on Flairclough) of "discourse technologists" in the workplace? To what extent are they engaging in their own working of the discourses? In the case of WBL in HE who becomes the primary mediator, the tutor from the HEI or the mentor from the workplace? Where might there be spaces left open for more creative responses from learners and their advisors?

Conclusion

We have begun to outline an approach to research in WBL which highlights the uneven nature of its development in HE. By examining the key dimensions of WBL at both the prescriptive and descriptive level of the curriculum we hope to explore the interplay between the discourses of WBL which may be emerging at a local policy level, the strengths of established discourses and the concerns of developers. This approach provides an opportunity to identify the complexity of the new practices of WBL.

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Researching Neoliberal Reforms in Child Protection Agencies: A Quest for the New Century

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Abstract: *This study highlights the usefulness of a different mode of analysis to foreground the connections between neoliberal reforms in education and training and public sector organisations, and the practices of new technologies of training – in this case the "learning organisation."*

Purpose of the Study

As we stand at the beginning of a new century we require new and different ways of understanding reforms taking place in organisations and their implications for education, training and learning in these organisations. The recent focus on workplace learning and notions of "the learning organisation," and the dominance of human resource development as key parts of corporate strategy, raise challenges to understanding their significance as "technologies of training." In social services organisations struggling with a decade of reforms pushing them to be more "competitive and business-like," these reforms are even more complex.

This study of child protection agencies and their workers in the state of New South Wales (NSW), Australia, provides an insight into a different way of analysing and understanding the reforms in vocational education and training and public sector organisations as they are made practicable in organisations providing child protection services. In a site with extreme media and public gaze, this research foregrounds the linkages and assemblages of neoliberal rationalities to these technologies of training and the ways workers are governed.

Perspective or Theoretical Framework

This research uses the governmentality literature (Barry, Osbourne & Rose, 1996; Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991; Dean & Hindess, 1998; Rose, 1999a, 1999b) to provide the conceptual framework. This approach implies "framing investigations [not in] terms of state or politics, …[but] more productive[ly] to investigate the formation and transformation of theories, proposals, strategies and technologies for the 'conduct of conduct'" (Rose, 1999b, p. 3). It is concerned with government, not as "the State," but rather refers to "all endeavours to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others, whether these be the crew of a ship, the members of a household, the employees of a boss, the children of a family or the inhabitants of a territory [and] embraces the ways to govern ourselves" (Rose, 1999b, p. 3). In investigating these complex "assemblages" a focus is on five interrelated domains: forms of problemisations; techniques and technologies; modes of reasoning; the shaping of identities and agencies and the ethos of these governmental practices (Dean & Hindess, 1998). Problemisations are concerned with particular events which might "call into question the activity of governing and the attributes of those who are governed"(Dean & Hindess, 1998, p. 8). But different styles of problematisations linked with a particular ethos of these governmental practices, such as neoliberalism, will see different situations as problematic. These problems do not exist by themselves but through particular modes of reasoning which makes the world thinkable and calculable. These modes of reasoning may be knowledgeable discourses, such as economics, psychology or the expertise and know-how of specialists – trainers, managers, workplace assessors. But the technical aspects are critical to objectives and plans being realised. As Dean & Hindess (1998) suggest there are some broad types of technologies which deploy the agency and capacities of individuals and populations. These include the technology of the contract, so popular in education and training in the form of learning contracts, learning plans etc; the technologies of citizenship, with the multiple techniques of self-esteem and empowerment, and the technologies to evaluate and monitor performance – the technologies of performance. The fifth domain is concerned with the ways in which agencies and authorities attempt to shape and direct conduct of individuals and the ways there is a shaping of the conduct of the identities of those whose conduct is to be governed.

This form of analysis opens new spaces for thinking about child protection training in the field in NSW that have usually reflected primarily normative ways of thinking. It focuses on analysing the ways different rationalities and technologies of training, namely the "learning organisation," are used to regulate and govern workers in organisations (Du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1999b; Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997). This foregrounds different connections and aspects. The linkages between certain rationalities, such as neoliberalism, with particular technologies, such as "the learning organisation" and the necessary character or makeup of subjects, the enterprising worker are the focus of the analysis. In this way the study is interested in developing understandings that "question our present certainties about what we know, who we are, and how we should act" (Rose, 1999a, p. x).

Using this approach, this study engages with the literature in the adult education field on the current education and training reforms and uses different conceptual tools for understanding these reforms particularly within organisations. These include the literature on the policy reforms in Australia (Chappell, Gonzci, & Hager, 1999; Marginson, 1997); on global and key educational issues (Edwards, 1997; Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997; Usher & Edwards, 1994) and workplace learning and the learning organisation (Boud & Garrick, 1999 ; Watkins & Marsick, 1993, Marsick & Watkins, 1999).

In particular the study engages with the literature and discourse of the "learning organisation." The concept of the "learning organisation" has been defined variously to include

> employees (being) recognised as active participants in the learning process, and a whole range of workplace experiences – participation in decision making, developing learning resources, teamwork, undertaking new assignments, mentoring, even dealing with controversy and crises – are seen as opportunities for learning (Field, 1995, p. 163).

As the quote above indicates many commentators have described the "learning organisation" as part of post-fordist forms of work organisation, encouraging team-work and increased participation by workers. But this extensive academic and popular interest over the past decade about "learning organisations" and organisational learning has mainly focused on technicist issues – how will it assist companies to be more competitive, how to implement it? (Senge 1991; Garratt, 1986). Much of the literature has come from the management field, with a continuing interest from an adult education or human resources development perspective (Watkins & Marsick, 1993) and has lacked critiques of the social and political context of organisations or issues of power. Rather the organisations are painted as "rosy" post-fordist organisations and organic and environments for learning. Only recently has there been some acknowledgement of what is portrayed as the "dark side" of organisational life – downsizing; insecurity etc and raising questions of the impact on workers' opportunities to participate in "learning organisations" (see Marsick & Watkins, 1999; Fisher & White, 2000).

Research Design

This paper loosely uses the research tools of the later work of Foucault and the writers on governmentality, as described above, to study the specific strategies, techniques and practices for the governing of conduct of child protection workers through the technologies of training. It is inspired by other studies using this approach – on child abuse (Bell, 1993); on education (Hunter, 1994); on the dominance of psychology and the "psy" disciplines (Rose, 1999a) and on different sites in Australia (Dean & Hindess 1998). The study uses an analysis of the organisation's texts, interviews and focus groups with managers and staff to highlight different ways in which regulatory regimes are constructed in the agencies through discourses and social and institutional practices as well as foregrounding the contestation within these organisations. In particular this study examines the discursive struggles over the new approaches to workplace learning such as the "learning organisation."

The research uses data gathered from a commissioned research project which I undertook as the key researcher in 1998. The research project for the NSW Child Protection Council audited current training and development provision for child protection workers across NSW, covering over 400,000 staff based in organisations dealing with children. It developed a strategic framework and integrated statewide direction for child protection training and development into the next millennium. The research methodology included conducting focus groups with child protection workers; interviews with senior managers of key child protection organisations; gathering key documents, such as training policies and plans and recent research and policies on child protection practice; and a survey of child protection organisations and training providers.

Findings and Conclusions

This study is set within an analysis of public sector and vocational education and training reform which highlights the dominance of neoliberal rationalities or neoliberalism as the ethos of governmental practices. It is also set in the context of the "crisis of child protection." The child protection field in Australia has been a key state responsibility, particularly with the perceived "failure of the family" (see Bell, 1993). It has traditionally employed a range of welfare and allied health professionals in state-run welfare agencies, with some funding granted to "quangos" for the provision of specific services.

The findings highlighted the usefulness of the approach indicated by the governmentality literature in foregrounding the assemblages that govern the child protection worker in the agencies in NSW during the late 1990s. It was a time of major reforms in the public sector which over the past ten years had reconstructed the public service worker from the "civil servant" to the enterprising worker, disrupting the previous ethos of office (Minson, 1998). In the child protection field, it was a time of "crisis" with a hysterical and heightened media and public focus on issues of child abuse, including a Royal Commission into Paedophilia. Press reports continued for months to focus on the incapacity of the key government agencies, especially the child welfare department, to prevent child abuse and be "responsible for yet another death of a child." This media intervention constructed discourses touching on the hearts of the public and their feelings about children and their needs for protection. The problem of governing child protection services and its workers, became a problem of training. Numerous key reports on the child protection system (see Wood, 1997; Cashmore, Dolby & Brennan, 1994) focused on training as a solution. It became a key strategy in governing child protection workers to make them efficient at solving the problem of child abuse and neglect.

Of particular interest to this study was the technologies of training employed, the knowledge discourses of experts and the identities of workers formed. As was common in many "modern" organisations during the 1990s, technologies of training utilised the knowledge discourses of human resource development popularised in management as well as adult education and training fields, and technologies such as "the learning organisation." This concept was part of a dominant human resource development discourse of empowerment of workers in the post-fordist organisation. But in this study the technology of the learning organisation became linked with the dominant ethos of governmental practice in the Australian public sector – that of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism brought a proliferation of practices characteristic of this ethos to child protection agencies – competition, the creation of markets, increased flexibility and the framing of social policy in terms of cost-effectiveness and efficiency criteria (Tomison, 1997, p. 28. Rather than being a technique for encouraging team-work and increased participation by workers as part of post-fordist forms of work organisation this research indicates the ways the "learning organisation" has been adopted as a technique in making neoliberal reforms practicable in the organisation. Using the concept of the inter-related domains of assemblages (Dean & Hindess 1998) as a tool to analyse the texts, these assemblages, discursive struggles and social and institutional practices which made the neoliberal reforms linked to the technologies of training, thinkable and calculable are foregrounded.

There is not the space in this paper to provide details of this analysis. Briefly, I will summarise some aspects of these assemblages. For example, the modes of reasoning used to make the problem thinkable and calculable highlighted included the discourses of human resource development and management used by managers to create enterprising workers, who are self-responsible. The struggles over the dominant knowledge discourses were evident, with resistances by workers using discourses of "specialist" training. Further, the study highlights the technical aspects critical to the plans to effect the neoliberal reforms, indicating the ways technologies of contracts, in this case, individual contracts for training linked to unit and corporate plans, were used as ways of shaping the practice of child protection workers. Similarly, other technologies were in play with the introduction of the "learning organisation" such as the performance management systems installed to measure the performance of workers and the outcomes of the training, and the enlistment of the techniques of empowerment. The characters of the workers were shaped to make them active subjects in participating in their own self-regulation – to become more "enterprising selves" (Du Gay, 1996, p. 62). Cultural change, the new cry of organisations and a key to progress towards a learning organisation and more efficient and enterprising organisations, required workers to be active and enterprising selves. Workers were to take responsibility for not only identifying and finding their own training but in some instances taking on its financial burden.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

This study provides the field with a different way of thinking about reforms that have occurred in western democratic countries over the past decade and their implications for future research and practice in the adult education field. It moves beyond analysing neoliberalism and neoliberal reforms as an ideology of "certain rulers" and destabilises the notion of neutral techniques, such as the "learning organisation" spreading vision and goodness to workers and increased productivity to organisations. As particular sites are studied the rosy paintings start to peel and different layers of discursive practices and resistances which shape the ways these techniques are made practicable and the characters of workers and managers involved, are surfaced. As Rose comments, "technologies involve all manner of translations, alliances, and compromises, and seldom approximate to their ideal form" (Rose, 1999b, p. 53). It is in only in the study of particular sites that these assemblages can be understood.

This approach, foregrounding the linkages between the neoliberal reforms occurring in education and training and the public sector and technologies of training, provides workers and adult education practitioners with a different way of understanding the often disruptive experience of reforms in their workplaces over the past decade. For those interested in exploring the practice of new technologies of training, such as the "learning organisation," it provides a different mode of analysis which foregrounds issues of power and resistance and provides new spaces to emerge.

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Literacy and Attitudes: Research among Adults in the City of São Paulo, Brazil

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Abstract: *The research includes a quantitative and a qualitative stage. Profiles of groups with higher and lower literacy levels are described and explanatory factors of this condition are suggested. Derived from the results, some adult education guidelines are given.*

Purpose and Context of Study

The research objective was to measure and analyze the phenomenon of adult literacy in an urban center in Latin America. It focused on the relations associated with the ability of adults to understand written information, their literacy practices and their judgements about these. As literacy is a relative concept, which calls for a cultural framework, it is relevant to know what this means in a city like São Paulo, where dynamic sectors of a modern economy coexist with poverty, underemployment and huge educational deficits. Several specialists in the area point out the absence of empirical studies of literacy in the Third World (Wagner, 1993). Studying adult literacy in a context where schooling and other cultural resources are so badly distributed is relevant both as a guide to adult education policies in the region as well as to develop literacy theory in an international perspective.

This study derived from a research project about functional illiteracy promoted by UNESCO's Regional Office for Latin America and Caribbean – OREALC (Infante, 1999). In São Paulo it was sponsored by national research supporting agencies CNPq, FINEP and CAPES.

Theoretical Framework

Literacy has been treated in this study as a complex phenomenon, encompassing diverse practices in which different cognitive abilities are implied to the same degree as are different attitudes and values (Scribner & Cole, 1981; Heath, 1983). Several authors share that general perspective. Nevertheless, while some of them consider literacy as a major factor of psychological and social modernization (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Ong, 1982; Goody, 1987) others assert that relations between literacy and modernization are not linear and depend on the social contexts where literacy is established (Street, 1984).

According to the theoretical perspective adopted in this study, literacy by itself cannot promote modern attitudes. The relation between literacy and attitudes is reciprocal; while reading abilities make some activities feasible and are able to predispose some attitudes, those same activities and attitudes create the occasions for improving literacy abilities.

Research Design

The research covered both a quantitative and a qualitative design. In its first stage a representative sample of one thousand people aged 15 to 54 was drawn from the population of São Paulo, not including the 5% with higher income and educational background. This sample group took a reading test and answered a questionnaire to determine the demographic profile, educational background, and literacy practices at work and in daily life. The test included tasks requiring comprehension of prose and documents, besides processing quantitative information. The sample was also submitted to a scale of self-perceptions about capacities and dispositions considered advantageous to social insertion. A factorial analysis distinguished 10 attitudinal dimensions: efficiency and flexibility at work, autonomy to find and adapt to different jobs, capacity to persuade, capacity to follow instructions, to express one's opinions, disposition to work in groups, disposition to teach, to carry out manual work, to solve problems alone and finally, to debate public issues.

Based on OREALC consultants' proposals, these instruments used in the quantitative stage were defined by common consent among researchers from seven countries involved in the project. The qualitative stage, however, was designed and carried out autonomously by the Brazilian research team in São Paulo. For this stage, a sample of 26 subjects was intentionally drawn so as to include people of different age brackets and school levels, with lower and higher reading test scores. They were subjected to both a detailed interview and to reading and writing tasks they had to resolve while interacting with the researcher. The subjects spoke about their strategies to solve problems, focusing on activities upon which the level of literacy has a supposed critical influence: actions to learn and follow directions; to teach and to instruct; to register, document, organize and plan; to become informed and form an opinion; to inform, express an opinion and convince. During the reading and writing tasks solved in a interactive situation, it was also possible to observe the subjects' attitudes in relation to the written text itself. The reading task consisted of reading, commenting and answering oral questions about a newspaper article that told how authorities intended to protect street children from drug dealers. The writing task consisted of filling in a job application form where the subject has to describe the main activities of his or her former job and to enumerate personal features and abilities that qualified him or her for the intended one.

While the quantitative stage made possible an assessment of literacy conditions and educational needs of different social groups, in addition to various statistical analyses, the qualitative stage contributed to a better understanding of the reciprocal influences between literacy abilities and attitudinal orientations.

Findings and Conclusions from the Quantitative Stage

It was established that 7.4% of the studied population was absolutely illiterate, while 25.5% could be identified as functionally illiterate: they had difficulty in accomplishing tasks which required the location of a single item of information in short texts with familiar syntax and vocabulary. It was found that the majority of the people who had not reached at least that basic level of ability were those who had not completed the eighth level of basic obligatory education and were employed in menial jobs. At work or in day-to-day life they seldom used writing.

Another 67.1% demonstrated at least a basic level of literacy and were classified in four comprehension ability levels. It was demonstrated that the people who use reading and writing most intensively, both in the work context and in day-to-day life, were those who reach the two highest levels of ability (33.0% of the sample). This corresponds to the capacity to correlate information, make inferences and solve calculation sequences, dealing with more complex texts – including tables and graphics – with specific vocabulary (on genetics or ecology, for example) and percentage and arithmetical average concepts. The majority of these were people who had at least completed secondary education such as office and bank workers, technicians, and professionals.

Multiple correlation was used to analyze aspects related to test performance. The tested model contained eleven explanatory variables, which related to demographic features, familiar and educational background, socioeconomic condition, reading and writing uses at work and in daily life. This set of variables explains 52% of the variation on subject's scores. Educational level was the best predictor of reading ability with a relative weight of .47 for prose, .45 for documents and .50 for quantitative tasks. The frequency of reading and writing verbal information at work (letters, reports, manuals, guidelines, etc.) had a significant influence on the three kinds of tasks, as well as how many newspaper sections people read.

A similar model was used to analyze the relation between attitude indexes and the test scores along with other explanatory variables such as sex, age, educational and family background, socioeconomic and professional status. Significant correlation was not found between this set of variables and self-perceptions about expression and persuasion capacities or disposition to work in groups. As for the other attitude dimensions the correlations ascertained were quite moderate (R^2 under 15%) and in only two cases reading ability score or educational level had a meaningful influence in the correlation: disposition for manual work and interest in public issues.

These data confirm the impropriety of looking for direct causality between literacy and attitudes generically in order to identify persons as modern or socially adjusted. That is why the domains of attitude that are more closely related to literacy were sought in the qualitative stage of the study.

Domains of Attitude Related to Literacy

Analyzing information extracted from interviews in the qualitative stage, it was possible to distinguish four domains where subjects' behaviors varied considerably according to their literacy level:

- *attitudes towards subjective expression* – this includes practices directed to non-pragmatic aims, interests in reading and writing as entertainment, personal or spiritual development, a need for assertion and identity affirmation, especially regarding the perfection of ability in communication;
- *attitudes towards planning and control of procedures* – these are related to those literacy practices that are more frequent in the work environment, such as writing reports, budgets and all sorts of financial controls, besides other personal uses of writing such as using an engagement book or checklists ;
- *attitudes towards information* – these are those related to the solution of practical problems of every day life (finding a job, consulting a city guide or instructions for using a medication) as well as to the interest for being updated about news made public by the media.
- *attitudes towards learning* – related to the acquisition of new bodies of knowledge.

For this analysis, categories were established at four levels – low, medium-low, medium-high and high literacy level – considering not only reading ability but also frequency and quality of literacy practices.

Eight of the 26 subjects who participated in the qualitative stage were classified in the low level of literacy; they were people who in all these attitudinal domains depended exclusively on orality. Restricted to a repetitive routine, their work demanded little planning or learning. They had no bank account, they did not buy on credit and, for these reasons, considered their memory and their oral expression capacity sufficient to face their daily needs. They regretted that they did not have a higher educational level mainly because of issues related to self-esteem and social status. Only one of them identified himself as being illiterate, but all of them were below the basic level in the reading test. The tasks proposed in the qualitative phase confirmed that, in fact, they had great difficulty in decodifying letters and in getting the meaning of the text; as a matter of fact, all of them gave up trying to read before they finished the text. On filling out the form to ask for the job they wrote only two or three juxtaposed words.

Those classified as medium-low literates also had a restricted use of written language at work. But, different from the first group, all of them affirmed that they dedicated themselves to non utilitarian reading and writing practices geared to expressing their subjective feelings, confirming their faith or strengthening family and friendship ties. Five of the eight in this group had the habit of writing letters to family members and two of the women kept diaries. But, as in the other group, reading with the purpose of learning or getting information was not common. They did not give value to consulting printed media as a strategy for keeping up to date with public interest themes and considered radio and television more efficient. Faced with questions about the necessity to consult manuals or books in different situations, many mentioned confidence in their own capacity to learn by observing and practicing. Although all said they were satisfied with their literacy abilities, almost all of them admitted that their schooling greatly limited their employment possibilities.

The greater number of the subjects of this group was not even able to achieve the basic reading ability level and the others did not go beyond this. When they were invited to read from a newspaper and comment on the news orally, the majority of this group insisted on reading out loud, demonstrating a reasonable fluency. They also showed that they had understood the theme of the text, but they had difficulty in finding specific information when later solicited by the interviewer. When they were asked, for example, the complete name of one of the sources, or what someone had declared in the report, they did not consult the written text but rather, called on their memory and usually gave distorted answers. If the interviewer insisted and, in some cases, gave a little help, almost all of them managed to find the information that was asked for. Spontaneously, however, they seemed less interested in making a literal interpretation of the text than in evoking their own feelings, experiences and opinions. As a matter of fact, in the predominant reading practice of this group – mainly religious and self-help books – the reader can give greater importance to a subjective invocation than to the literal content of the texts. Probably this kind of practice is responsible for shaping the subjects' reading style or their disposition towards interpretation.

The performance of this group in the interactive tasks of reading and writing helped comprehend the remarkable fact that so many people that have had 4 to 7 years of schooling were not able to respond regularly to the simplest items on the reading test. Actually, even the simplest items demanded that the reader limit himself to the literal content of texts and instructions. In the writing task, the predominant literacy practices of this group were also evident. On answering the job application form questions, the majority of those with medium-low level of literacy wrote relatively long texts but, besides making spelling and grammatical mistakes, they used a narrative and confessional style improper to the context of the task.

The seven subjects classified as on medium-high literacy level were involved in more specialized professions that demanded greater communication ability. Their activities demanded planning and control of more complex procedures: defining budgets or accounting control systems, activity reports, interpretation of technical drawings, elaborating or consulting manuals with rules and procedures. Within the family ambience these people affirmed that they also turned to reading as leisure, as a boost to their children's education and in order to update their own knowledge. The majority declared they had magazines, novels, schoolbooks, some children's books and encyclopedias. All of them affirmed that they read newspapers occasionally and that they recognized the worth of this as a complete and reliable source to update their knowledge on themes of public interest. All of them mentioned having taken some course or program for professional development where written material was used.

The attitude in regard to learning, however, was what distinguished this group of three subjects classified as having a high level of literacy. For these, updating was considered a permanent necessity. Two of them subscribed to specialized magazines in their work field (a physical education teacher and a photographer) and the third was taking a university course. They read books with some frequency, not only novels, but also technical books and essays.

These two latter groups managed to reach the best scores in the reading test and their performance in the simulated reading and writing tasks applied in the qualitative stage also corresponded to their more diversified uses of written language. Commenting on the newspaper articles, these interviewees clearly distinguished textual information from their own opinions and were able to easily consult the text again when necessary. In the written task, they were able to use linguistic resources characteristic of writing such as itemization and nominalization (Halliday, 1986), being able to produce a rhetorical effect that was quite adequate to the situation proposed in the task.

Implications for Adult Education

This data shows that the literacy problem in Brazil is very complex and demands diversification in approaching it. In an urban center such as São Paulo, where a dynamic economic system coexists with a high level of inequality old and new problems have to be faced: besides absolute illiteracy identified in 7% of the population studied, there is the greater problem of functional illiteracy, a situation which characterizes the greater part of youth and adults who have not had access to a complete 8-year basic schooling (49%, according to official statistics). There is also the need to improve abilities of a considerable portion of literate adults, making them adequate to attend the new demands of the economy and of social participation.

In order to guarantee the development of attitudes and abilities in reading and writing which would permit their use autonomously in different situations, transitory and unsystematic solutions such as traditional literacy campaigns are insufficient. This kind of initiative has to be linked with programs that can guarantee the continuity of study for adults. Initial learning of writing language can take two or three years, and for this it is necessary to have continual help of a proficient reader with participation in a community of readers in which the meanings of the written word can be negotiated. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to offer differentiated alternatives for adult basic education, resorting to teaching-modules or with the support of distance learning. However, the presence of an instructor seems to be incontrovertible and decisive; the results of the tests and of the tasks that were given in the qualitative phase of the research indicate that the capacity to follow instructions and learn based on the written text autonomously only occur with those people with a higher mastery of literacy skills.

Adult literacy programs should be conceived as full educational initiatives: receptive to new forms of understanding, expression and action, promoting in adults the interest in subjective expression, the search for information, the planning and control of processes and in continued learning. There is no doubt that the development of attitudes of this type require longer periods of schooling since the subjects who make the most varied and constant use of reading and writing have at least a complete basic education or even a secondary education. It was observed that the disposition of the subjects to use written language in diverse situations does not only depend on their level of proficiency: it also depends on their familiarity with diversified written materials, their judgement about the convenience of using this material for various purposes, and about the quality of information that they carry. After schooling, the initiative to continue looking for information and opportunities for learning via written language can also be encouraged if the school would become more open to other literacy agencies such as libraries, cultural centers, distribution points for publications, in addition to electronic communication networks. These experiences could strengthen attitudes that correspond to taking better advantage of their life-long literacy abilities.

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Making Assumptions: Faculty Responses to Students with Disabilities.

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According to the ADA a disability "means, with respect to an individual – a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of such individual; a record of such an impairment; or being regarded as having such an impairment" (P. L. 101-336; §3). Learning is considered a major life activity. The purpose of accommodation, under Section 504, is to provide students with disabilities an equal opportunity to achieve equal results (Biehl, 1978) with the intent of preventing exclusion based on disability status (Mangrum & Strichert, 1988). Accommodation is "an adjustment to the learning environment that does not compromise the essential elements of a course or curriculum" (Schuck & Kroeger, 1993, p. 63). Individuals have the right to choose to consider themselves disabled. If an individual considers her or himself disabled and in need of accommodations, it is up to the individual to disclose and to request an accommodation. Institutions have the right to verify the disability and discuss reasonable accommodations. This begins the obligation of the post-secondary institution to accommodate the individual with the disability (Jarrow, 1993). In order to access the learning environment certain accommodations may be needed. Such as access to course readings prior to the beginning of the course. The student discloses disability status, requests an accommodation, and the instructor complies with the request.

Method

The purpose of the large study was to explore this question: How does an adult with a disability learn to communicate to an instructor or employer what is needed for "accommodation?" Interview data were analyzed using a constant comparative method to generate grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Three samples were compared; composed of 9 faculty, 8 students with visible disabilities, and 7 students with invisible disabilities. This paper discusses the emergent themes from the faculty sample which were included in the study to provide the view from the other side of the issue of academic access. There were nine faculty members and administrators interviewed who also teach and have had students with disabilities in their courses, acted as their advisors, or served on their academic committees. Six men and three women worked for a large Midwestern university, six on the main campus and three on a regional campus. One self-identified as Native American but culturally Caucasian. The remaining members are European American. They ranged in age from 31 to 64 years old. One member had a master's degree, the other eight had Ph.D.s. Three held administrative posts as well as having teaching responsibilities. The work titles included: associate, assistant, and full professor, instructor, assistant dean, and director. Two of the participants conduct disability-related research. The fields represented include law, education, psychology, rehabilitation, and biological sciences. All have had students with disabilities in class. Some served on the candidacy examination and dissertation committees of students with disabilities or acted as the academic advisor. The questions are in three categories: general context, education, and employment. In an attempt to explore the perspective of the receiver of the accommodation communication, they answered questions about disclosure: comfort level, under what conditions, describing the disability, reactions of others, and types of coaching or advice received. Interviews lasted forty-five to ninety minutes. Transcripts from each sample were checked against the audiotapes, read, and read for coding. Several months went by between work on each sample to allow categories to emerge from each sample independently. Comparisons between samples were made after all samples were completely coded, and the categories were written up into descriptive text (Wolcott, 1994).

Discussion

We all make assumptions. The assumption I made about the group of faculty that I interviewed was that they would view themselves as tolerant of people different from themselves, possibly being more empathetic or understanding of learning differences than society at large. Additionally, I assumed that faculty who were aware that they believed students

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with disabilities shouldn't be at college would not agree to participate in this study. As a group, the participants did believe themselves to be more tolerant and student-centered than other faculty; they did not question or realize that some of their attitudes were based on assumptions, not on research.

The data did not support either of my assumptions. The participants were not necessarily understanding of learning differences and some did question some students with disabilities right to or capability of attaining a higher education. Even though some held what might be considered politically incorrect views or assumptions, each participant openly reflected on their experience sharing with me exactly how they felt at the time and changes that occurred in their thinking because of their experiences. Assumptions that participants made included these issues: (a) lowering standards, (b) excusing poor performance, (c) fairness to all students, (d) taking advantage of the educational system, (e) doing good, and (f) stories of grace and grit. Finally, the data indicated a tendency to render amateur diagnoses, including the assumption that poor performance is indicative of a disability.

"Do you lower standards?"

The first issue is captured in this question posed by one participant "how much do you adjust and how much do you accommodate? "strikes at the core of the issue of lowering standards. Rod said, "To the outside world the Ph.D. means that people can meet a fairly high level and write at a fairly high level and so I still – the jury is still out for me in terms of how extensive the accommodations can be. In a field like engineering if you can't read and write there's some examples of people that are very successful. That may be one thing. It seems to me that sometimes there [are] moral dilemmas in terms of how much do you adjust and how much do you accommodate." If one believes an accommodation simply provides an alternative format for learning, the answer is simple. If you believe accommodations somehow are like cheat sheets--an attempt to make up for a lack of studying or inability to learn--then all accommodations are suspect. Speaking of a student whose work he thought was very good, a participant was relieved to say, "So, I didn't have to lie to her. I didn't have to build her up. I didn't have to go through the moral struggle of what does it mean. Do you lower standards?" (Rod). Lying and building a student up under false pretenses seems to be contrary to what an educator should do. A policy of dishonesty about the work a student produces, in an effort to protect the student, is based on the assumption that students with disabilities are not capable of the same level of work as students without disabilities.

"It's Not Necessarily an Excuse"

The second issue concludes that students use a disability or a claim of disability as a convenient excuse for not completing assignments or for substandard work. Once a professor becomes skeptical of the student's commitment to the work, this skepticism can affect the graduate school experience. Skepticism is increased when disclosure and requests for accommodation occur late in the quarter, as Rod explained,

> *But this person was sort of like using it as an excuse for – suddenly there was all the answers why things weren't working for her and why you know. Maybe I could understand that up to a point because she was having some problems getting things done and so suddenly she sort of had a label or a reason but its as I've always said to my oldest son that might be an explanation but it's not necessarily an excuse. What you have to do is find ways to compensate. I didn't say any of this to her because it was the end of the quarter.*

Rod permitted incomplete grades to any student requesting an extension. This student was a graduate student who had been known as a good student. She was diagnosed during the quarter with Attention Deficient Disorder (ADD). Rod questioned ADD as valid disability because someone once suggested he may have ADD. As Rod reflected "I must admit I have some questions about [it] because supposedly I have it too." He had difficulty comprehending that ADD could pose much of a problem for others if it poses no processing problems for him. Rod was judging this disability based on cocktail conversation not on self-directed study. He finds proof that his viewpoint is correct in stories he has heard,

> *Since Albert Einstein and John Kennedy supposedly have [ADD], one does wonder whether in fact it's a disorder or whether it's just a human variation which could be functional or dysfunctional depending on the environment that one is in. But this person was sort of like using it as an excuse.*

Making amateur diagnoses was not confined to faculty. In another case, a student told Bud during their first discussion of her accommodation needs, "'I think you're ADD. And that's going to present a problem to us' and that shocked me because she is diagnosing me." Bud was challenged by his shock to find books on the subject. Viewing disclosure of a disability as an excuse for poor performance is certainly a stigma most students dread, causing some hesitation on the part of students to disclose.

Being Fair to Everybody

The third issue was being fair to everybody. The word, "everybody," applies to three groups, (a) students with disabilities, (b) students without disabilities and (c) faculty. "Fair" implies that none of the three groups receives an advantage over the other two groups. Given the vast misunderstandings about the nature of disability and its impact on human performance, it is easy to understand how faculty would be concerned that accommodating a "normal looking" student by providing more time to take a test or setting aside space for a distraction free environment was somehow not fair to other students. Underneath is the nagging concern about cheating. Tom spoke of this the nagging concern about cheating and questioning the integrity of students in this way,

> *What really bothers me is the distrust. All these students [with disabilities]... were all so concerned that I would think that they were cheating. It's like they're apologizing to me for having to do this. It's okay. It wasn't an issue for me but it was a big issue for them so somewhere along the line they're getting that feedback that they're taking advantage of this disability.*

Cheating concerns also include the notion that the student with a disability will intentionally or unintentionally divulge the contents of the exam to other students. This becomes a particular concern when the student with a disability is scheduled to take the exam before the class. Mark's colleagues brought this possibility to his attention when a student with a disability was scheduled to take an exam before the regular class sections. Mark said, "there's the potential that someone could benefit by hearing through the grapevine the things on the exam or something like that. So I presume an advantage going on there" (Mark). He was not particularly concerned but began to note scheduling of such exams, anyway. Frequently, the scheduling and taking of exams in a distraction free environment or with extended time occurs at disability services making the instructor's desire only one factor in the scheduling process.

For Rod, disability seemed to be a relative and subjective matter. It didn't seem to him important or necessary to inquire of experts about necessary accommodations or to examine documentation. Rod felt perfectly comfortable saying, "Obviously, I reserve the right to say I can't do that. That isn't fair to other people or whatever." To Jeb "fairness to everybody" was "a matter of their rights. It would be more bothersome if somebody had the legal right and it was not recognized than the fact that a person with disabilities is given reasonable accommodation." This points to difficulties with participants' perceptions of fairness, when the perceptions are based on assumptions rather than knowledge. These perceptions combined with no attempt to work with a professional in the area of accommodation, can place the institution at risk. After all, as Jeb pointed out there exists a legal right to reasonable accommodation. The legal right does not include taking advantage of the system which is discussed next.

Taking Advantage of the Educational System

The fourth issue was taking advantage of the system. When an extreme violation of the principle of fairness occurs, it is viewed as "taking advantage of the system." Tom described a student in a wheelchair as "using it a little bit" when he was student teaching. According to Tom, the student was angry and defiant, trying to get whatever he could from the system, whether he needed it or not. Tom continued, "He really did have a bad attitude. He was running people down, literally running them down." Figuratively, the student was trying to run down the system to get every service he could from the university. Tom thought the student's attitude and behavior inappropriate even though it seemed to Tom that the school was doing everything it could to make the student teacher's tenure miserable.

Two other professors spoke of students using the system. Mark reflected, "the perception that from an instructor's standpoint someone might be trying to get away with something or take advantage of the situation in some means" could present serious difficulties to students with disabilities. When Mark made this observation it was as if suddenly he had become aware of the attitudes of peers and the difficulties these attitudes would present to students. Susan stated, "I think on rare occasions there are students who are here to use the system in some way or the other and to take advantage of [the system]. Maybe they have learned, maybe that's their adaptation." Susan went on to say, "I will not tolerate a student that I think is taking advantage of me or of education in some way or other." From the concern that students might be gaining an unfair advantage, we move to a discussion of participants' feelings when helping a student in need of moral support.

Some Small Good in the World

A common assumption about individuals with disabilities is that "they need our help." Many of us would not presume to speak for another adult or to offer unrequested assistance on behalf of an adult. Well-meaning people offer unrequested assistance to those with disabilities regularly. Jim said,

> *I have one fellow with a spinal chord injury and I always give him notes even though he can take notes in class. It just makes it easier for him to concentrate in lectures if he doesn't have to bother with that because he writes very slowly.*

Jim intended to be helpful. Yet his actions are based on assumptions about the way the student learns and encouraged dependent behavior. Other participants viewed their role as ranging from making sure someone with "a sight impairment ...has a spot in the front of the room" (Rod) to "going easier" (Bud) on someone with a learning disability. Placing the student with a sight impairment in the front of the room brings attention and that the student may not want and the location may not help the student see. "Going easier" on the student with a learning disability might make the instructor feel better about doing a good deed, but of what value is this action to the student's learning experience?

A student who is blind had tried to call Bud before the quarter to discuss accommodations without success. Bud said, "I might have tried to counsel her to do an independent study. In fact I know I would have encouraged her." He went on to explain that he considered her disability to be similar to the difficulty American English presents to international students. The class is concerned with body language and educational politics which may not translate well. He was trying to help her.

In a very different situation, Susan had a student with cancer in her class. The chemotherapy had caused the woman to lose her hair. Her missing hair combined with an unusual way of dressing, made the student the recipient of ridicule and nasty remarks from the other students. One day when the student wasn't in class, Susan,

> *Really let them [the class] have it. It was a point when I felt it appropriate to discuss courage and it had some good affect because at a later date I'd seen her in the mall...and she said you know two of the people who were in that class had stopped by and she'd passed them in the mall and they had come up to her and said how much they enjoyed having her in class or something. I think it was those two nasty girls that had made fun of her. But anyhow I felt I had accomplished some small good in the world.*

Her moral outrage shamed the students into acknowledging the student with cancer by including her in future conversations. These actions may be viewed by some as advocacy on behalf of students with disabilities and by others as paternalism or maternalism. The interpretation of simple acts of assistance as advocacy, paternalism, or maternalism is predetermined by one's attitude toward disability and whether or not the adult with the disability welcomes the action.

Stories of Grace and Grit

The last assumption focuses on the emotional reactions of temporarily able bodied people towards disability: awe at the courage of the individual with the disability to live, empathy for the individual, and pity. Faculty remarks encompassed a range of emotions from "sad case" (Pat) to "courageous...incredible" (Susan). The student described as courageous had brain tumors, while the sad case has a traumatic brain injury. Bud felt his teaching style had been transformed as a result of having students with disabilities in his class. He found these students to be remarkable for "not blaming the world for their condition. And actually finding a blessing in their condition."

Bud asked these students if they could erase the disability would they, surprising him was the response that what he considered adversity instead opened them up to a "self-awareness" which he felt added "grace and grit about their lives." Tom was very attuned to the gritty aspect of the students' experience. He told me,

> *You can just look them in the eyes and I can see where they're coming from. They're saying he thinks I want to do this just so I can have it easy or something. You can just read it. That's unfortunate.*

Students with invisible disabilities seemed "easier to handle" (Pat) than students with visible disabilities. The desire to nurture is not stimulated by a learning disability as it is by a woman who has lost all of her hair due to chemotherapy. Pat reflected on her past behavior, "I would hope I wouldn't react that way any longer but that has been through a process of education and learning and understanding and repeated experience." The reaction she was referring to is to be suspect of a student with an invisible disability instead of nurturing. However, sometimes education and experience are not enough. As when the same participant had a student in the back of the room hiccuping throughout the class. When at the end of the class Pat commented,

> *My goodness, you sure have a case of the hiccups. She said not really, its a reaction I can't always control and when I'm nervous like in the first day of class it's more pronounced. I'll try not to bother anyone.* (Pat)

This perplexed Pat and she wondered how she would handle the situation. The student "was a little embarrassed by it which made me more sympathetic." The student never disclosed. It was during a conversation with a colleague when it occurred to Pat, the disability was probably Tourette's Syndrome.

Implications

These findings have implications for the teacher-learner dynamic. Examining the assumptions faculty make towards some of their students is a step towards creating a critical consciousness of the meaning of disability in a student's life. Our actions stem from the assumptions we make and teach by when our privilege and power are never critically examined. Hopefully, we will reflect on the assumptions we make about students and realize that these assumptions affect learning. Teachers who are challenged to provide access to adults who learn differently because of legal mandates may reflect on their practice finding innovative ways to reach learners who learn differently who aren't classified as having disabilities. Tennant and Pogson (1995, p. 160) suggest that educators use "lived (rather than created) experience as the primary source for learning… aiming at social justice and/or personal transformation." They suggest getting "people to talk about their experiences" then they can "analyze those experiences" for the purpose of "identify[ing] and act[ing] on the implications of what is revealed" (Tennant & Pogson, 1995, p. 160). Ross-Gordon (1996) "feels it is essential that various professionals responsible for intervention have the benefit of staff developmental opportunities to increase their understanding of multiculturalism and of the needs and characteristics of adults with learning disabilities."

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Tool for Transformation:
Cooperative Inquiry as a Process for Healing from Internalized Oppression

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Abstract: *This paper documents how cooperative inquiry can be a transformative tool for groups – in this case, a diverse group of Jewish women – to make meaning from their experience of internalized oppression and to create healing strategies.*

> *"The purpose of human inquiry is not so much the search for truth, but to heal"*
> (Peter Reason, 1994, p. 10)

Purpose

Cooperative inquiry is an easily-accessible yet potentially transformative tool, enabling groups to explore their own lived experience of internalized oppression and to create strategies for healing . In this paper I describe my doctoral research with a group of Jewish women, a group in which I was a participant. Our inquiry together affected us profoundly, leading us to conclude that other groups could use cooperative inquiry for their own explorations and healing.

Cooperative inquiry enables a small group of people to systematically direct themselves in making meaning from their own experience. British researchers John Heron (1996) and Peter Reason (1994) developed this process as a formal methodology which valorizes research *with* people as opposed to research *on* people. Groups select an area of inquiry and facilitate themselves non-hierarchically, holistically, democratically, over a period of time. Cooperative inquiry differs from support groups in its combined use of five key tools: *systematic action/reflection cycles*; *full participation by each member*; *the incorporation of many ways of knowing*, such as storytelling, movement, art, music, and accessing the emotional realm; *validity procedures to deepen group learning;* and *critical subjectivity.* Geared towards enabling participants to improve their practice in the world, this process is empowering through its validation of knowledge-creation by people from all backgrounds, education and experiences.

Internalized oppression is an involuntary reaction to oppression which originates outside one's group and which results in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression – rather than realizing that these beliefs are constructed in them by oppressive socio-economic political systems (Brown, 1995; Schwartz, 1995; Sherover-Marcuse, 1994). Internalized oppression is a difficult meaning perspective (Mezirow, 1991) to transform because of the deep emotions involved and because society continues to bombard oppressed groups with destructive messages. To counteract these deeply embedded meaning perspectives requires a process of transformative learning – cooperative inquiry offers such an intervention strategy.

I initiated this inquiry because I believe that transforming self-hatred can liberate people, so that we no longer need accept limits on ourselves, on what we can do, on how the world can be – which is emancipatory learning (Mezirow, 1991); therefore, healing internalized oppression is a path to empowering a social action practice in the most profound sense.

Theoretical Perspectives

The use of cooperative inquiry as a strategy for emancipatory learning is based in three theoretical perspectives: Mathias Finger's "new paradigm for social action" that induces "a process of personal transformation that inevitably will influence social, cultural and political life" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 189); John Heron's (1996) holistic epistemology in cooperative inquiry, which valorizes the interaction of experiential, presentational, propositional and practical ways of knowing; and the philosophical perspective of liberation theory as developed by Ricky Sherover-Marcuse (1994) (see above explanation of internalized oppression).

Strategy

This descriptive case study documents the process of our ten-month cooperative inquiry exploring internalized Jewish oppression. The 10 group participants were diverse in: age; socio-economic background; geographical region growing up (U.S. & Montreal); education; sexual orientation; religious/secular background; physical disabilities/abilities; and ethnic background (Eastern European & Iraqi). I collected data by recording and transcribing our ten six-hour inquiry meetings as well as one-hour individual exit interviews, and I also wrote personal reflections after each meeting. In analyzing data, I looked for two areas of information: the impact of the inquiry process and significant themes regarding internalized anti-Semitism.

Findings: Creating a Culture of Resistance, a Community of Healing

Eight interwoven themes emerged that illustrate how cooperative inquiry enabled our group to begin healing our internalized oppression. I organized these under three categories: "The experience of oppression" – which includes themes of recognizing shared feelings and the similarities between internalized oppressions; "Embracing identity"--which includes themes of choosing visibility and validating Jewish issues as important; and "Creating a learning environment" – which includes themes of attention and appreciation, using holistic tools, extended time period, and creating a culture of collaboration. The first two theme categories illustrate the perspectives of liberation theory and a new paradigm for social action; the third category flows from an holistic epistemological perspective.

The Experience of Oppression

Recognizing shared feeling – "There's nothing wrong with me!" As a result of sharing our lived experience with each other, women articulated how empowering and relieving it was to learn that our feelings were not personal "pathologies" – but that we shared a commonality of internalized oppression which was a direct response to external oppression. This was one of the major group learning experiences. "The consensus was so broad on so many things, from women who were from all over the country, from different generations," Deena explained. "There's a communal experience [of internalized oppression] – that means that it is important. There's something powerful about the systemic nature of that."

We realized that we shared similar experiences of fear: feeling like we never quite "belonged" anywhere, that we couldn't show our true selves because we were either "too much" or "not enough", trying to be perfect so we wouldn't be attacked or abandoned, feeling responsible for everything going well because we would be blamed if there was trouble. Emily revealed, "One of the most important things I got out of the group was realizing the overlap of patterns so many of us had. I've always thought of my patterns as my family's personal dysfunction – and seeing them as part of Jewish women's internalized oppression was eye-opening! There's a connection hearing everybody say that thing of 'not belonging', or 'so often I feel like I'm too much or not enough'. For me it was a major shift of perspective to realize, 'Oh *you* feel like that too?'" Penny echoed, "When I talked about not feeling worthy, sometimes Elly's words exactly echoed mine, even though our backgrounds are so different. That was stunning and validating."

Similarities in internalized oppressions. Through sharing stories, we became aware of the interrelationship between the internalization of anti-Semitism, sexism, homophobia, racism, ableism and fat oppression. Gerri told us that she had "spent a million years of my life imagining they'll come up into the Castro [a visibly gay neighborhood] and try to get us. It's either about being a Jew or being a queer." And in addition to feeling self-hatred from taking in anti-Semitic messages, MJ said that "Feeling so stigmatized for being disabled and a butch dyke and fat, has brought on a sense of shame. This culture makes us feel that way. The negative stuff gets to you after awhile; I get really enraged, but I also start taking it in."

From her work teaching voice, Emily illustrated an overlap between internalized sexism and anti-Semitism – while also demonstrating the validity procedure of "devil's advocacy," by challenging a group assumption that certain behavior was an aspect only of internalized *Jewish* oppression: "It's a common theme around women in general, it's not just unique to Jews, how women have been taught not to take up space – vocally, physically, in many other ways." Experiencing commonality with internalized racism, Elly related to her African-American partner's struggle "about who's black and who isn't, what you have to do and be in order to qualify. Just like I've never thought I was Jewish enough. I envied my sister who has dark skin and dark curly hair. It's that same thing, when someone looks at me, do they see Jew? I don't think so, and I feel guilty". In a related example, Amy articulated: "[In the group] we were saying there's a Jewish thing about perfection, always feeling pressure to do things right. The next day I was working with a client of mine who's Japanese, and the same phrases, word for word, were coming out of her mouth; she could have been one of us sitting in the room".

Embracing Identity

Choosing visibility – "You're Jewish!" By visibly showing ourselves as Jews in non-Jewish contexts, we learned that claiming Jewish identity can be a positive and connecting experience, contradicting internalized feelings of invisibility, shame and marginalization. For example, during our inquiry "action" cycles, Amy decided to wear the Jewish skullcap, or yarmulke, in public on the Sabbath – unusual for a woman to do. "I thought, what would it be like if somebody could know that I was Jewish from 20, 30, 40 feet away!", Amy told us. Although she had to face the fear of calling attention to herself as Jewish, overall she found it to be a "very positive" experience and a way to make "really great connections with other Jews!"

Wearing the yarmulke while waiting for a late bus, Amy described "waiting and waiting, and people are getting in a progressively worse humor. And then the thought flashed into my mind, 'They're gonna blame me, 'cause I'm a scapegoat in the situation [as a Jew]'. It was the wildest thing! I felt like I was making myself into a target, even though realistically nothing was really going to happen to me that day." She continued, "It was the first time I ever came right out that way and identified as Jewish, and I was hit with a tidal wave of fear. But [now] I feel this pride and confidence in being a Jew that I *never* had before. And it really helped knowing I had this group to come back to, that you all were behind me." Amy's powerful experience demonstrates how repeated cycles of taking action, and reflecting later in the group, can facilitate learning.

Validating Jewish issues as important – confronting anti-Semitism. We learned to support each other in raising Jewish issues in non-Jewish environments, to confront anti-Semitism, and to encourage one another's leadership as Jews – which contradicts both the external and internal oppression of discounting the Jewish experience. For example, Deena realized that her colleagues' dislike of a woman at her workplace was based in anti-Semitism. She explained, "I saw injustice happening to her, and I reached out to her where I might not have before. Because of our group, I saw one moment as an 'educating ally' moment, and that felt good; I challenged people in their extreme dislike, saying that I felt it was unwarranted". The inquiry experience helped Penny raise Jewish issues without embarrassment: "I feel much stronger in myself in this identity, and that's been huge! Just like being around people who are confronting racism helps me confront racism more – when Jewish oppression is discussed, that creates an environment where I feel more able to confront anti-Semitism". Deena reflected the importance to her of "having Jewish leaders like Penny hold up that Jewish liberation is important – because it's easy to slip into thinking that it's not important". "The way to handle it is not to run from being Jewish", MJ reminded us. "It's to end the oppression!"

Creating a Learning Environment

Attention and appreciation as contradictions to negative messages. Together we created a context of story-sharing, attention, and appreciation that was a positive contradiction to the destructive societal messages we received as Jewish girls and women. "I felt very heard, and I never have had that experience on this kind of material", Gerri shared. Emily said that listening to the stories gave her "an incredible education about internalized Jewish oppression", motivating her to "go towards healing strategies – to realize that it's changeable!" This learning environment gave her "a place where I can belong with other Jewish women and be *all* of me – the coarse parts, the parts that bug the shit out of other people, the parts that are insightful. All the parts of me were welcome: around class, around heritage, around my family's history, around being a lesbian – all those things that in other situations are "x'ed out". MJ echoed Emily's experience: "Making these deep connections with other Jewish women is incredibly healing. It's wonderful, I'm in this group and I'm not getting rejected!"

Using holistic tools – accessing our hearts. Cooperative inquiry's holistic epistemology supported our sharing stories, art, movement, songs, co-counseling, poetry, theatre, dance, and Jewish ritual to access different ways of knowing, and to help us build closeness, community and connection. When asked if the group had been a learning experience for her, Judith replied, "Oh yeah, but not learning in the *head* way." MJ added, "Everything we're doing is alive and living and comes from the heart." And when Elly felt that the group wasn't "going deep enough", members brought in a role-play about internalized anti-Semitism and voice/movement exercises; these took us to a new level of closeness which many spoke of as the high point of the inquiry experience. Emily explained, "It was very creative and we were just 'improving' – and that opens you in this very different way." At another point, one woman read a moving poem about her "nosejob": "What was healing was being able to process traumatic things from the past and be able to release emotion", she later explained. "I felt safe enough to be vulnerable, I was supported, I was embraced with the group."

During one meeting, MJ spoke about the horrors that have happened to Jews, asking why so many people fear and hate Jews. Penny suggested to her, "This is just something I can imagine you saying: 'Hey Penny guess what? The Jews survived!' MJ tried it: "Hey Penny guess what? We survived! The Jews survived!" She took a deep breath: "It's true, isn't it? We survived. We're still here. Despite everything!" Her eyes filled with tears. The next meeting she brought us a new song she had written, with the chorus:

They mocked our language, our religion too;
they taught their people to scorn the Jews.
And though we suffered and many of us died, we fought for freedom and we survived!

The song ended with a verse of solidarity with the people of Tibet:

Many tried to silence you, but this they cannot do
All your voices will be heard, and you'll survive just like the Jews!

Extended time period = creation of closeness & community. Meeting for ten six-hour sessions over ten months helped create a community of healing – of closeness, trust, safety and connection – which contradicted the isolation, distrust and fear which we found characteristic of internalized anti-Semitism. Emily was the only parent in the group, making it difficult for her to honor our time commitment; yet she realized that our amount of meeting time affected her inquiry experience: "There's something about the *consistency* of the group over a long period of time – It's like people who *really* wanted to be here. And as I've gotten to care about everybody in the group, that could only happen from the length of time". She continued: "It's not a group I would have defined as a touchy-feely close-in group (laughs). It's political, we disagree. But when I think of the last two sessions that we had, this openness and love was right there, that was created by us going through each of those steps, that I don't know if we could've gotten to in any other way. *And it had really changed over the time of the group* (italics added). We worked hard for it, we fought for it – and then there it was! I can tangibly see us and feel us when we all had our arms around each other. There was this softness and sweetness that felt like an amazing reward for all the hard work." Judith agreed: "It doesn't matter what we talk about, just that we have stayed together this long. That's where the healing is – in community."

Creating a culture of collaboration. Deena testified to the strength of our democratic collaborative process, a strong value of cooperative inquiry: "I've always been somebody who has believed in the power of collective knowledge, or people working together, over individual brainstorming. And in this case it was very true." Emily recalled when we were bringing our stories together to create statements about our experiences of internalized anti-Semitism: "We were all sunk into the couch, feeling 'Oh god, that's who we are? How are we gonna live?' And yet there was something so powerful about having it be tangible, written – and we had come to it as a group! I don't know that one person could ever have done what we did. This was the impetus to say, "Okay, what are the healing strategies?"

Expressing profound learning from our collaboration, Amy said that she "never understood before that I had imposed my own values on people. My grandparents were very materialistic, and I had a lot of contempt about that; [so] it was good to see that [materialism] in someone I had respect for in the group. Now I understand how it makes sense for her in her life. I got to understand things I never understood before." Judith revealed that the collaborative process itself had almost meant more to her than our topic: "I've had insights in the group, those flashes of 'Oh yeah! Of course!' And the world makes sense in a new way! I watched myself becoming more brave, exposing myself, becoming vulnerable. The issue is important – but for me the *process* has been *really* important."

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

As countries become increasingly multicultural, it is crucial that adult educators respond to diverse populations' needs. This research illustrates the powerful impact of cooperative inquiry in supporting a marginalized group to explore their experience and transform their perspectives – as demonstrated by the themes about "The experience of oppression" and "embracing identity." This study also shows the value of this method in stressing full participation from each group member, which helps equalize inevitable social and personal power differentials within the group – as illuminated in findings from 'creating a culture of collaboration'.

The conclusions also demonstrate – from the "Creating a learning environment" themes – that once people learn skills for cooperative inquiry, they no longer need an adult educator. Instead, this strategy supports people in empowering themselves as they direct their own learning; it validates their abilities to create knowledge from their own experience. Overall, by employing major aspects of cooperative inquiry – action/reflection cycles, full participation, holistic epistemology, critical reflection, and validity procedures – this study shows how this tool was effectively used as an educational intervention strategy to facilitate emancipation in co-inquirers.

Perhaps Deena's words, which are a direct legacy of Mathias Finger's new paradigm for social action and Ricky Sherover Marcuse's liberation theory, best illustrate the value of cooperative inquiry to adult educators devoted to systemic transformation: "Since I've committed my life to social change, the more that I can release and work through – and this group initiated that process – then the more powerful I will be. That feels like a huge shift: the potential to increase my power, rather than just changing my area of work."

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Revisiting the Map of the Territory

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Abstract: *The purpose of this study was to revisit the article* The Map of the Territory, *written twenty years ago. The analysis is based on a review of major journals, conference proceedings and some key books. The review reveals how the landscape is being shifted by paradigmatic changes in the social sciences and the broadening of the boundary of adult education practice. The separation of empirically and normatively informed arguments is seen as a major problem for the drawing of the map.*

Background and Purpose

In my 1982 article, *Adult Education Research: In Quest of a Map of the Territory*, I set out to analyse what governed knowledge production in adult education. Departing from Törnebohm's epistemological perspective, the purpose of the study was to analyse what had governed the drawing of the map (the knowledge production) in adult education by 1982. I attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Which assumptions and perceptions of the territory govern the efforts to accumulate knowledge within adult education, that is, which questions are regarded as legitimate within the academic field?
2. Which research traditions, i.e., scholarly ideals, epistemology and perspectives govern the research efforts in adult education?

The study concluded that:

- there was an overwhelming influence of psychology with the consequence that the territory of adult education research was defined primarily through assumptions of the characteristics of the learner and, thus, teaching was reduced to learning,
- issues of adult education practice were mainly approached from an actor/agent perspective,
- empiricism and research methodology was emphasised in order to build a discipline of adult education,
- there was strong scepticism against borrowing from other disciplines and fields of study, and
- North American scholars dominated the landscape with little international exchange.

The article further concluded that claims for the growing intra-disciplinary importance of adult education research had been accepted too readily, and partly on false premises.

Nearly twenty years have passed since that article was written, and dramatic shifts have taken place in the social sciences and humanities as well as in the boundaries of adult education that profoundly impact on the territory of the map. The purpose of this paper is to return to the original questions and begin to discuss the changes that have occurred and reflect on the re-writing of the map. It should be recognised that an account like this is highly biased. Although there might be agreement on the major structural and intellectual changes that have occurred, there certainly will be fundamental differences in the assessment on how these have affected the map.

Bodies of Literature Analysed

The choice of material strongly influences answers to the questions posed. The 1982 analysis of the map of the territory chose North America as a point of departure. The decision was motivated by the dominant role it had come to play in setting the boundaries of adult education as a field of study. However, over the past 20 years there has been, as Cunningham (1991) observes, a strong international influence on the development of knowledge in adult education. It was therefore decided to include more material from outside North America. The discussion is primarily based on analyses of three kinds of material: journals, conference proceedings and books focusing on scholarly accomplishments in the field.

Journals: *Adult Education Quarterly, International Journal of Lifelong Learning, Studies in the*

Education of Adults, Studies in Continuing Education, and *Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries.*

Proceedings: AERC, CASAE, European Society for Research on the Teaching of Adults (ESREA), SCUTREA, Nordic Research Conference and the 1988 and 1997 joint AERC-SCUTREA-CASAE-ESREA conferences.

Books: *Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field* (1991); *Theoretical Issues in Adult Education – Danish Research Experiences* (1996), *The Biographical Approach in European Adult Education* (1995), *Adult Education and the Postmodern Challenge* (1997), and *Adult Education Research in the Federal Republic of Germany* (1992).

Other: Re-analysis of material collected by UNESCO for the review of adult education research.

The Changing Landscape of the Social Sciences

At the centre is the collapse of empiricist and normal science and the competition for new approaches and issues that alternately chart the frontiers of the adult education landscape. These developments should be understood in the larger context of social conditions that shape the production of social scientific knowledge traditions (Popkewitz, 1984). In this paper it is possible only to list some key developments in the social sciences.

Critical Theory

The structural functional tradition, rooted in a consensus paradigm, came under severe criticism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which saw a revival of the intellectual contribution of the work of Marx and Engels. Critical theory, strongly influenced by the Frankfurt School and Jurgen Habermas, came to play an important role in sociology and education. Scholars working in this tradition focused on how the education system reproduces and legitimates the ubiquitous power structures in society and reproduces the prevailing class structure of society. There appeared a flurry of critical writings on the state (see e.g. Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Dale, 1989; Sarup, 1982, 1983).

Post-modernism and Post-structuralism

Inspired by French philosophers like Baudrillard, Derrida, Lacan and Lyotard, and borrowing from arts and literary criticism, post-modernists' argument that modernity has been replaced by the post-modern condition, with its interest in virtual reality, is having an important impact on the social sciences. Foucault's criticism of grand narratives, as presented in Critical Theory, and the refusal to accept any theory of knowledge or theory as better than another have laid the foundation for a focus on cultural politics of difference (Halsey, Lauder, Brown and Wells, 1997 p 13). Post-structuralist analyses have come to take centre stage in education and sociology and Habermasian 'critique' is being replaced by Foucauldian "genealogy."

Feminist Scholarly Traditions

The emergence of a second-wave feminist movement in the late 1960s has had a profound impact on the social sciences. Previously, gender was mostly invisible in sociological and educational knowledge but feminist research, often rooted in post-modern traditions, have brought the struggle of women and people of colour to the fore. Feminist scholars raised new theoretical questions and examined the gendered nature of institutions such as the state, economies, families, schools, politics and sexuality (Laslett and Thorne, 1997, p 6). They also challenged dominant understandings about the epistemologies and methodologies of research. In the words of Uri Ram (1995, p. 149), feminist scholarship has become *one of the most prolific and vigorous branches of social and cultural studies.*

The Changing Landscape of Adult Education Practice

Adult education is regarded as a "practical discipline" where the goal is to give practitioners better control over factors associated with the problems they face. Changes in the boundary and focus of adult education practice are central to an understanding of the redrawing of the map. It is therefore important to note that the most profound change in the landscape of adult education over the last twenty years is an influence perhaps best characterised as "the long arm of the job." Since the mid-1980s, the role of education in wealth creation has come to dominate policy discussions, and adult education and training is being promoted as the answer to unemployment or declining productivity. This development is reflected in participation figures where the dominant role of employer-sponsored adult education and training is most evident. This coincides with a noticeable change from a narrow focus on the education and training system, to the broader perspective of lifelong learning. In the present economically driven agenda, workplace learning has taken centre stage and is promoted under slogans like learning organizations.

The focus on the so-called 'Knowledge Economy' is affecting not only the field of adult education but also its relationship to other disciplines and fields of study. Issues on adult learning that traditionally have been left to adult education are now spreading across neighbouring disciplines like economics, organizational sciences, etc. To take one example, Lundwall (1988) talks about "learning by interacting" to describe how product innovations occur via the experiences of customers and suppliers.

The Current Map

In this paper it is only possible to very briefly report on some of the general impressions coming out of the review.

Shifting Paradigm and Practice

As can be expected, the map is changing with the general drift of the social sciences. With a considerable delay, broad shifts are being reflected in the adult education literature. What is interesting to note is the extent to which changes in "fashion" come to dominate scholarly ideals, epistemology and the perspectives that govern the research efforts in adult education research. Adult education seems inclined to throw out what has been dominant and replace it with what is in fashion. The shift to a post-structural tradition has helped make gender – and to some extent race and sexual-orientation – clearly visible on the map. At the same time traditional adult education concerns with social class, equality and justice do not seem to play the same role in the literature. The broad paradigmatic shifts are more visible in thought pieces than in empirical work.

The new economic paradigm that governs education is having a major impact on the map. Over the last decade an increasing number of articles and conference presentations address issues like learning organizations, skills and employability. This work has helped foster a broader conceptualisation of learning.

The Separation of Empirically and Normativly Informed Arguments

The review suggests that the contributions in adult education fall into three separate, and quite distinct, categories: well-developed normative statements on practice and desirable social conditions; small empirical studies of isolated phenomena; and shorter thought pieces. The first category usually appears in the form of books, while the other two are more often found in journal articles and proceedings. Most striking is the lack of major empirical research programs. This has resulted in a separation of theory and empirical research and, related to this, a hesitancy to engage empirically in fundamental issues of a learning nature currently facing society. There is a dearth of what Jackall and Vidich (1995: vii) label "theory" as informed framing of intellectual problems about concrete social issues and the resolution of those problems through the analysis of empirical data. The interest here is not in the construction of abstract paradigms, theories and models as such, but rather the investigation of concrete social phenomena. The concern over the lack of a theoretical base in some quarters of adult education has resulted in a preoccupation with abstract theory building.

The Absence of the State

Issues around policy and the state are rarely addressed in the adult education literature. This is particularly true in North America, where despite a very strong emphasis on contributing to the practice of adult education, the concept of policy seldom appears. It is interesting to note that when issues like the relationship between theory and practice, or disseminating and using adult education knowledge, are being addressed in the North American literature one commonly uses terminology like practitioners, professionals, educators, instructors and/or administrators but omits policy makers. This neglect might be related to the field's reluctance to embrace more structural perspectives in the explanation of adult education practice. This is partly true also of those working within a critical theory tradition. Their interest lies more in the Habermasian colonization of the lifeworld than in addressing the role of the state in determining the opportunity structures of adults, or the impact of the state on adult education practices. Further, the recent interest in post-structuralism in adult education helps to keep issues around the state submerged. When power is addressed it tends to be from a Foucauldian perspective that focuses on discourses and the procedures that control them. In Foucault's analysis, power is neither an attribute of class nor is it identified with the state. In the present excitement in adult education scholarly circles over globalisation we must remember Carnoy's (1990) observation that there are crucial differences in what adult education attempts to do and what it can actually do in different social-political structures. This is well illustrated in the recent International Adult Literacy Survey, where national differences in adults' engagement in learning as well as the distribution of literacy in the population can be explained in terms of differences in welfare state regimes.

The Emphasis on Being a "Practical" Field of Study

Despite repeated concerns over a lack of theory in adult education over the last 20 years, accumulation of knowledge continues to be based almost solely on efforts to improve the practice of adult education. Although the response differs from country to country, one can find the same stress on practicality and the needs of the field. North American adult education research has for the last two decades conducted applied research focusing on program and administrative problems as well as teaching. ESREA's review of trends in adult education research in Europe shows that not only has practice-related research dominated, but there is a general move towards a predominance of applied research. This is linked to changes in the funding structure for research with funds being shifted to contract research in specific areas defined by governmental bodies and councils for adult education. Further research in adult education in Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Eastern Block has become more rare and the focus today is almost exclusively on the applicability of research. An emphasis on practical aspects is also evident in the Nordic countries. However, the tradition in these countries of basing educational reforms on prior official inquiry has resulted in policy oriented research addressing not only narrow educational issues but also broader societal issues.

Recognising that adult education has firmly remained a practical discipline, it is worth noting that the renewal of faculty is pushing the field in a more theoretical direction. While a large number of the early faculty members in university departments of adult education were recruited on the basis of considerable experience within the field, recent professors are hired more on the basis of academic backgrounds and bring with them scholarly traditions.

Borrowing

At the time the original *Map of the Territory* was published, borrowing from other disciplines and fields of study was a contentious issue that divided the scholarly community. Over the last twenty years there appears to have been a major change in attitude. First there does not seem to be any debate in recent literature on its advantages and disadvantages. Rather in a post-modern tradition there is increasing appreciation of the fact that adult learning takes place in various contexts. Rather than being afraid of other fields, attempts are being made to include scholars from other fields interested in education of adults. Judging from the publications in adult education journals this does not seem to have been very successful, and does not add much to the visible map.

One Map or Several Regional Maps

Despite the fact that research in North America and Europe is equally instrumental in nature, there are rather obvious epistemological differences. Most obvious is a stronger emphasis on psychologically oriented theories in North America and, in relative terms, a greater preoccupation with social theory in Europe. These differences should be understood in the larger context of social and cultural traditions and their impact on research traditions (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 6). The society of the United States, with its decentralized political and economic system and individual emphasis on social mobility, promotes a research focus on the individual. The strong emphasis on psychologically oriented theories by North American adult education researchers is consistent with the dominant tradition in educational research in general. To use Kuhn's concept of paradigm at the meta level, the tradition within adult education research is part of the dominant 'Weltanschauung.' The same is true of European research, the only difference being in the 'Weltanschauung' that governs the research tradition. In this respect it is interesting to note how journals, such as *Adult Education Quarterly* and *Studies in the Education of Adults*, are as different in nature today as they were twenty years ago. If anything, the differences seem more pronounced now than earlier.

Concluding Comments

Today we are in a situation that might be labelled "the paradoxical status of adult education research." This alludes to the puzzling fact that while lifelong learning – including adult education and training – is increasingly being promoted as the new Jerusalem and the panacea to most problems facing society, the adult education map is not seen as gaining more recognition within the social sciences. How is it that while adult learning is becoming crucial to broad segments of society the traditional bastion for adult education research seems irrelevant to the very same groups? The challenge now is how to incorporate segments of the map being developed in neighbouring areas of research.

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Passing the Buck: Transferring Social and Cultural Capital in an Employment Preparation Program

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Abstract: *This case study examines influences on curriculum in the employment preparation provision of a trade union in British Columbia. Analysis illustrates the importance of forces external to the immediate educational setting, the most pervasive being the requirement to function as an effective means of transferring cultural and social capital to unemployed people.*

Since the inception of the JOBS programs in the US, and Canada Employment and Immigration provision in Canada, education designed to assist unemployed people to re-enter the labour market has become an important part of the work of adult educators. Many university level classes in adult education are heavily populated by educators whose practice involves identifying the best employment goal for others and helping them to achieve that end. Despite the importance of employment preparation both as a source of employment for adult educators and as a background for graduate students, little critical work has been performed in this area. This is particularly true of curricular investigation, an approach tending to be under-emphasised in adult education in general. In the spring of 1998 I had the opportunity to address this gap by examining the influences surrounding knowledge structures in a Canadian employment preparation program.

I approach knowledge as a social artefact, created to serve a purpose, and defined as "any and every set of ideas and acts accepted by one or another social group or society of people – ideas and acts pertaining to what they accept as real for themselves and for others" (McCarthy, 1996, p. 23). This perspective leads to an interest in the value assigned to knowledge in particular settings, such as a curriculum, and to a view of knowledge as an active construction, an ongoing act of creation rather than a single static corpus. What we know is embedded within the ways in which we know it. This raises interesting questions for employment preparation settings. How is it decided that learners need one form of knowledge and not another? How do the different forms of knowledge within a single program fit together? What influence does the biography of the instructors have? With these questions in mind I entered the research setting.

Union Training Project

The case study (St.Clair, 2000) took place over the summer of 1998 in Union Training Project (UTP, pseudonym), an educational centre in an urban area of British Columbia. The sponsoring union organises workers in large retail companies and has been supporting education, both for members and the community, for several years. UTP had been involved in employment preparation training for about four years at the time of the case study, fulfilling contracts for both the provincial and federal government. During my time there I carried out classroom and other observations, interviewed many people both formally and informally, and developed a collection of documents relating to the programs.

It is unusual to find employment preparation programs within a union. In general the Left have been critical of this provision, seeing it as a mechanism to create a compliant labour force willing to work for minimum wage (cf. Swift, 1995). The coercive aspects of programs, with refusal to attend resulting in lost benefits, has led commentators to call the programs "learnfare," emphasising the notion of learning for benefits – similar to the workfare notion of working for benefits. Such programs are seen as an attack on the social safety net as a whole, and provision of secure income for the poor in particular.

UTP addresses these issues by attempting to do something different with their employment preparation programs. Rather than viewing the provision as a coercive means to move people off public assistance, they have developed their programs to work with unemployed people in a holistic way. This means not only recognising the social and family aspects of participants' lives, but also ensuring that programs lead to dignified, secure, and decently paid forms of employment. The program I spent most time working with, the Cooking and Basic Skills (CABS) program, prepared learners to enter the workforce as apprentice chefs, and the training itself could potentially replace one full year of apprenticeship. Work placements associated with the program were targeted at high status hotels and restaurants in the area, ensuring participants were given every opportunity to make a good living in their new profession.

In addition to their desire to provide participants with beneficial outcomes, UTP also hope to improve the public perception of unions through this work. The central strategy to achieve this outcome is ensuring programs recognise the interests of as wide a group of people as possible. Program design involves employers, ensuring the issues of the industry can shape the program curriculum, and each group of participants undertakes a project for the community. In the CABS program the meals produced by learners as they undergo vocational training in school kitchens are sold at cost to local residents, and several older customers told me how much they appreciated the opportunity to get well cooked, nutritious food at an affordable price. This kind of initiative leads to regular coverage in the area's local papers – not an arena commonly associated with positive coverage of trade unions.

The project was founded by two men, one of them a vice-president of the union local and the other a non-profit administrator, who came together in 1995 to create UTP after working on other shared projects. From a single provincially funded program the organisation has grown to 45 staff delivering services to around 1000 learners each year. Despite being a union training centre, community based programs are central to the work of UTP, with 90% of their work dealing with the employment needs of non-members. The organisation is mainly male and white, and as one instructor pointed out "it's striking when you first walk in here. It's not only male, but it's older male."

Four Themes

In analysing the curriculum of UTP programs I adopted a framework developed by Bernstein (cf. 1977). His approach is to examine the linguistic and para-linguistic codes of educational settings to discover how knowledge is transmitted in the pedagogical process. The framework includes examining how people and ideas are brought together or set apart, and who has control over general behaviour and instructional practices within the institution. At one end of the continuum is a form of code having strong separation of components (such as English and Math) and substantial educator control, reminiscent of a conventional North American high school. The opposite form demonstrates more integration of ideas and people, with educational process negotiated between the parties involved. Community based education often takes on this form. Given the history of unions as agents for greater equality and UTP's commitment to integration, I expected to find an emphasis on the second, more inclusive form of curriculum.

As I examined the various aspects of curriculum at UTP I became aware of tensions between different forms of code. For example, instructors within the programs fall into either vocational or basic skills categories, and the integrative focus at UTP suggests these two groups should be strongly connected. However, my observations and interviews began to reveal that this was not the case, and that both factors external to the agency, such as funding, and internal factors, such as the status given to vocational instruction, ensured they remained strongly separated. In Bernstein's terms, the philosophical push towards a less differentiated code was negated by practical factors requiring a strong separation.

Factors emerging from the analysis fell into four theme areas. Organisational structure included the relationships between instructors mentioned above, and other organisational factors were the high level of differentiation between instructors and administrative staff, and the way subject areas within the curriculum were kept quite separate. Instructional practices dealt with the decision making process around the content, order and pace, and evaluation of instruction. Control over these areas derived to a large part from funder's guidelines, leaving little to the discretion of instructors, or the expressed interests of learners. One particularly interesting example was that UTP forbade instructors from talking about unions during their sessions in case the funders interpreted it as indoctrination. Dealing with diversity was the third theme, with the project focussing on the creation of a set of rules designed to ban discriminatory practices. These rules tended to be applied patchily, since only demonstrable breaches could be addressed, and also made it difficult to open a discussion about the nature of diversity and difference within the contemporary workplace. This situation is generally compatible with the historically male oriented nature of organised labour (cf. Kincheloe, 1999) and the concomitant tendency to overlook the complexities of identity.

The final theme is the notion of the ideal employee lying at the heart of the training project, and it is worth examining in some detail. The notion is important to the educational process in that it shapes the behavioural expectations of learners and instructors, and is used as the central evaluative mechanism within the organisation. Success is seen as a function of the extent to which the learner is able to approach the ideal good employee, and the most common reasons for asking individuals to leave the program reflect their failure to demonstrate commitment to becoming more like the ideal. UTP programs are a process of acculturation to a set of workplace norms represented by the good employee ideal.

The attributes attached to the good employee are primarily affective, and include motivation, pride in the work, and commitment to profession. Concrete behaviours are taken as indicators of the underlying attitude, with punctuality, for example, seen as a sign of responsibility and engagement with employment. The program is viewed as an opportunity both to learn and to demonstrate that kind of attitude.

> *We keep saying "you might be going to school but really think of it like you're going to work," because it really is work. We try and set up our work structures as close to work environment as we can get, with the same kinds of expectations that would take place in a workplace.* (administrator)

The emphasis on attitude derives from the UTP administrators' belief that most employment problems arise from interpersonal relations and not from specifically vocational issues.

> *A guy who's got his ticket in sheet metal, he's not going to get fired cause he can't do the sheet metal . . . he'll get fired because of something that's going on between him and another worker, or between him and the boss, or sometimes something that they bring from home, conflicts from home that don't get resolved and then they bring that attitude to the workforce.* (instructor)

While it is hard to argue against responsibility as a desirable trait for employees, two aspects of the construction of the good employee at UTP are more problematic. The first is that there is little open exploration of what it means to be a good employee, and very little negotiation with learners. In effect, participants have to accept the UTP ideal to become part of the program, an especially important concern in a context where people must attend this or a similar program to retain unemployment benefits. Participants must learn to act in ways consistent with the desired attributes or risk losing benefits, an invidious choice to offer. The second concern is the way the good employee ideal can become internalised by the participants, forming what Foucault (1980) calls a technology of the self. The program, as I mentioned earlier, recognises the interests and values of employers in their design, meaning that learners can come to measure themselves against the idealised view of employers. The emphasis on employment issues as an outcome of personal attitudes and the lack of room for alternative understandings of successful work relations reinforce the likelihood of learners coming to view themselves as never being quite good enough to meet the reasonable demands of employers.

It is not necessarily a problem to find a code form featuring strongly separated subject areas and people along with top down control in an employment preparation programs, and most analyses would suggest such an educational approach to be highly consistent with the aims of the provision. In the case of UTP, however, it contradicts the espoused intent of the educational process. The holistic worker the project sets out to create is overshadowed by a conjunction of vocational interests ensuring participants do not get information on unions and leave the program with an employer influenced view of themselves as working people. It is extremely ironic to find a union delivering education designed to perpetuate, and even reinforce, the current relations of the workplace. It is even more ironic to achieve this by convincing learners that unemployment is a result of their attitudes.

Capital Works

The notions of social and cultural capital can provide useful insights into the contradiction between the aims of UTP and the results identified in this analysis. Bourdieu (1990, 1997) considers experience and social networks as forms of capital equivalent to, and able to be converted into, economic capital. Within any field success requires both being able to do certain things and having personal contacts to call on. For example, becoming a carpenter involves both learning how to work with wood and building up enough credibility with contractors to get work. The pay the carpenter receives recognises not just physical labour but the whole complex of attributes necessary to gain employment, and is an economic return on cultural and social capital. These relational forms of capital will be different in each field.

The work done by UTP is to move participants between the field of unemployment and the field of apprentice chef. The expectations, demands, and forms of capital having value are quite different in the two fields. While unemployed it may be extremely desirable for a single parent to have a network of other parents able to provide care for each other's children when necessary, a form of social capital. When employed this network may be less valuable because the employed parent finds it far harder to reciprocate and loses credibility with the group, leading to loss of this particular form or social capital. Entry to the new field of apprenticeship requires a different kind of social capital involved with being a working cook, and a critical function of the employment programs is to ensure participants have access to this capital.

UTP can be considered as a mechanism for transferring the capital of the workplace to unemployed people. This function makes a tightly controlled curricular code both sensible and necessary. Like any other form of capital, cultural and social forms are susceptible to both contamination and inappropriate expenditure. Cultural capital, or the knowledge of how to do things, must be protected from being diluted by unorthodox approaches to the profession of cooking, possibly leading to a reduction in the value of official knowledge of the trade. The social capital of the vocational instructors is on the line when they ask their industry colleagues to provide work experience for participants. If the wrong people, badly trained, were sent out to the top hotels in the province, the instructors would lose credibility, and finally, their own social capital. It is critical to ensure learners will approach the job in a manner consistent with the current state of the vocation, a function performed well by the strongly bounded form of knowledge found in UTP employment programs.

The cost to be paid for this high degree of control over the capital transfer process is compromise with both the collective interests of labour and the espoused philosophy of the UTP founders. Holistic and integrated approaches to people and employment are only possible for some people some of the time, and, in terms of capital transfer, are a risky strategy. Keeping the program divided into basic skills and vocational aspects makes it far easier to ensure the cooking knowledge is being passed on in a pure form, and imposing a clear but limited view of the good employee makes sure people know what they have to do to get access to the capital. The desire of UTP founders to do something different with employment preparation is obscured by the need to justify their involvement with this area of work, and ensure they are seen as a program worthy of funding.

Conclusion

The case study of UTP demonstrates how the interests of funders and policymakers can combine with the perspective of employers and the self interest of an organisation – however enlightened – to limit what knowledge becomes part of the curriculum and how it can be transmitted. Rather than creating a more inclusive alternative to traditional employment preparation programs, UTP have developed a particularly effective version of them. While there are important differences, such as the refusal to allow participants to end up in an entry level, dead end job, the project's emphasis on attitude personalises unemployment in a manner common to many neo-liberal understandings of the labour market.

The construction of unemployment as individual deficit remains central.

UTP employment programs are, finally, a lost opportunity. The potential for doing something different is certainly there, but to bring it into reality will require careful reflection upon the program as well as analysis of the possibilities available within the current and future funding structures. I believe it is essential to change the educational culture and to develop a respectful and informative support for unemployed people to become engaged and effective participants in the workplace, an objective strongly consistent with both the historical approach of unions and the espoused philosophy of UTP. As Dewey argued, "the chief opportunity for science is the discovery of the relations of a man to his work – including his relations to others who take part – which will enlist his intelligent interest in what he is doing" (1916, p. 85). This aim requires more of adult education than being a way to pass the buck.

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Life Long Learning and Collective Experience

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Abstract: *The paper examines two aspects of collective experience and lifelong learning and invites a cross cultural discussion. The first theme concerns the historical conditions for Life Long Learning, especially in work. The second deals with the conceptual differences between German critical theory and post-modern discourses of lifelong learning.*

In educational debates lifelong learning has again acquired the status of a key issue. Lifelong learning seems to be a meeting point between different critical traditions sharing an emphasis on examining education and learning in a context of societal and cultural historical development. In this 'cross cultural' setting I found it especially interesting to compare my own background in critical theory – rooted in German tradition – and the approaches attached to post-modernism in the Anglo-Saxon context. In particular, I want to bring the writing of German sociologist and political philosopher Oskar Negt – from whose work I have taken a lot of inspiration – alongside that of Michel Foucault, whom I identify as a primary inspiration in the post-modernist traditions of the other side. Both deal with the close interrelation between social institution, knowledge, and power, basically emphasizing repressive aspects of social structures and social discourses. Both relate bodily based understanding of repression and emancipation to these social processes. Both have inspired critical thought in education, but in quite different traditions. Are they alternative approaches? Or maybe alternative theoretical bases for a similar educational discourse?

Both traditions more or less systematically refer to lifelong learning. Lifelong learning seems to be the explicitly acceptable framework for a critical thinking, which on the one hand wants to free education of the institutional and ideological optimism invested in schools, pedagogy and educational policies, and on the other hand views a decentred, open ended learning process as an essential field of political reflection.

Paradoxically life long learning achieved its position as a theme partly due to the fact that 'human resources' appear more and more essential in terms of economic growth and structural innovation. What was some decades ago idealistic, wishful thinking, that was slowly worn down by the absence of practical implementation, now seems to be a concern of power elites throughout the capitalist world (Rubenson, 1996).

However, as a discourse of education, lifelong learning has a radical built-in assumption, which is also fed by the economic concerns: it assumes that learning takes place in all spheres of life, not only in schools and institutions. ". . . and Life wide . . .," sometimes added into lifelong learning, completes the topical metaphor. It relativizes the importance of schools and intended education, on the one hand emphasizing the limits of the modern dis-embedding of learning from basic social structures and on the other hand also opens our eyes to the immense potential of self-directed learning outside schools.

Only the fact that economy and work need human resources, and the fact that qualification demands include subjective involvement makes lifelong learning *a societal programme*. The change in the form of these rationales, and the fact that they are still separate, reflects the contradictory role of education in capital driven modernization. It is both a vehicle of humanistic political programmes for social autonomy and empowerment, and a necessary adaptation of human beings to their role as commodity labour. Lifelong Learning may now be seen as the dead end for the educational ideas of modernization – or you may see it as the framework for a new idea of democratization and learning. The answer depends on the way learning is conceptualized. A central issue is the understanding of collective experience. To what extent is it a part of the learning potential, and to what extent a part of a societal coercion? I will make some comments on the historical context before making some exploratory comparisons based upon the conceptual framework.

Life Long Learning - A Critique of Institutions

In adult and continuing education there seems to be two covert processes going on. The first is an institutionalizing process, adding schools for adults to the schools for children and adolescents, which continues a basic trend in modernization – institution building. The second is a de-institutionalizing process, broadening the concept of learning beyond the boundaries of school. The emphasis on learning rather than education has lately sometimes been seen as an educational drawback – and sometimes it also is part of neo-conservative dismantling of welfare policies. But it may also be integrated in a critique of the illusionary expectations that are put on institutional education, both in terms of efficiency and in terms of their emancipatory potential.

This criticism of institutions makes clear that the existing educational institutions are unable or inadequate to fulfil their promises, and may be an obstacle to learning. The post-modernist critique of educational optimism takes the analysis one step further, as a critique of the basic humanist educational programme. Referring to Foucault among others, it points out the inner relation between institutions, knowledge, and power. Educational institutions, by means of knowledge, exercise control and restriction on the potential experience of the protagonists, allowing for some ways of organizing knowledge and blocking others. The term discourse in this context has the critical implication that all organized knowledge and communication excludes certain forms of knowledge related to practices and bodily experience and reproduces power relations.

But what is the relation between this critique of the processes of modernization and enlightenment, or rather the construction of their reverse side, and the utopian message that lifelong learning will take place everywhere, and throughout the entire life period? When educational institutions are overthrown or at least relativized, which other structures for learning emerge instead?

The Humanization of Work and Human Resource Development

It was stated above that the socio-economic need for human resources, and the insufficiency of the educational provision, was an important condition for the present concern with lifelong learning. But is this a true societal programme, a civilizing force? What happens when learning is "reembedded" in real life, such as in work?

You could begin with the optimistic question of Kern and Schumann (1984): *Ende der Arbeitsteilung?* Even within a qualification concept informed by industrial sociology Kern and Schumann demonstrated empirically that the human potentials of labour were becoming decisive, and absolutely necessary to capitalist reorganization of industrial development. The subordination of labour to qualification needs affected not only more generalized skills and knowledge, but the demand for subjective qualities more than anything else. Even industrial workers must be cooperative, responsible, creative and autonomous.

Several other structural trends have reinforced the assumption about the declining importance of general qualification experience – and a critical analysis seriously questions the optimistic implications in the trend – both new modes of social control and new forms of marginalization make the changes in work quality more dubious. Is the qualitative change of work process and the new demands/options for "humanization" and subjective involvement the end of the alienation (Entfremdung) of work? Is general qualification a take off ramp for "living work" to reintegrate and take control over the societal organization of life processes? It may be a good question, even if it is foolish to offer an answer. It may be a good question because it calls for new ways of dealing with it, theoretically at least.

In the discussion of the 70s neo-Marxist influences, at least in a Danish critical education research concept of qualification, related education to the production of societal labour force (Andersen, 1992; Salling Olesen, 1996). Qualification was meant in a double manner – as a term of critical/Marxian theory and as a term of empirical industrial sociology. Education produces a societally objectified exchangeable asset based on the use value of this labour in a capitalist (re)production, and from this follows a functional subordination of the learning processes in educational institutions to the necessities of producing a labour commodity. The seemingly new and contradictory quality of human labour we called 'general qualification'. I have a feeling that "qualification" has a scmewhat more limited meaning, and a technocratic flavour in English.

The notion of qualification was a contribution to a critical theory of education and work. And also a critique of the (idealistic) educational thought and of progressive educational practice (reform pedagogy, humanistic enlightenment), explaining the structure and function of education which is independent of, and may be also invisible for, the educational actors. But it ruled out the question of educational practice, and even more important in this context, it paid little attention to the contradictory concrete production process of the use value of the living worker and the living work.

In the discourse of human resource development lifelong learning is integrated in ideas like 'organizational learning' and 'workplace based learning', which refer to an organizational culture approach. Workplace identification may well support some learning processes that would otherwise – in an institutional setting for example – not be possible. We also find examples where unskilled workers, sceptical about education, become active learners within a workplace embedded process. Most often these concepts link lifelong learning to more or less narrow management strategies, which are able to and willing to establish compromises with more or less narrow individual concepts of the social interests of workers/employees. Apart from the political consequences I will take up shortly, this is a somewhat ambiguous development. In so far as work qualification is rooted in collective habitual experiences and in collective consciousness connected with workers' collective and a craft or professional identity, they are excluded from the learning process. Even from a managerial point of view this may present a problem in change processes in craft based industries (resistance of workers, loss of habitual and tacit knowledge) and in professions (resistance, de-qualification, loss of quality standards).

This takes us to the more important, and more political, aspect of this "divide-et-impere" – the cultivation of corporate spirit. What is the alternative view of lifelong learning? The re-embedding of learning into work life may be very restricted in the sense that only some aspects of learning is called for, and only some aspects of learners' potential are activated. It may be an reflection of the general disaster of modernization that technical and instrumental development is pushed forwards once more by an enhanced mobilization of human resources, while at the same time civilizing and enlightening development is repressed. A belief in the humanizing potential arising from new types of work organization and the consequent need for learning must be created.

The re-subjectivation of work does not mean taking work back to its original "subjective quality" like traditional craftmanship. It means inviting, demanding, and allowing new forms of cooperation and/or new types of autonomy, which can be developed in relation to the social and societal context of work and technology today. And it means enhancing the scope of social interests of the work place. The demands on labour are closely linked with developments linking work and production more directly with societal questions at large. You need only to mention ecological threats, the globalized economy, and the increasing proportion of service work relative to commodity manufacturing to see that the content and direction of work place learning is closely related other spheres of life – and to general political issues as well.

So lifelong learning means also a new politics of learning across essential spheres of everyday life. There is a need for *a politicization of work* in the Greek sense of the word: Making work a domain of cultural action.

Lifelong Learning and Individualization

The hope of lifelong learning depends on building collective experience that can encompass and develop the potentials in new work forms without losing the orientations and insights of previous work identities. In the classic era of industrialism you would find masculine, bodily oriented, and collectively controlled wage labour socialization and culture. The British cultural sociology, "anti psychiatry," and M. Vester's great historical study have accounted in different ways for the historical creation of the subjectivity of wage labour. It is useful to make clear that also this "classic" subjectivity, though historically shaped by capitalism and maybe distorted by it, also involved learning processes – new skills, new social insights, new levels of self regulation – as compared with previous historical phases. It was the product of a lifelong learning process in a comprehensive collective context (Salling Olesen, 1998; Vester, 1972).

Today the arena of a collective experience seems devalued as a consequence of modernization, at the same time as the individual becomes the subject of his own liberation. This goes hand in hand with a broader cultural shift in the core cultures of the modernizing project, from social solidarity and collectivity to individual orientations and emancipation strategies, a change accompanied by a multiplication in values and life strategies. In the sociological discussion there are both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence that people develop new life strategies and attitudes, less oriented to welfare state solutions, social institutions, and collective values.

There are, however, also arguments that this shift in attitudes is not in the direction of less solidarity, but in the direction of a new form of solidarity (cf. Zoll, 1988; Zoll et al.,1989). The meaning of these changes is not only an empirical question, nor a question about theoretical interpretation – it depends on an ongoing historical process. I see these processes of reshaping solidarity as a learning process of modernization still taking place. It may provide new capacities to handle things individually, that were previously delegated to the union or to the welfare state, and a new tolerance of uncertainty and ambivalences.

When we study subjective learning stories of adults and their subjective relation to learning we find examples of the new solidarity. Beside "training" for work, "education" for citizenship, and leisure "activity," we find "hybrid" learning processes uniting separate life spheres and motivation domains and going across the institutional functions of education of capitalist modernization. They are motivated and informed by the life history of the participants, and the subjective meaning transcends the boundaries between the life spheres of capitalist modernization.

The opportunity for labour movements is the development of a new organisation and political culture that can encompass new individualized life styles, an independent membership expecting democratic organization, and new types of "enlightened solidarity." In this context it means individuals willing to take responsibility beyond their own everyday life without a traditional or top-down definition of this responsibility. But what is the basis for the collectivization of this common but individual experience? And what about its links to the collective experience of work? Does collective experience play a significant role in learning? There seems to be some significant differences – in spite of many similarities – between critical theory and postmodernism in the conceptualization of these questions.

The Subject of Lifelong Learning

The concept of lifelong learning in itself, emphasizing *learning* instead of institutional education, addresses an individual perspective on learning, but different Life Long Learning discourses do it in varying ways.

The post-modernist view emphasises the ever-changing individual acquisition of new life conditions, seeing life as one long learning process. Postmodernist critiques of modernist educational idealism emphasize the situational quality of learning, located in multiple cultural settings, and appears to focus on the individual subject as the historical pivot.

Critical theory, however, would pay attention to socialisation, the basic production of human subjectivity as a capacity to define yourself in an active emotional and cognitive acquisition process. Subjectivity as a "means of production" for late modern/post-modernist life is itself a product of a modernized childhood and includes the experience of modernization. Of course, you might find essentialist humanists in a critical theory tradition, who would ground subjectivity in a "food package" prepared in early childhood, situated in a dichotomy between external social coercion and inner strive, but this is reductionism. Oskar Negt and others with a synthesized background in critical theory and psychoanalysis, emphasize the socially produced and historically dynamic character of human subjectivity, and its inner contradictions. It is seen as a product of individual life history with the contradictions of social life subjectively acquired, but subjectivity is also a capacity for a self regulated reconciliation or mediation between desires and social reality.

If Foucault sees subjectivity as a social inscription onto individuals it may not be entirely different from this view of a historical and life history production of subjectivity. Basically the development of subjectivity depends on cultivation of desires as a process of experience building in a communicative space where utopian imagination and reality can be handled in a conscious and collective way. Learning is a factor in the social production of subjectivity, and collective experience is a central component in understanding individual learning.

Foucault does not attach only negative connotations to power – and so the inscriptions are also empowering – but it seems as if his overall view on civilisation as disciplining of the body and desires leaves little space for a reconciliation between desires and power. Is the cultivation of desires comparable to a concept of production of subjectivity? And is this cultivation basically an individual outcome or is it also a collectively mediated process?

Knowledge and Collective Experience

Since learning has to do with some transformation of an individual in a condition already mediated by knowledge in some sense, another comparable and differentiating theme is the conceptualization and understanding of knowledge and its role in learning.

With Foucault post-modernists universalize the experience that modernization processes have largely discredited knowledge in spite of the fact that modern ideas assign to knowledge the expectation of enlightenment, emancipation, and autonomy. Discourse as described by Foucault is a pervasive societal fact exerting definition power over communication and thinking, and is becoming a common framework for learning. Lifelong learning seems to contain the potential to continuously deconstruct or play with several discourses. Knowledge is discursive and powerful, but I wonder if this way of putting it allows for learning as a construction of collective experience?

In critical theory knowledge is an ambiguous phenomenon. On one hand it is a historical product which may have the same definition power implied in the notion of discourse, and the de-constructive approach is echoed by 'Ideologiekritik'. On the other hand critical theory is fundamentally modernist in its concern with the ambiguous relation of knowledge and reason. Reason is immanent in the modern enlightenment project, but it has also been undermined by the modernization itself.

Habermas' work may represent a means to conserve modernist humanism as a normative base of reason (communicative reason), whereas Negt has stated a more clearly materialist way of asking the question. Reason can only be produced in a learning process, which is mediated by collective experiences, and transferred in the medium of symbolic representation, knowledge, habits, and practices. Learning is enabled by, but also critically 'deconstructs' previous cultural treasures of instrumentalized or reified knowledge (cf. Habermas) but it can only take place in in the everyday learning of "real historical subjects" who emerge through this process of subjective acquisition. That's where lifelong learning comes in.

Using the process-concept "modernization" rather than "modernity" relates learning and experience directly to the *production process of "reason" and knowledge*, – collective experience links socio-structural developments and their appearance as conflicts in the everyday life of ordinary people. Critical study of lifelong learning must study the subjective experience of the connections between societal development and the conflicts set by it. Where this will take us is a political question – but the political process in its widest sense is extremely dependent on collective learning processes.

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Before the Memory Fades: Measuring Long Term Memory in Older Adults

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Abstract: *An instrument was designed to measure visual memory span, a common form of memory used by adult learners. The instrument tested 239 older adults, using color photographs of household objects, which were later recalled. A number of significant variables were found and the instrument is believed suitable for examining the efficacy of adult instructional methods.*

The Problem

One of the universal issues among older adults is the performance of their memory because it is essential to learning and integral to their quality of life. What can older adults reasonably expect from their memory? Older adults comprise one of the fastest growing populations in the United States. In 1890 3% of the population was 80 years of age, by 2010 approximately 30% of the population is expected to reach 80 years (Spirduso, 1995). Additionally there is an emerging awareness in education and the new field of cognitive neuroscience that knowing more how the adult learner learns can be of significant benefit to all persons. This represents an interweave of adult education, psychology and the neurosciences. However, Merriam and Cunningham (1989) observed there was a distinct lack of normed performance data on how well older adults could learn. The performance of older adult's memory and their ability to learn new information may significantly affect how well they live and may determine whether they will require assistance in daily tasks or be institutionalized. Having greater control over their lives may slow the effects of aging, lengthen the life span as well as the quality of it (LeFrancois, 1996).

After an exhaustive search, there appeared to be no suitable instrument for measuring what a healthy, older adult could recall from realistic stimuli, necessitating the development of an instrument.

Purpose

The purpose of the correlational study was to design an instrument to effectively measure how much could be recalled from a visual display (*visual memory span*) by older adults and that could be correlated with factors that may influence learning. Many instruments were reviewed. General memory tests and tests specifically designed to measure older adult memory were examined as well as drawing completion tests. A significant problem with existing instruments was that most were designed to detect mental impairment and not the performance of a healthy adult learner. Most instruments measured non-visual forms of memory and examined only the very brief short-term or working memory. While problems of immediately forgetting something may represent a significant short-term memory problem, many of these are apparently problems of attention, not memory (Green, 1999). Another potentially serious but less investigated problem is how much information the adult learner can recall later (*long-term memory span*). The majority of the information that we acquire from birth through death is done visually. No instruments were suitable for measuring visual memory span in older adults. An appropriate instrument would have an older adult learner engaged in a simple visual learning task with meaningful stimuli, followed by a recall task after a delay of minutes, not seconds as in most other memory instruments. As a consequence of the belief that most learning is done visually with meaningful information (Kosslyn, 1994; Matlin, 1994), the selected visual stimuli were taken from a pool of color photographs of real, common household objects and not abstract visual patterns. A screening committee of older adults selected the color photographs in several stages. All the images could be instantly recognized by name and were culturally common to the rural American west. Data were correlated with the health-related and demographic variables.

Design

A preliminary instrument, designed to accommodate the older adult's eyesight and familiarity with the photographs of household objects, was developed and validated through a series of pilot studies.

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The 239 adults, aged 55 to 94 and living in the rural areas, were tested individually. The instrument was a single black display board, 20 x 30 inches, with 24 easily seen color photographs, which were viewed all at one time for a period of one minute. The learning task consisted of viewing the instrument and recalling the pictures ten minutes later.

Measuring memory span generally refers to what can be immediately recalled after a brief exposure to non-meaningful stimuli. This investigation utilized meaningful photographic images, which were reported back to the investigator in a written (semantic) form. To be more precise, the instrument measured *semantic visual memory span*. In order to be able to return the larger educational problem of measuring instructional efficacy in the older learner, the instrument considered several fundamental questions: What was the estimate of reliability and validity of the instrument; What were the relationships among age, opinion about their health, blood pressure, depression, activities, education, income, gender and position of the images on the display with visual memory span? The results were both predictable and surprising.

Findings

The data were analyzed using SPSS 6.1 Macintosh version. One of the issues of this investigation concerned the internal consistency of the instrument by estimating the reliability and validity.

Internal Consistency

For this instrument, internal consistency may be viewed as an estimation of how similar the items are in difficulty to recall. On measure of internal consistency may be calculated by a procedure known as Cronbach's alpha. A moderately low value of 0.549 was obtained.

Construct Validity

To establish construct validity, evidence is obtained indirectly. The visual memory span construct was first tested with a bivariate correlation with a type of intelligence test that uses drawings known as the TONI 3 (Brown, Sherbenou & Johnsen, 1997) and was found to have a low correlation of 0.23 (p<.01). This suggested that the instrument may not have measured nonverbal intelligence. Factor analysis was also employed, and no single photograph characterized the construct. In a third evaluation, a clear pattern in the amount recalled was clearly demonstrated (See Figure 1).

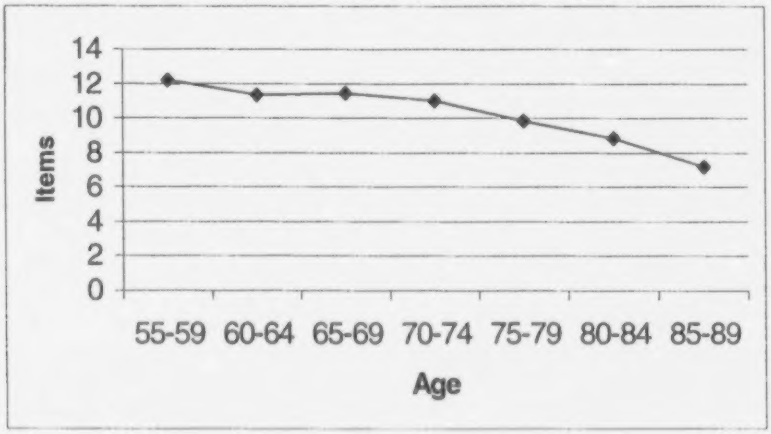

Figure 1. Means of Visual Memory Span with five year increments in age

Health Variables

Age produced a moderate correlation with visual memory span (–0.36, p<.05) where it appears that the older adult learners tend to recall fewer photographic items. The mean recall was 10.7 items. Starting at age 55 with a mean of 12.18, there was a steady decline to 7 photographic items in the very oldest adults, representing a 43% drop in recall (See Table 1).

No correlations were found between health opinion, blood pressure and depression. When older adults rated their health on a one to ten scale, with ten being considered excellent and one being poor health, no correlation was found with visual memory span. Blood pressure was clinically measured for two groups, first with the entire sample of adults and then those with high blood pressure (hypertension). Neither group demonstrated a correlation with visual memory span and was surprising because various studies (Elias, et al., 1990; Eisdorfer, 1983; Light, 1975) suggested a relationship between blood pressure and cognitive function.

Depression has been known to affect cognitive function. Of 237 subjects, only 18 demonstrated mild to moderate depression as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory II (BDI II). No correlation for either group was found with visual memory span, indicating no relationship between depressed subjects and visual memory span.

The level of the participant's physical and social activities was also surveyed and appeared to have no relationship with the total number of activities, but a small significant correlation was found with non-physical activities (0.19, p<.05). An expected positive correlation with physical activities and visual memory span was not observed. For all activities older adults had a mean of 9.8 and a mean of 6.01 for social activities. Physical activities produced a mean of 3.78.

Table 1. Summary of Means of Visual Memory Span Across Age Levels

Age	n	M	SD
55-59	34	12.18	3.0
60-64	45	11.35	3.2
65-69	39	11.46	2.9
70-74	51	11.00	3.16
75-79	47	9.83	3.37
80-84	14	8.86	2.77
85-89	6	7.17	2.64
90-94	3	7.00	4.3

Non-Health Variables and Visual Memory Span

When different levels of education were correlated with visual memory span significant differences were found. Adults with less than a high school degree (12 years) recalled significantly fewer images (M= 8.57). Additionally, adults with incomes below $10,000 recalled significantly less than the overall mean, however the sample was small (n=9) and should be interpreted with caution.

As noted earlier under construct validity, a low, but significant correlation with visual memory and nonverbal intelligence was observed when measured by the TONI 3, suggesting the instrument was probably measuring something other than just nonverbal intelligence.

In respect to gender and visual memory it was found that women demonstrated a significantly greater recall for the photographic items than men when analyzed by a t-test. Women recalled a mean of 11.36 items and men a mean of 9.65 items.

A final variable considered the location in which the images were placed on the display and their relationship to visual memory span. In an unanticipated finding, it was discovered that the top two rows of images and those in the center were substantially better remembered than images along the edges or the bottom half of the display when analyzed by using a paired t-test. The adjusted t-values ranged from 3.73 to a very high 13.44.

Conclusions

The instrument's low internal consistency suggests that some items are more difficult to recall than others and was not unexpected when considered from the perspective that some items might have greater meaning because of familiarity. The instrument does appear to measure a form of commonly used long-term memory span as indicated by the clear pattern of decline. The low correlation with nonverbal intelligence suggests that the instrument is not another measure of intelligence. Adults of retirement age can expect to see a progressive decline in recall performance. Adult's opinion of their health did not have any predictive value. The few numbers of depressed subjects involved in the study was not surprising in that depressed people tend not to participate in such voluntary studies. The interacting variables of education, income and health appeared to have a slight positive relationship with semantic visual memory span though less pronounced than in other studies (Rowe & Kahn, 1998). It may suggest that greater education levels could provide greater opportunity to have higher income and subsequent increased ability to maintain better health care. The social activities, engaged in by adult learners produced a significant low positive correlation, however, the lack of any correlation for physical activities with memory performance was unanticipated in light of the MacArthur studies reported by Rowe and Kahn (1998). Women may have recalled more than men because in post interviews the adults indicated that many of the images were considered "feminine" household objects and possibly more meaningful to women. The greater the personal meaningfulness of information, the more likely it will be remembered (LeDoux, 1996; Ormrod, 1995). Photographs in the top and center of the display were much better recalled than those along the edges and bottom. It is unclear whether this unexpected finding is an artifact of the test or related to western reading styles.

Implications

1. The instrument can be used as a tool to measure semantic visual memory across the life span and provide developmental information on the adult learner. From subsequent studies, it is now known that semantic visual memory span peaks somewhere between ages 18-55, however, at what age the adult learners attains the maximum recall ability remains uninvestigated. By knowing when to expect the maximum performance, instructional and performance expectations may be appropriately adjusted.
2. Most significantly, the instrument is adaptable for investigating the efficacy of instructional methodologies. This will permit investigations into a tremendous educational void of knowing how much information is still available from memory months after the instruction ceases, something only currently guessed at in all levels of education.
3. Health factors such as physical activity and blood pressure might not have a substantial effect on long term memory. This may confuse what adult learners should do to maintain a healthy mind. This study suggested the correlation of physical activity with cognitive performance was low. However, the MacArthur studies measured different forms of cognitive abilities. This should be investigated further to clarify what the relationships are between health and memory.
4. The phenomenon of information overload is experienced by virtually all life long learners in technologically complex societies. Advances in mathematical theory for complex systems, such as chaos and complexity theory may permit researching the overload phenomenum in the human mind and educational systems. Being able to ascertain more precisely the conditions when information overload is about to occur may provide predictability, which would be of con-

siderable value to the public as well as to educators.

5. The instrument design is potentially a powerful research tool. It provides a platform for a broad spectrum of investigations regarding life long learning and related memory issues whose principle can be used across cultures.

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Citizenship Learning and Democratic Engagement: Political Capital Revisited

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Abstract: *This paper attempts to contribute to the debates on adult citizenship education, particularly regarding the connections between citizenship learning and the redistribution of political power.*

This paper attempts to contribute to the debates on adult citizenship education, particularly regarding the connections between citizenship learning and the redistribution of power to influence decision-making. In doing so, and drawing on Bourdieu's theory on the forms of capital, special attention is paid to the concept of political capital, in order to help to broaden the scope of citizenship education theory and research, and to guide its practice in an emancipatory direction. My interest for incorporating the notion of political capital into the debate on citizenship education is not merely scholarly-driven; it emerged from the concrete needs of my own empirical research about participatory democracy in municipal governance, and from the scarcity of appropriate conceptual tools that I found in the mainstream literature on citizenship education to explain and interpret my preliminary findings.

Citizenship Education and Democracy

Citizenship education programs tend to focus almost exclusively on two dimensions: a) the general knowledge of the law, expressed most frequently in terms of constitutional rights and duties, and basic information about governing bodies, and b) the development of civic virtues (e.g. the adoption of moral-ethical principles like self-discipline, compassion, solidarity, civility, tolerance, respect, trustworthiness, social responsibility and the like). That these two ideas occupy center stage in citizenship education approaches is not surprising, because the mainstream literature on citizenship theory itself tends to understand citizenship as either personal status or as civic virtues. Critical citizenship education programs sometimes add a third dimension: the development of a critical consciousness. Some of these programs emphasize public dialogues about issues of interest or about public policy to foster a more enlightened citizenship (e.g. the Canadian Citizens' Forum). Other programs (particularly those inspired by Habermas' ideal-speech situations or Freire's study circles) promote the development of a critical consciousness, understood as the cooperative search of truth (Habermas) or the unveiling of mechanisms of oppression (Freire). Important as they are, these programs tend to privilege the moments of enlightenment and deliberation (and sometimes mobilization) over the moment of democratic decision-making.

In sum, citizenship education programs focusing on the provision of general information about the law, the nurturing of civic virtues and the development of enlightened citizens certainly contribute to promote a more democratic culture[1] and are of foremost significance in any democratic society. However, they constitute a necessary but not sufficient condition for the realization of a truly democratic citizenship, because they do not sufficiently emphasize the nurturing of a consistent engagement in the political process, are not usually connected to the development of policies and practices of participatory democracy, and do not pay enough attention to informal democratic learning. Furthermore, there is one dimension that has generally been neglected by mainstream citizenship education theory and practice: they do not pay enough attention to issues of power, which limits their possibility to contribute substantially to the equalization of the political world.[2] If citizenship education implies the double capacity to critically understand social reality and to influence political decisions, bringing back the concept of political capital into the discussion has the potential to illuminate the connections between democratic learning and actual governance.

The Forms of Capital: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu, a French Sociologist, in "The Forms of Capital," an influential article published in English in 1986 (originally published in German in 1983), examined the mechanisms of accumulation and conversion of capital. Bourdieu (1986: 241) understands capital as accumulated labor (in its materialized form or in its embodied form) which, "when appropriated on a private (i.e., exclusive) basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor." Bourdieu notes that capital, either in its materialized or embodied form, has a potential capacity to produce profits. Although it takes time to accumulate, it is likely to reproduce and expand. Influenced by Weber and Marx, Bourdieu conceptualizes capital as a force inscribed in the objectivity of things and to the distribution of power in the social world, in the sense that not everything is equally possible or impossible. In this work, Bourdieu identified three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social.

In 1981, two years before the original publication of "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu published another article entitled "Political Representation: Elements for a theory of the political field" (originally published in French in 1981 and translated into English a decade later). Interestingly enough, in this article Bourdieu refers recurrently to a form of capital that is not even mentioned in "The Forms of Capital," namely political capital.

In "Political Representation," Bourdieu sets out to examine the social mechanisms producing and reproducing the gap between "active" and "passive" political agents, which he links to two factors: the distribution of capital (particularly cultural capital) and the division of political labor. Regarding the first factor, Bourdieu contends that

> The concentration of political capital in the hands of a small number of people is something that is prevented with greater difficulty – and thus more likely to happen – the more completely ordinary individuals are divested of the material and cultural instruments necessary for them to participate actively in politics, that is, above all, leisure time and cultural capital (p. 172).

Regarding the second factor, Bourdieu argues that politics has become a monopoly of professionals, and ordinary individuals, particularly those who "lack any social competence for politics and any of their own instruments of production of political discourse or acts" (173), have become consumers who devote loyalty to recognized brands and delegate power to their representatives, a phenomenon that he identifies especially in the left.

When, later in the article, Bourdieu elaborates on the concept of political capital, his two-fold diagnosis that ordinary citizens have been dispossessed of the political means of production (that is, the production of political discourses and actions) and that politics have been concentrated in the hands of professional politicians and bureaucrats, leads him to identify political capital only among political leaders or parties:

> Political capital is a form of symbolic capital, credit founded on credence or belief and recognition or, more precisely, on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very powers that they recognize in him (or it). (p. 192).

In this work, therefore, Bourdieu understands political capital as the political power enjoyed by politicians, a power that is derived from the trust (expressed in a form of credit) that a group of followers places in them. Then, it follow that whenever this trust increases or decreases, the political capital of a politician changes accordingly. In his own words,

> This supremely free-flowing capital can be conserved only at the cost of unceasing work which is necessary both to accumulate credit and to avoid discredit: hence all the precautions, the silences and the disguises, imposed on public personalities, who are forever forced to stand, before the tribunal of public opinion. (p. 193)

Whereas the reasons for which Bourdieu abandoned the notion of political capital in "The Forms of Capital" are unclear, I suggest that it is a concept with enough descriptive and explanatory potential to be worth reconsidered. While it could be argued that perhaps political capital could be subsumed in one or more of the three "main" forms of capital, I contend that political capital (as a distinct category) can assist us to apply Bourdieu's analysis of capital to the specificities of the political realm.

Towards a Reconceptualization of Political Capital

Bourdieu's perspective on political capital, as an exclusive asset of leaders, politicians and parties who are credited (invested) with the trust of voters and supporters, falls in line with the usual definitions of this concept in political science. For instance, a current dictionary of political terms defines political capital as "the sum total of potential political influence that *a politician* builds up, by doing favors to others, supporting another lawmaker on a key issue, etc., so that when the time comes he (sic) can draw on this reservoir of capital, because others will be indebted to him" (emphasis is mine).[3] Political analysts also tend to refer to political capital as the degree of popularity (measured usually through opinion polls or votes) enjoyed by professional politicians and leaders. Politicians themselves refer to political capital when, for instance, they compare their capacity to mobilize people with competing leaders. What these conceptualizations of the term have in common is that they do not recognize the possibility that political capital could exist beyond the circle of professional politicians. By confining political capital to professional politicians, what these conceptions are doing is to legitimize as "common sense" (in the Gramscian sense) an arbitrary division between a selected group of active political actors, and a massive group of passive supporters whose only political role is to grant or withdraw trust to the former. Conceived in these terms (following Lippman rather than Dewey), the concept of political capital is of limited use to adult educators who are interested in promoting active and creative citizenship.

From an emancipatory adult citizenship education perspective, what is needed is an alternative conceptualization of political capital that puts more emphasis on human agency, on the possibilities of redistributing power in society, and on the potential role that adult education, social movements and public policies can play to democratize political life and empower those who are politically marginalized. From this perspective, I understand "political capital" as the capacity to influence political decisions. This is a capacity (actualized or potential) that all citizens (not only politicians) have to a lesser or larger extent. This definition is relatively clear, but still remains at the high level of abstraction, because the political field has no clear delimitations. As feminists point out, "the personal is political." Thus, it is possible to claim that "political decisions" include big as well as small decisions that are taken everyday in a great variety of public and private arenas (e.g. the parliament, the household, city hall, a court room, the workplace, schools, a supermarket, etc.). To be helpful and relevant to researchers and adult educators, I suggest that the concept of political capital has to be contextualized. In the context of my research, I am using "political capital" as the capacity to influence public policy at the municipal level. More specifically, I am applying it to better understand the connections between learning and power regarding deliberation and decision-making in local experiments of participatory democracy. I assume, as a given, the existence of a liberal democracy which ensures the same formal rights to all citizens, and a municipal government with a declared intention to engage ordinary people in decision-making process. The case I have in mind when I think about these issues is the participatory budget (PB) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, an experiment that started in 1989 when the Worker's Party was elected for the municipal government.[4]

The Dimensions of Political Capital

If political capital is understood as the power to influence public policy, and if one of the goals of an emancipatory citizenship education is to equalize the opportunities to influence government decision making, two related question arise: a) what are the factors that enhance or inhibit that capacity? and b) why do some people have more political capital than others? The answers are not easy, because the development and activation of political capital encompass a broad variety of interplaying factors, and because the factors at play and the way in which they interplay vary from context to context. While the list of factors is probably endless, I would like to draw attention to certain factors, in light of their relevance for citizenship learning and for public policies aiming at promoting a more genuine democratic participation. Drawing from the literature and on my own research on participatory democracy, I organize these factors in five dimensions: knowledge, skills, attitudes, closeness to power, and resources.

1. Knowledge

The cognitive area refers to both factual and procedural knowledge needed to participate effectively in the political process. Factual knowledge ranges from general information about the working of liberal democratic societies (such as electoral processes, separation of powers, etc.), to knowledge about legislation (e.g. the national constitution, rights and duties of citizens, provincial and local laws, relevant legislation about the issue at stake, etc.), to "research-based" knowledge about a particular policy issue (e.g. smoking, access to guns, public transportation, child care, homelessness, etc.). Procedural knowledge refers to the specific understanding of the "rules of the game" of the process (e.g., Roberts' rules of order) but also less open and transparent types of knowledge, such as a subtle understanding of the mechanisms to influence politicians. It could be knowledge about lobbying, campaign organizing, public relations, opinion polls and how to use the media, or even who to call or write to in order to request or demand something. All other conditions being equal (that is, even if people enjoy a similar legal or social status), a person or a group more familiar with this type of knowledge is likely to have an advantage to influence the political process over other individuals and groups.

2. Political skills

Knowledge about the political process is not enough to influence a political decision, if it is not complemented with a variety of skills. For instance, it is not too useful to know which is the most appropriate newspaper to write a letter to, if the person or group does not have the skills to write a compelling, persuasive letter. Likewise, knowing the procedural rules of an assembly is not enough if the person has not developed the skills to speak in public. The skills that individuals can develop in order to be more capable of influencing the political process, are many and they vary from context to context. They range from basic literacy and numeracy necessary to the understanding of legal documents and complex statistics, to critical analytical skills needed to comprehend, interpret and make a judgment on social issues. There are also more instrumental skills needed to participate in political processes, like the ability to speak in public, to argue, to persuade, to deliberate, to negotiate, to forge alliances, to build support for a cause, to organize a collective process, etc. Most of these skills are learned in action, and improved with regular practice.

3. Attitudes

This area refers to those psychological traits that influence and sustain the participation of individuals and groups in the political process. This includes traits such as self-esteem, motivation, extroversion, endurance to accept defeat, persistence, patience, interest in political matters, inclination to participate in the political process and trust in the political system. It also includes the belief in one's capacity to influence the system. In political science, this is conceptualized as "political efficacy," and encompasses two dimensions: internal efficacy, which refers to the belief that citizens can affect government policy making, and external efficacy, which refers to the beliefs about the political system's responsiveness to the will and actions of citizens (Berry et al. 1993). This distinction is important, because one's confidence in influencing public policy is highly contextual, and depends of the characteristics of the system. In the case of Porto Alegre, the "demonstration effect" showed non-participants that participation of ordinary people like them in the PB generated beneficial results, and taught many participants that is was worth to participate again.

4. Closeness to power

This refers to the distance (both objective and symbolic) between the citizen and the centers of political power. An important element in the citizen's distance to power is knowing professional politicians and elected representatives, and/or having developed a relationship with them. In this sense, the notion of "closeness to power" resembles what Nie at al. (1996) call "social network centrality." The concept can also be understood as a "conversion" of Bourdieu's concept of "social capital" to the specificity of politics. While it certainly relates to those two concepts, "closeness to power" goes beyond the notion of personal networks in three ways. First, because in this framework citizens' distance to political power is conceived also as a two-way street that includes both citizens' connections and government policies. In other words, it assumes that the distance between citizens and policy-making depends both on the personal political networks of the citizens, but also on government policies that promote citizens' participation in decision-making.[5] This leads to the second aspect in which "distance to power" is more than personal connections: "distance to power" can be observed not only in the possibility of participating in meaningful decision-making processes (via institutional reforms), but also in the actual process of participation. The experience of Porto Alegre's PB, for instance, drastically closes the gap between the ordinary citizen and the decision-making powers. But there is a third way in which the concept of "distance to power" goes beyond the idea of networks. As suggested above, it includes that objective dimension (the number of politicians a person may know, and the nature of the relationship with them) but also a symbolic dimension. The symbolic distance to power refers to the presence of people who share similar identities in positions of power, who can act as role models and inspiration. This occurs, for instance, when illiterates, women, black and poor are elected as delegates of the PB.

5. Personal resources
Last but not least, the capacity of citizens to influence political decision-making is also determined by the amount of resources (especially time and financial capital) that a person or a group can devote to the political process. Regarding time, class and gender play a role. People who work extensive hours and spend a long time on public transportation commuting from home to work and back, and return home exhausted after being away all day, are probably going to be somewhat reluctant to spend an evening participating in political activities. They may prefer to share time with the family, have an enjoyable dinner, watch TV or just go to bed to replenish energies. Not by chance, in many experiences of participatory democracy there is an overrepresentation of men, seniors, retired people and middle classes. Money can also be mobilized to influence the political process, ranging from illegal practices such as buying votes among elected politicians (bribery) and other forms of corruption, to legal practices such as hiring lobbyists, journalists or researchers, buying space in the media or launching monumental electoral or other type of campaigns. Certain activations of money into political influences (e.g. an advertisement or a bribery) can be interpreted, in Bourdieu's language, as a quick conversion of economic capital into political capital, or even simply as an exchange of money for a service or a favor. However, economic capital or availability of time are not always directly correlated with political participation or influence. Financial capital per se does not constitute political capital unless it is activated (or converted) to influence the political process.

Political Capital in Context

As already pointed out, while I recognize that more dimensions could be added in order to operationalize the concept of political capital, I chose these five in terms of their relevance for education and public policy. These dimensions should not be considered in either a static way, or as isolated from each other. On the one hand, I understand political capital as a dynamic concept, because the capacity that a person or a group has to influence political decisions may vary over time, and could be very different from context to context or, using Bourdieu's terminology, from field to field. On the other hand, these dimensions are related to each other in the sense that, due to the interrelated nature of unequal social relations, it is plausible to suggest that citizens who have above average capacity in one dimension (let's say, knowledge about the political process), are more likely to have above average capacity in other dimensions (e.g. confidence about their possibilities to influence the political process, or skills to participate in the process). Moreover, due to the multiple mechanisms of "conversion," those with high political capital are likely to have also high levels of other forms of capital (economic, social and cultural). In this regard, the discussion on the unequal distribution of political capital must be put into the context of broader structures of domination and interlocking oppressions, and cannot ignore the role that class, gender, race and other inequalities play in the acquisition and activation of political capital.

It is also pertinent to point out that the five dimensions of political capital described above can be identified at the individual level, and also at the collective level. In the same sense that one person can have more or less political capital than other, a group (a communal association, a social movement, a school council, a union, etc.) can also have more political capital than other groups. Political capital can be activated on individual basis, but also through participation in collective action. Obviously, when individuals join a collective entity in order to advance their concerns and interests, their personal political capital increases significantly both in quantitative and qualitative terms. This is not only because of the power of numbers, but also because the political capital of a group could be interpreted as more than just the sum of the political capital of its members, as it also includes factors such as cohesion, level of organization, history, etc.

The concept of political capital can be helpful for those interested in an emancipatory citizenship education that attempts to go beyond the traditional focus on legal knowledge, civic virtues or enlightenment. In this sense, the concept of political capital brings the tradition of popular education into the citizenship education debate, and at the same time provides a necessary complement to the focus on "critical consciousness" usually present in popular education theory and practice. Indeed, as the previous discussion suggested, a person or a group with a high critical consciousness is not necessarily more capable of influencing the political process than another person or group with less critical consciousness. Although the process of conscientization à la Freire helps oppressed people to critically examine the causes of their oppression, it does not necessarily equip them with the tools and attitudes to influence the democratic process. As Belanger (1999) reminds us, the development of these competencies is one of the key prerequisites for the democratization of democracy.

It is important to note, however, in order to avoid an excessive voluntarism, that an emancipatory citizenship education cannot, alone, equalize economic and social opportunities, in the sense of redistributing economic wealth or reversing social polarization. Nevertheless, it can assist to further a democratic culture and to equalize political opportunities. Furthermore, when citizenship education is part of a larger project of participatory democracy and social justice, the redistribution of political capital can play a key role in the overall transformative project.

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[1] Political culture refers to the political orientation and attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and the attitudes toward the role of the self in the system. As we shall see, I distinguished this concept from the concept of political capital.

[2] The typical functionalist approach to citizenship education is based on the assumption that educational institutions are neutral and objective, and that that they distribute civic virtues and civic knowledge in a relatively fair way. Following a line of reasoning similar to that of human capital theory, it examines the "democratic rates of return" of educational investments (higher rates of voting, tolerant attitudes, etc.) but it tends to overlook the ways in which educational institutions contribute to reproduce the inequalities of the social structure.

[3] Source: www.fast-times.com/political/political.html (accessed February 24, 2000 11:00 am).

[4] Since then, and largely due to the success of the participatory budget, the Workers' Party has been re-elected twice for the municipal government, and recently won the elections for the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

[5] Berry et al. (1993) have shown that much of the distance citizens perceive between themselves and politics is rooted in the content of public policies.

"White Practices" in Adult Education Settings: An Exploration

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Abstract: *This paper draws together literature from the newly emerging areas of studies about Whiteness, and postcolonial theory to provide an alternative analysis of the Inquiry processes into adult community education undertaken in Australia over the last decade.*

Introduction

In this paper I draw on the work of Ruth Frankenberg, Edward Said, Ann Laura Stoler and Ghassan Hage to push a little further the contemporary trend in research studies about Whiteness. My agenda, in drawing on these and other postcolonial writers, is to make more explicit the links between studies about Whiteness, the ongoing historical contexts of imperialism and colonialism within which these new research directions are set, and the overarching claims of benevolence and progress embedded in much policy and literature about Australian adult community education. Edward Said describes this work as "contrapuntal" (Said, 1993, p. 78), acknowledging the continuities of power, history and politics invoked by policy texts. Moreover it foregrounds a number of textual practices that have *material effects* on the ways in which adult community education is practiced in contemporary Australia. Such textual practices include the casual way in which references to marginalized groups and their agency orbits around a White enterprising center; the effort involved in disguising repertoires of Whiteness and their effects; the slipperiness with which issues of power and productivity are constructed around representations of normalized White "effective citizenship". All of these textual practices are part and parcel of constituting what adult community education can and should be.

Theoretical Insights Informing the Work

Two areas of theoretical work underpin this paper and the data I analyze; first, literature specifically about Whiteness and studies of Whiteness drawn primarily from postcolonial and cultural studies; and second, literature describing and/or theorizing adult education.

What do you mean Whiteness!

Many researchers have begun to explore the concept of Whiteness as a social construction that is fleshed out in the daily contexts of our lives. Ruth Frankenberg describes it as "a location of structural advantage, of race privilege ... a "standpoint", a place from which white people look at ourselves, at others, and at society ... a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed" (1993, p.1). She identifies three aspects of "thinking through race" in her work on White women's understandings of their racial locations: "it suggests a conscious process" (ibid. p. 142) that also may have differential effects on the way people engage around race in the future; it occurs within a field of understandings already permeated by assumptions about race; and third, it assumes that all bodies are "racially positioned in society" (ibid. p.142).

Elizabeth Ellsworth (1997, p. 264) supports efforts to interrogate Whiteness, claiming it is

> a practice; a form of property; a performance; a constantly shifting location upon complex maps of social, economic, and political power; a form of consciousness; a form of ignorance; a privilege; something those of us who "are" White must unlearn; something we Whites fear, something that gives us pleasure, something we desire; something we must name and describe and understand; something we must change; an invisible something we must make visible, finally at this moment in history, to our White selves.

This kind of thinking about Whiteness, as always-already located within a racialised, albeit shifting and partial, field of power, provides the ground for rethinking how White educators and scholars might understand our own Whiteness. It resonates, to a certain extent, with many Indigenous writers in Australia who have long been involved in demonstrating how Whiteness affects *their* lives.

(See for example Holt, 1992, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 1998; Huggins, 1995; Langford, 1988; and the recent Human Rights Commission Report *Bringing them home*, 1997.) But some of these Indigenous people are also circumspect about the fluid and malleable ways in which understandings of Whiteness evolve in "Whiteness studies," precisely because such work can elide the continuities and consolidations of white power hidden beneath the surface of "hybrid" White subjects. Invoking the notion of White hybridity may potentially reinscribe a form of Whiteness that is ever-changing, fluid, and malleable. Yet hybrid White subjects may take no responsibility for the "unearned privileges" (McIntosh,1988) they attract everyday. It is naïve to think that all White people experience the same kind of privilege; privilege varies with the nuanced and changing dimensions of Whiteness experienced through gender, financial (in)stability, sexuality and mobility, and White folk living in poverty are testament to this. At the same time, the racialised dimensions of privilege in relation to work and financial (in)security are evident in research which shows how poverty and poor working conditions are experienced differentially by Whites and our Others (Brodkin, 1999; Roediger, 1991).

I am unable, in this paper, to rehearse the full complexities of this body of work, the effects of colonialism and imperialism embedded in contemporary government review processes, or the textual strategies that render invisible (to many White people at least) the power-knowledge dynamics of Whiteness in policy making. Nevertheless in this paper I refuse the assumption that Whiteness is an "invisible," disguised discourse in ACE. I begin from the point established by many writers (Said, 1993; Stoler, 1995; Hage, 1998; Ellsworth, 1997), that Whiteness is indeed a set of visible discursive practices that have material effects. Furthermore, these discourses are enmeshed in the cultural practices and beliefs of a particular form of White, heterosexual civility that informs the masculine consciousness (cf. Miles, 1996) pervading many public institutions in Australia.

Although the above discussion sets a broad context for investigating Whiteness, this project falls short for many educators and scholars, in that the forms of privilege invoked by Frankenberg and Ellsworth seem amorphous, intangible, overwhelmingly "large" in scope, and disconnected from a set of practical guidelines that may help to disrupt privilege on a day to day basis. In this paper I want to acknowledge this tension, demand even, in some adult education sites to provide "scripts" for practice. Yet I also know that the demand for practical advice and "facilitation techniques" is complicit with a set of "adult learning principles" that actively work against rendering visible, to White people at least, the effects of an invisible norm of Whiteness (Shore 2000) and the assumptions about control, power and the certainty of knowing which that norm presumes. In this paper therefore I want to resist the tendency to talk about Whiteness in the context of pedagogical strategies (See Durie, 1996; Johnson–Bailey and Cervero, 1998; and Barlas, 1997 for examples of this work.) Rather, I want to examine the effects of Whiteness in the sphere of policy making in contemporary Australia.

"Adult Education" in Australia

A second body of literature relevant to this study is the material produced about adult education in Australia. For the purposes of this paper adult community education (hereafter referred to as ACE) signifies those activities that occur in many neighborhood centers and technical colleges in Australia. These activities generally come under the umbrella of lifelong learning programs that are "learner centered, responsive to community needs, accessible and inclusive, diverse, varied and flexible" (Crowley, 1997). They are often distinguished from programs offering a vocational or tertiary curriculum to adult learners.

The literature most relevant to this paper is the material produced from the two government Inquiries into ACE, carried out by a Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training in 1991 and 1996/7. The 1991 Inquiry provided the first comprehensive report on Australian ACE since 1944 and aimed to map and describe, in a more visible way, the strengths and needs of the fourth sector. It produced a report *Come in Cinderella* (Aulich, 1991) and thirty recommendations to be table with the Senate to guide deliberations on future government policy. The 1996/7 Inquiry aimed to continue the mapping exercise, albeit with a more focused effort on reviewing progress related to the policy and structural changes that had been implemented since 1991. It produced a report *Beyond Cinderella: Towards a Learning Society* (Crowley, 1997).

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ACE of the kind discussed in this study is often portrayed in theoretical and practitioner writing as removed from the processes of social regulation accompanying the more formal sectors of schooling and universities. ACE is often characterized as democratic, voluntary, participatory and empowering. A popular image of ACE is of the benevolent sector, somewhat detached from issues of repressive power relations as they apply in other sectors. In keeping with the spirit of this study I am not suggesting that scholars and educators offering these views are wrong or naive in their views about power. Rather, I want to explore what is achieved by promoting this view of benign power and how it might obscure alternative analyses and modes of action.

Some Outcomes of the Australian Inquiries into ACE

Prior to the 1991 Inquiry the Australian Association for Adult and Community Education (now renamed Adult Learning Australia), followed overseas trends in describing ACE as the "fourth sector." It was framed as a field of practice defined, in part, by its participants, precisely because they "have already left the formal education system, have returned to learning of their own volition, and have chosen an educational structure and environment which is compatible with their situation" (Aulich, 1991, p. 7). These distinguishing criteria impart an idiosyncratic "flavor" to the sector – guided by a philosophy of lifelong learning, a consumer driven, client responsive, flexible ethos that is non-compulsory and imbued with the desire to offer a second chance to the disadvantaged (ibid. p. 7). A taken-for-granted assumption pervaded the first Inquiry and was even more evident during the second: the sector needed to be named, identified and classified. It needed to be brought into a more visible relation with mainstream vocational education and training, to ensure not only its growth, but its viability and capacity to survive as a sector. It needed to be aligned with, but kept administratively distinct from, the primary and secondary sectors of formal schooling, and articulated with tertiary institutions such as technical colleges, private training organizations and some universities. Yet Ania Loomba (1998, p. 95-97) provides an analysis of naming and aligning that draws parallels with colonialism and the take over of territories; a set of practices different in context, but similar in effect, to the constitution of "the" ACE sector in Australia.

Following the 1991 Inquiry responsibility for Commonwealth funded ACE programs was transferred to a national training authority, responsible also for funding and monitoring vocational education and training. Requirements for data collection regarding ACE funding, including student hours and accountability/ quality assurance processes accompanied this shift, as did a more competitive submission based tendering system.

Increasingly ACE activities came to mean those activities funded under the umbrella of ANTA designated Commonwealth funds, and some state funding for adult education. Furthermore, philosophical debate about the boundaries of ACE accompanied this containment, and this was not something confined to the comments of politicians and bureaucrats alone during the Inquiries. Time after time, witnesses to both Inquiries portrayed a picture of a field ignored, marginalized, forgotten in the rush to embark on a reskilling program more consistent with the Federal government's contemporary agenda of economic reform. The fourth sector was defined variously as

> that which is yet undefined, ... activities ... which are not accredited; it involves the activities that women's resources centers and the various voluntary and industry bodies undertake that are just not recognized at all in any way; it involves what I would consider to be the concept of a basic education. (SSCEET, Witness statement, 1991, p. 2271)

It was portrayed as "the whole range of anything that can be described as teaching adults" (ibid. p. 939). In establishing this normalized view of ACE as Commonwealth funded and liberal in focus, the 1991 Inquiry provided explicit evidence that ACE was disconnected from more formal systems. In doing so it emphasized its unruliness and implicitly provided the groundwork for an argument that it should be "built in," integrated with the other sectors of formal schooling and tertiary education, rather than enjoying its independence as a separate sphere of activity.

By 1997 *Beyond Cinderella*, noted, somewhat paradoxically, that the fourth sector contributed to the social and cultural goals of a learning society, especially in terms of articulating with the more formal system. Nevertheless, funding to sustain or enhance this contribution was being systematically eroded by recent changes to government policy (Crowley, 1997, p. 10). The report claimed that a vocational/non-vocational binary would not be reinstantiated in its recommendations (Crowley, 1997, p. 5) and acknowledged

> the need of people to develop and maintain technical and professional skills to ensure an internationally competitive workforce. … [and] … the broader social, cultural and personal values concerned with the enrichment of communities and the fulfillment of human lives. (ibid. 5)

Nevertheless, the Committee does not "see" its own privileging of values and beliefs within the framework already established. Nor does it address the internal processes structuring its terms of reference, the processes and structures by which it collected and analyzed information, the discourses and subject positions available to witnesses, the statements of structure and direction provided by the Chair, and the genre of reporting to government, all of which were always-already located within a set of bourgeois practices (Stoler, 1995) that were both gendered and racialised.

In submissions to put the case for further support for ACE, descriptions of the participants provide the baseline against which the heights of achievement are possible. Submissions to the 1991 Inquiry repeatedly portrayed learners as unemployed (Witness statement SSCEET, 1991, p. 2153-4), disabled (ibid. p. 2078), bereaved and lost (ibid. p. 2077), as victims of domestic violence and as experiencing family and health problems (ibid. p. 2077). The educators who depict these representations are genuine in their desires to "increas[e] the quality of life" (ibid. p. 2074) of the learners they describe. Yet what is obscured in desires to help is the way in which the policy process uses this information to set the benchmark for what a competent citizen will *not* be. ACE is employed as an ally to ensure this through a process of social training, one in which educators and scholars are also coopted, willingly I might add, to train the body politic.

These heights of achievement, made available to new learners through ACE programs, form the backdrop against which ACE programs produce "effective citizens." The 1996/7 Inquiry continued to refine this process of fashioning "effective citizens" through policy mechanisms such as "target groups" which emanate from a White center that "acknowledges" and "encourages" diversity, yet is unaware that it has located its arguments in a framework of tolerance for the Other, which is dependent on the fantasy of a particular kind of White, capable center that provides the standard against which learning, curriculum development and funding are measured. The policy speculates about disadvantage, and positions ACE as a potential ally in overcoming the inefficiencies in "human resource" potential that are directly related to these groups of disadvantaged people.

This theme of social training has a long history in Australian adult education, and resonates with Foucault's claims that such strategies form part of a wider discourse of "social war" (Stoler, 1995, p. 72-3) designed to seek out and transform those "enemies of the state", who work against the needs of the nation. In contemporary terms these enemies look somewhat similar to ACE participants who are unable to meet the criteria of effective citizens.

From this perspective ACE is simply a benevolent means of distributing innocent knowledge, skills and opportunity to disenfranchised minorities. Yet by the rules of this framework, a large group in society, the unemployed, the disabled, the bereaved and so on, are positioned by these discourses as effectively incompetent, unless they participate in a program which will grant them the status of the lifelong learner. Within this frame of thinking lifelong learning is configured as a solution to a problem that exists, only to the extent that certain groups in society do not meet the heights of achievement demanded by hegemonic versions of competent Whiteness.

This framing of ACE sets in place an individualistic, apolitical model of education for social training which sets ACE policy adrift from a platform that, in theory, encompasses politically explicit programs of social change – feminist learning centers, trade union training, and so on. In closing off the possibilities for this kind of work to be readily funded, the policy process valorized a particular form of White liberal practice as "the" contemporary ACE tradition. Second, it mobilizes a set of textual practices, that sustain the notion of rewards for participation in such a system, and at the same time manages to ignore the racialised effects of participation on outcomes.

In the 1996/7 Inquiry lifelong learning was recuperated as a discourse which instantiates, in every learner, particular "habits of thought" ... [such as] free will, instrumental thinking, dominance, [and] passivity etc." (Bateson, 1972, p. 166), rather than simply representing a code word for the practice of updating knowledge and skills to meet the changing needs of contemporary societies. Participation in this context becomes a code word for the management and containment of diversity, as well as the standards and beliefs by which diversity is measured and evaluated (Hage, 1998).

Scholars as diverse as Basil Bernstein (1996), Richard Edwards and Robin Usher (1998) and Christine Sleeter (1993) have shown how education, framed in the benevolent terms of participation, and cultural literacy, represents archetypal practices of "training in rationality" (Edwards & Usher, 1998). Thus ACE learners are not simply learning skills, they are learning to learn the "habits of thought" for particular social contexts. In ACE participation parlance this will make them more capable of accessing the benefits of the economic and political system. Yet I maintain that for White and non-White learners alike, it is significant that this social system is deeply imbricated in the "structures of attitude and reference" (Said, 1993 p. 61) that establish Whiteness as the disguised norm of "adult learning principles" (Shore, 2000).

Some Conclusions

The brief review of relevant theoretical insights provided earlier in this paper provides added background to the Australian Parliamentary Inquiries that form a significant means of constituting a field of adult education practice. On the one hand government inquiries present an important site for critical intervention, especially given the way they are conducted in adult education settings in Australia. Nevertheless these Inquiries are also the domain where notions of adult learning and learners can be reinscribed within theories and practices that take a White norm as the basis for generating claims about learning and social change.

I contend that the available ways by which adult educators and scholars constitute understandings of adult community education are always-already imbricated with racialised discourses and practices that are "woven into the weft of the social body, threaded through its fabric" (Stoler, 1995, p. 69). These discourses and practices provide the basic conceptual tools by which adult education scholars and educators understand, but also constitute, ACE in Australia. They are the sites whereby racialised understandings are recuperated, sometimes unwittingly, as part of the tactics of a "permanent social war" (Stoler, 1995, p. 69) to "purify" society. In this paper I have offered only a hint of the possibilities for analysis using this kind of theoretical framework within ACE settings.

I analyze the data from the Inquiries to demonstrate that the domain of ACE, as it was constituted during these disciplinary processes in the 1990s, was a core element in the structure of a wider "social war" to further regulate disenfranchised groups in the Australian community. At the same time the Inquiries mobilized a set of implicitly racialised disciplinary measures that would allow greater internal organization (Hage, 1998; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 19982/3, p. 153-5) of the domain of ACE. What is more they activated the "preserved possibilities" (Stoler, 1995, p. 69) for racism, present, yet disguised, (for some people at least) in the existing discursive formations invoked by adult education scholars and educators.

I hesitate to call the practices portrayed in my analyses "White" practices in some deterministic frame. Yet I believe it is fair to say that there are strong parallels between recent efforts to fashion "effective citizens" (cf. ALLP, 1991; MCEETYA, 1997) and many of the "civilising" practices detailed by Ann Laura Stoler in her colonial analysis of the genealogy of the bourgeois self. In various ways these practices reinforce the following:

- they center White people as the arbiters of judgment and discretionary power;
- they enhance White people's access and involvement in the systems "we" are developing;
- they ignore the complex undertones of diversity likely to exist within populations participating in ACE; and
- they ignore the racialised undertones of tolerance embedded in the public acknowledgment of this diversity.

Any attempt at understanding the problematic effects of framing ACE as a benevolent system of education which offers unmitigated reward to all participants, will have to deal with the complexities that emerge as effects of the "White" practices I have begun to hint at here.

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Informal Learning in Community: The Role of Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity

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Abstract: *This paper, representing a subset of data from a larger study, provides a preliminary social analysis of a specific site of informal learning with welfare mothers in a job readiness program and the role of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in meaning making. As the women came together to talk about their experiences with each other, they were listened to, taken into account, and validated in their past experiences, current circumstances, and feelings; they also had an opportunity to learn from each other thus illuminating informal learning. The informal learning of women on welfare can assist us in understanding how subjugated knowledges are constructed and how we might facilitate learning.*

Introduction

The importance of informal learning among adults cannot be overstated. How we learn about our world, our place in it, our roles and how to effectively function occurs primarily in the informal sector. It is often through informal learning situations that identity is formed and reformed, cultures are transmitted, relations are negotiated, and social action is initiated. While there is interest in informal learning in organizations (Marsick & Watkins, 1990) and in community development and community learning projects (for example, Cadenas' work in Mexico; and Binghman, 1996) there is little research on the nature and dynamics of informal learning in specific social contexts of adult learning. This report provides a preliminary social analysis of a specific site of informal learning with welfare mothers in a job readiness program and the role of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in meaning making.

Conceptual Frame

According to Foley (1993) much of adult learning is not acquired through formal education but is gained through experiences, through participation in an aspect of social life such as family, community or work. He defines informal learning in Neighborhood Houses in Australia as "generally tacit or implicit, embedded as it is in routine activities of women in the house...takes place in conflict shaped by individual, interpersonal, institutional, and broader social and cultural factors...[and] is not automatic or inevitable" (p. 25). To this he adds that the development of critical consciousness occurs as significant learning.

Livingstone's (in press) work indicates "anyone can engage in informal learning on his or her own volition and schedule, and apparently people in the most socially disadvantaged statuses are just as likely to do so as those in the most socially dominant positions" (p. 22). Unlike Foley, Livingstone sees informal learning as explicit as distinguished from everyday perceptions, general socialization and other tacit learning. He identifies four criteria for explicit informal learning: conscious identification of the activity as significant learning; retrospective recognition of a new form of knowledge, understanding, or skill; acquired on one's own initiative; and, a recognition of the process of acquisition.

Whereas the majority of people with a diploma or higher education seek out further, or continuing, education on an annual basis (p. 14) Livingstone notes that less than a quarter of those without a high school diploma enroll in further, or continuing, education raising the question as to the role of informal learning for those "excluded from advanced forms of organized education?" Further, Livingstone indicates that in informal learning there is a reliance on elders, or those more experienced, as the major source of knowledge, particularly in job-related learning. The older people are the more they tend to rely on their own past learning experiences to guide them in learning; older workers are teaching younger ones informally.

Foley (1993) contends that by analyzing the dynamics of informal learning insights can be produced into the ways in which people develop critical consciousness for action. Bingham (1996) suggests that critical learning occurs through community work for survival as in Appalachian grassroots organizations, while Hart (1990) suggests that certain enabling conditions are necessary for critical learning to occur. These conditions include developing a "structure of equality" and group membership where similar social positions, assumptions, and experiences are shared. All contend that critical learning begins with personal experiences, uses small group discussion, and assumes political commitment.

Patel (1996) describes how a sense of a shared space facilitated women's venturing into the public realm of the state bureaucracy whereas the Highlander Center has documented numerous civic learning projects that grew out of participatory popular education. Social injustice creates tensions that mount over time creating actions of resistance and reaffirmation grounded in knowing (Freire, 1985). These "moments of culture" are violations of knowing which bring about mobilization, thus "breaking the silence" and "giving voice."

Harstock's (1998) feminist standpoint theory is helpful in understanding how materialism creates a feminist material reality out of which knowledge is produced. Women's lives are structured by social relations of the dominant patriarchal system; are struggled over and produce contradictory and conflicting experiences. This vision of feminist reality, grounded in real experiences, is won through struggle of seeing beneath the surface of social relations and the informal learning that comes from the struggle to change those relations. A standpoint depends on the assumption that epistemology grows in a complex way from material life. Maher and Tetreault (1996) contend that the multiple feminist standpoints point to a new set of problems which contradicts a unitary worldview of any group. Postmodernism emphasizes the constructedness through language, discourse, and histories of all identities. Thus positionality "acknowledges the knower's varying positions in any specific context...of gender, race, class" (p. 160). Positionality signals that context is a key to understanding all knowers and knowledge; that it is relational and evolving.

Research Design

A participatory research model (Reason, 1994) using collective dialogue was designed to facilitate documenting the experienced realities of women on welfare. Small group discussions were conducted at a job readiness program in Nebraska sponsored by a local community-based action program (9 sessions, 18 hours. November 1997 to March 1998). The welfare mothers who participated are a group of thirteen (13) African American, Latina, Anglo, and biracial women ranging in ages from 19 to the mid-40's; each woman has from one to four children. At least one facilitator of the job readiness program was also present. All sessions were audio-taped and transcribed, observational field notes were kept. Data were analyzed through a coding system which identified recurrent themes found in the women's stories. The larger study included several stages: talking with women to identify issues connected with welfare reform; creating an interview protocol; and interviewing recipients. Our intent in this report is to relate findings from stage one of the study and to examine how women's subjectivity and intersubjectivity facilitate how they make sense of their everyday circumstances.

Constructing Knowledge

Under Welfare Reform recipients are required to be involved in work or work-related activities as they make their way toward self-sufficiency. Job readiness workshops are offered for those who need to develop employability skills as determined by the caseworkers. Often the participants have years of employment history but are required to attend job readiness, nonetheless, in addition to educational or vocational training. I initiated discussion sessions at a job readiness site as a way to learn about what was happening with women's education and to understand the concerns and struggles that women were experiencing under the new law. We met with the women every other week to discuss their experiences. The women were enthusiastic about the sessions because they had few opportunities to talk with a group of women about what was happening and they appreciated knowing someone was interested in listening to their stories. Not all thirteen women were present at each talk session even though the job readiness workshops were mandated under their self-sufficiency contracts; there was a fairly consistent core of about 4-5 women with others cycling in and out after several sessions.

They knew we had questions about educational issues but other than that we were interested in the women talking about whatever was of concern to them. During the first two sessions we suggested topics for discussion but over time the women determined the issues they wanted to discuss. As these talk sessions proceeded we began to see processes of informal learning taking place.

Knowing and Being

At every step of participatory inquiry, researchers draw on their own locations to inform the process and findings. Like the researchers, each welfare mother brought her own history of experiences, beliefs, and feelings which she represented to other women in the group. Each brought her own contextualized, contradictory grounded truths. Some were mothers of infants while others had teenaged children. Some had substance abuse problems, at least one had a disabling health condition, one was a victim of incest. Some women had experienced homelessness, others were in residential drug rehabilitation programs, and still others had histories with incarceration or had been accomplices to drug crimes. Their histories with welfare varied as well.

Poor women's epistemology, how one knows what she knows, presents a partial and particular perspective with consequences to her being and moving through the world. As they talked with one another, sharing their stories, intersections of experience within the welfare system emerged. All of the women related stories of humiliation, moments of powerlessness, struggles to provide for their children, and problems in coping with the reform measures.

During these talk sessions welfare mothers were analyzing power and their place within social power structures. As Keysha put it "popular opinion is, I just know, like in the media and all that good stuff, they are always slamming us, and it's like, all we're trying to do is just get by, go to school, take care of our kids, and maybe feed them, if they'll let us. We're just not popular." Later she related an incident with her caseworker as he attempted to find the child's father and get him to make child support payments. "They took me...by the side of this room, sat me down in the squeaky chair and people just kept walking in and out and then there is a waiting room...anybody could just hear all my business. 'So who did you have sex with?'...I'm answering all these questions about my daughter, and who I was having sex with before and after...and having me in a non-private room...and all these men and women just walking by and looking at me like I'm trash." The women's experiences had given them a knowledge of the welfare system and an acknowledgement of one's position as defined by the dominant culture.

Maher and Tetreault (1996) contend that rather than formed from any fixed essence all women develop relationships which can be "xplored, analyzed, and changed as long as they see themselves as not simply individuals but differently placed members of an unequal social order"(p. 163). What others say about us is shaped by social constructs of what it means to be a woman in today's world. Who we believe we are emerges from our own understandings of self, positioned against the contexts within which we live. These myriad definitions, labels, and imposed identities (by self and others) are often confused and contradictory.

Issues of Intersubjectivity

How did the women respond to one another? How did their interaction influence the formation of identity and their place in the world? Several themes emerged as women theorized their experiences including the concept of wearing masks to seem other than who you are, creating space for one another to speak, the need for emergent discussion topics from women's interests and concerns, and crossing of borders from one social location to another with its inherent internal conflict.

Jennifer, for example, came to the group on a regular basis but hardly spoke during the first sessions she attended. New to welfare, Jennifer wasn't sure about the benefits she would receive or whether or not she had even signed a contract. As the women quizzed her they offered her advice about the contract and how to access the services she needed for her and her family. By being accepted as part of the group and by receiving space to share her stories, she began talking more about her situation, bringing herself to the point of asserting what she needed to do for herself. First attending sessions in February, by early April, she had decided to file for bankruptcy because of excessive debts from her two ex-husbands and to approach the bank that held her student loans to see if payments could be adjusted or suspended for the time being.

Jennifer had arrived at a new understanding of her positionality. The women's affirmation changed what Jennifer knew about herself, about welfare, and about being able to change the realities of her material world.

Tonya, an African American mother of three small children, was able to negotiate with her caseworker approval for a four year degree by committing to 17 credits each semester for the two years including summers and by getting a part time 20 hours a week job since education did not count toward work. When we first met her she was successful in her commitments, if not overly exhausted and stressed, keeping her life together and caring for her children. She was determined to complete a degree in accounting because she knew she needed a professional job in order to make enough money for her family. Her determination brought her to the attention of the Governor. Tonya was a model of success. In a public display of media hype she had been invited to the Governor's mansion to accept an award for her determination and progress. "Do you know how this makes me feel? Others will be compared to me, the women who are trying to make it on nothing and being humiliated in the process. I don't like being the poster child for welfare reform." The powers that be were reading her determination as compliance with its reformed system of self sufficiency.

While these two women illustrate their ability at "abstracting from immediate experience" in order to "unravel the complexities of the human world," (Hart, 1990, p.66) the talk sessions may be more typical of women's consciousness raising groups of the 1970s in that the ability to sustain a theoretical distance was not always present. However, rather than becoming group therapy sessions, they often became times of exchanging information about how to manage caseworkers, how to negotiate for rights, how to prepare for home visits from Child Protective Services, or even reflecting on what it means to be a poor woman in contemporary society.

Maher and Tetreault (1996) address this phenomenon, "in which not individuals, but a group, struggles with the transition from subjective knowing, through to a kind of constructed knowing (p. 166). We also saw a shift in understanding from an individual, subjective perspective to a new collective understanding "to examine, challenge, and reconstruct" knowledges. While their overall material lives had not changed, the meaning they made of their experiences changed through interaction. As women try to make sense of their experiences, recollections, and feelings the dialectic of the individual and society play back and forth. The individual is influenced by and influences the social structures and ideology of everyday life.

From this knowledge negotiation takes place within each individual and between individuals. The reflective dialogue and collaborative storytelling, where one story triggers memory or reflection of another, present opportunities for women on welfare to make sense of the oppression, subordination, shaming, triumphs, and relentless drudgery of poverty.

Discussion and Conclusions

The interactive group narrative approach which we used provided an opportunity for the women to share what was on their minds as the new reform measure got under way in one Midwestern state as well as support each other and provide alternative ways of thinking about and dealing with the everyday realities of living on public assistance. All of the women were involved in learning from each other while at the same time teaching each other; this includes the researchers as well. Learning as a social process where meaning is negotiated and knowledge is integrated into what is already known often occurs in informal learning settings.

Action taken was most often at the individual level in dealing with caseworkers and struggling for one's rights yet there was potential for collective action. During a session in April Jennifer recounted how she had been denied the chance to get some education because of her age (she was 38 years old) and instead was slotted into a short term computer course. "I didn't get it in writing or on a paper or anything, but she did say, well you're too old. Like she said...I have one shot and I'm out. If I miss one day, I'm out." The other women who were there that day seemed especially agitated listening to Jennifer and discussed the appeals process in detail, advising her about what she might do to have the decision reconsidered. They also talked of the mediation center that "will step in and provide a third party when you talk to your case manager." They appeared short on patience in how they, individually and collectively, were being treated. Sue summed up the conversation. "It truly is time that people start to get a class action suit because certain classes of people have inalienable rights more than welfare women. It's like if you are disabled, mentally retarded or elderly, you have these inalienable rights and you will get these things...but welfare women and their children have no rights. Basically, what they're saying is they don't value us. If you happen to be a woman and you're fighting for some measly little check that's probably like $4000 or $5000 [annually] but yet you put that back into the economy, so it's not like you're sitting on these nesteggs of chunks of money. You're buying things, you're stimulating the economy, your children are well, are taken care of...What do you think, should we start a lawsuit?" Shortly, thereafter, we were asked to leave the job readiness sessions. Nevertheless, we took the women's interests to a public legal assistance center who took up the struggle to help women get educational access by representing individual cases and getting it on the public agenda. Some would see this involvement with lawyers taking on individual cases as weakening women's power because once again they are represented by others; we see this as one way to use the system to alter social injustice.

It would appear that informal learning has both implicit and explicit aspects as evidenced by the preliminary analysis of the talk sessions with welfare mothers. Following Foley it can be said that learning occurs in routine activities and that elements of critical consciousness can be developed. Conflict takes on variegated hues within this site of informal learning where conflict did exist between at least one of the job readiness facilitators and some of the women and was also evident in us as researchers eventually losing access to the group as the women became more politicized. We have not examined those dimensions here. Finally, Foley states that learning in informal settings is not automatic or inevitable. We agree, yet, since it was not our intent to initially study informal learning questions about learning were not specifically asked of the women. However, Livinstone's criteria of the retrospective recognition of new knowledge, skills, or understandings can be inferred by the intentional problem solving that occurred and the negotiated identity reformations. Certainly, the women initiated their own learning but whether they recognized the process of acquisition or consciously identified the activity as significant learning is in question. These are questions for future investigation.

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Crediting Adult Learning

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Abstract: *This paper reports on the uncertainties and dilemmas experienced by three researchers as they continue to explore how informal and non-formal union-sponsored learning can be translated into college and university credits.*

The Context

Incessant "restructuring," "downsizing," and "right-sizing," coupled with the promise of "high-tech" jobs in a brave new "knowledge economy," are forcing adults to engage in further and higher education as never before. That every adult brings a wealth of experience to the formal learning environment is a central tenet of post-Knowlesian adult education. But *experience* does not always equate with *learning*, especially of the academic variety. And as more and more college and universities institute Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) programs, adult educators are increasingly confronted by the question of how to fairly and accurately assess the educational merit of informal and non-formal adult learning. Union or labour education (sometimes referred to as union training) is arguably the largest source of non-formal, non-vocational adult education available to adults in the industrialized world. As such, it provides an ideal starting point to investigate the question of how the non-formal learning that takes place in union-sponsored programs, and the informal learning that accompanies various forms of voluntary union service, can be justly and equitably assessed and then "translated" into college and university credits. Moreover, the issues raised in relating the learning involved in these programs, and in union activity itself, to formal college and university credits are common to other forms of informal and non-formal adult learning.

Increasingly, "learning" is being promoted as a solution to economic and social problems. "Learning" is replacing "education" as the term of choice by politicians and business leaders, as evidenced by such terms as "learning society," "learning organization," and "workplace learning." It is a shift that spans international and political boundaries – Blair's Labour Government in the UK has declared the next century to be the "learning century"; Klein's Conservatives in Alberta, Canada, recently merged the portfolios of K-12 and post-secondary education and established a single ministry: Alberta Learning. This shift in emphasis goes far beyond semantics, however, as evidenced by the number of profit–driven organizations (not to mention private and corporate colleges and universities) that have infiltrated the workplace and educational arena and transformed traditional, institutional sites of learning. The proliferation of these new learning sites has exacerbated the problem of how to calculate the educational worth of non-formal and informal learning when learners seek to make the transition to the realm of formal learning (the domain of traditional educational institutions). These events have spawned a renewed interest in prior learning accreditation processes, generally referred to as prior learning assessment and recognition (PLAR) in North America.[1] The fact that so many politicians and business leaders enthusiastically endorse and support PLAR initiatives suggests they may well view PLAR as the mechanism they have been seeking to "sensitize" the realm of traditional education to the exigencies, priorities, and interests of the "real" world.

Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition

The process of PLAR is most often presented as theoretically unproblematic: the vast majority of research focuses on how to measure learning's worth with clinical precision. Once this technical problem is surmounted, most advocates of PLAR contend that all that remains is the practical problem of persuading traditional educational institutions to accept PLAR credits. But there are those who caution that "rigorous though the technical requirements of PLA may be they are of little help without a clear understanding of what they are measuring against and why" (Hanson, 1997. p.11)[2], and that the matter of convincing traditional educational institutions to recognize prior learning will involve much more than simple persuasion.

Should adult educators embrace the largely uncritical process of prior learning assessment and recognition that the majority of PLAR advocates propose? It is a tempting option, since the PLAR movement appears to have the potential to topple the windmills of a traditional educational establishment that adult educators have long tilted at with little success. This paper argues for a more critical response to PLAR – one that embraces its value but nonetheless argues for a greater sensitivity to and understanding of the theoretical and empirical problems associated with PLAR. Not least amongst these is the understanding that adults learn for a whole variety of reasons and in a complex web of settings – the purposes of such learning may be communal or social. It is important that adult learning not be co-opted into a corporate view of what is measurable, exchangeable, and credit-worthy; and that the complexities and nuances of learning itself not be corrupted by ingenuous and largely instrumental PLAR processes. Adult educators have a proud heritage of defending democratic and liberatory adult education practices, for individual and social purposes. It is not the question of how expeditiously PLAR processes can be instituted that should concern adult educators, but how PLAR processes can be used to promote and foster emancipatory and democratic educational practices in an increasingly credential obsessed "learning society."

This paper is part of an on-going conversation among ourselves and the adult education community and reflects our hesitant complicity with the ideas, people and organizations associated with PLAR and informal learning. For example, in Canada the now defunct Canadian Labour Force Development Board (this was a government-sponsored tripartite body until the employers abandoned ship) organized a series of national conferences promoting PLAR. While there were clearly different interests represented at the conferences (the last conference PLAR 99, held in Vancouver, November 1999, attracted more than 600 participants), there was nonetheless an ideology promulgated at the conference that PLAR was a "movement" shaking the very foundations of the educational establishment. Some participants appeared to be trying to outdo each other with their stories from the frontlines – for example how they used PLAR to reduce a four year degree to just 3 half credit courses! Any questions about the appropriateness of the project were simply dismissed as hostile attacks from ivory towers.

Yet, it only takes a moment's reflection to identify major problems with the notion of transubstantiating experiential learning into college or university credits. Most experiential learning is specific, related to a particular situation or problem adults are faced with, and does not easily translate into the kind of learning associated with academic courses. As we have argued elsewhere (Briton, et. al, 1998), experiential learning is not inferior to formal learning, it is different; there are times when it closely resembles academic learning, but there are many more occasions when it does not. How then do we measure learning in general? What are the standards? Can it be reduced to learning outcomes or competencies? Must we, in the process of establishing these measures, objectify learning, construe it in terms of measurable outcomes? In our efforts to grant credits for experiential learning are we turning its real, concrete worth (its use value) into abstract exchange value of little or no worth? If we add to this mix the idea that the beliefs and stated intentions of the parties involved are not a guide to what is actually happening then PLAR becomes theoretically problematic not the reverse.[3]

The purpose of education is the promotion of knowledge, of learning, but it is increasingly becoming displaced by the need to have a credential. In an earlier paper (Spencer, et. al, 1999), we discuss a range of more practical problems associated with supporting the movement from "education to credential." Learning, for instance, is undertaken informally to gain knowledge, understandings, insights and practical know-how. When such concrete, specific forms of learning are "assessed/translated," they are turned into abstract, individualized credits that bear little or no relation to the concrete, socially-embedded practices from which they emerged. This mirrors the shift within traditional adult education that marked the demise of the non-credential course, perhaps with a social purpose, to an individualized credit-awarding alternative. Another often overlooked point is that most PLAR models only value informal learning that matches the formal curriculum. In this scenario PLAR does not become a process that helps focus attention on learning gaps but rather a process by which a potential student can avoid having to study certain areas of knowledge. And of course the promotion of PLAR does nothing to resuscitate the democratic social purposes of adult education and learning. It has the opposite tendency, since it emphasizes the argument that learning should serve the individual needs of the global economy. That many PLAR initiatives are employer/workplace-driven and present a host of problems for workers is something else we explored in that 1999 paper.

PLAR of Labour Learning

Moving from the general to the particular, we have noted from the beginning that we are not interested in PLAR of labour learning if that implies changing the social purposes of labour education or leads to an emphasis on individual participation in labour education and activity for individual gain. These issues are just some of the misgivings that PLAR projects such as ours arouse in most labour educators (Gereluk, et. al., 1998). Others include: if PLAR of labour learning is to be used to gain access to the colleges and universities will that simply result in incorporating their members into the mainstream ideology that emphasizes management and individual rights? Since union education is generally an enjoyable and liberating experience for most workers, what advantage is there, other than individual gain, to linking it into a system that sacrifices workers' interests for those of their bosses and the dominant patterns of control and organization at work? Many unionists, however, resent the fact that other forms of workplace learning, such as how to do your job more efficiently, or how to work in a team (or other aspects of the generally understood but rarely defined term "workplace learning") are readily transferable into college/university credits (often these kinds of provision proceed according to tried-and-true, formal education practices). This suggests that we need to establish a PLAR model that fairly assesses union provision without imposing the structures of formal learning on union programming. Such a model would have to be based on critically-focussed as opposed to traditional forms of formal education. The most obvious choice would be labour studies and labour relations courses at universities and colleges, or other critical social science and applied areas of knowledge. Labour studies and labour relations are rooted in practice and framed theoretically. The knowledge bases of these subjects are to be found in labour's experience at work and in society, therefore they are obvious candidates for accepting PLAR credits.

Even in these circumstances, it may be that credit is used to give advanced standing rather than specific course exemptions—knowledge-type dependent. The point that should never be overlooked is that it is perfectly possible that an active union member and course attendee may not have considered all of the issues addressed in a *particular* university or college course. Although not specific enough for particular course-credit, such learning is of value and should be awarded some form of credit (in terms of elective exemptions or unassigned credit perhaps) that will facilitate the learner's advancement in college and university courses. This would allow critically-based but non-formally structured forms of programming to be assessed and granted credit without having to get into the theoretically questionable business of comparing "learning outcomes" between union and university courses. If the purpose of PLAR initiatives is to encourage working people to use the educational system their taxes support, we need to acknowledge that workers may have gained valuable knowledge and be willing to grant them some degree of formal standing. The merits of a PLAR initiative that affords workers the opportunity to transfer their socially- and critically-based forms knowledge into formal educational settings and, thus, to develop skills that will allow them to better contribute to their union and community should be obvious. This, moreover, is a pragmatic justification for crediting adult learning that is not based in dubious learning theory or in a zealot's advocacy.

Understanding Informal and Non-formal Learning

One of the problems we have encountered when exploring PLAR issues has been a misunderstanding of informal and non-formal learning on which PLAR processes are predicated. Informal learning can be said to encompass all the learning that occurs when individuals or groups seek to achieve certain objectives. Tough (1979) tended to consider consciously-pursued learning projects as more significant than the incidental learning that occurs as a byproduct of other learning activities. Others give more credit to both conscious (explicit) and incidental learning but discount accidental (incidental and accidental are both deemed tacit) learning (see Livingstone, 1999, for a discussion of explicit and tacit learning). But could not all learning that occurs outside of structured learning simply be categorized as informal learning, since how something is learned matters less than what is learned and what results from that learning. At an AERC plenary meeting in 1996, a somewhat exasperated Roger Boshier dismissed much of the literature on informal learning as "bullshit." His point, it seems, was that lots of people learn lots of things during their lifetime, but so what? Mapping the incidence of adult learning moments tells us little about what they learned and what resulted from that learning. It also relies on self-reporting and is subject to suggestion when surveyed. Perhaps even more could be made of what is not learned, rather than what is learned, particularly in the realm of ideas and social actions. Absences can sometimes be more insightful than what is known.

Apart from these broader considerations, there remains the question of how to distinguish informal from formal learning. One leading educational researcher gave an example of informal learning taken from his experience in the following terms. He needed to take a particular course in order to gain entry to university, so he studied this topic in his own time, at his own pace, and outside of an educational institution. But is this informal learning? The curriculum was set, the learner had no say in what was studied, and had to sit an exam and be tested, as opposed to being "tested" by his experience. His purpose was not to advance his general understanding but to gain a credential. Clearly this is not an example of informal learning but of formal learning, albeit in an atypical setting.

Establishing a definition of non-formal learning has also resulted in some problems. The term is not particularly intuitive; its nomenclature is probably due to its juxtaposition to informal learning and formal education/learning. However its use in North America is widespread and causes few problems for adult educators, as it can be related to traditional understandings of what adult education is. Non-formal refers to not-for-credit courses and educational events that take place outside of recognized educational institutions and often have a social as well as an individual purpose. These historic forms of adult education continue in contemporary society. In a recent article Livingstone (1999, p. 50) argues that "three basic sites of adult learning are formal schooling, further education, and informal learning (see Coombs, 1985; Selman and Dampier, 1991)," effectively substituting "further education" for non-formal learning/education, based on a misconstrual of a leading Canadian adult education text (Selman and Dampier, 1991). Livingstone fails to supply a specific reference but the section in Selman and Dampier that discusses "formal" and "informal" distinctions reads:

> Current thinking about the way in which education, including adult education, is organized in terms of content and the relationship between the learner and the sponsor of activity sees the field divided into three main approaches, formal, non-formal and informal education. Such terminology is in use among educational planners at the national and international level. (1991 p.11; p.25 in the 2nd ed., 1998.)

In support of their position, Selman and Dampier footnote 2 sources, one of them being Coombs (1985). It is somewhat of a mystery why the term non-formal creates so many problems for those outside the sphere of adult education. The differences among informal, non-formal and formal learning/education are certainly not written in stone; nonetheless they are useful categories that make the description of our work easier. More importantly, perhaps, to describe labour education as "further education" is totally misleading.[4]

The Conversation to Date

Our exploration of the theoretical and empirical issues surrounding PLAR has caused us to reflect on the nature of learning, the relationship between informal, non-formal and formal learning, and on PLAR itself. We find that although these reflections are worrisome, they have not discouraged us from believing that working people, their knowledge, and their institutions do deserve enhanced recognition and standing in the formal education system. Having extensively surveyed union education provision (Gereluk, 200; Gereluk, et. al., 2000) we are now even more convinced than ever of the contribution labour education makes to knowledge creation and democratic society. It challenges dominant ideology and in so doing it is both liberatory and emancipatory.

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[1] This is the prevalent term in Canada; other terms include: prior learning assessment, PLA; accrediting prior learning / assessing prior learning, APL; accrediting prior experiential learning / assessing prior experiential learning, AEPL; recognition of prior learning, RPL.

[2] Such "technical requirements" are most often competency-based "learning outcomes," instruments that purport to measure the very "essence" of learning – that which all forms of learning supposedly have in common.

[3] See Briton (1996) and Briton et al. (1998) for a theoretical discussion of these issues.

[4] For a fuller discussion of these terms see Selman, et. al., 1998, p. 25-26; Spencer, 1998, p. 23-24.

The Third Way and Feminist Imaginings

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Abstract: *The Third Way purports to be a new way which merges the best elements of social democracy and neo-liberalism. Although it is an extremely ambiguous concept, it clearly exhibits androcentric characteristics. Its ambiguity offers adult educators the opportunity to influence its direction and operationalisation in order to improve the dis-location of women.*

Introduction

The Third Way is a term which has currency in intellectual, political and increasingly in educational circles (Ainley, 1998; Elsey, 1993; Gillborn, 1998; Halpin, 1999; Power & Whitty, 1999; Webster & Parsons, 1999). The concept has a long history which can be traced back to attempts to reject revolutionary Marxism and simultaneously retain the egalitarian ideals of Communism. In modern times, it re-emerged in 1982 as the Swedish *tredje vagens politik* (economic policy of the third way) which was an attempt to restore and revitalise the economic balance yet retain full employment and a large public sector providing social services.

Although Giddens, a major proponent of the idea, contends that the term does not refer to "some kind of mid-point between two extreme political philosophies" (1999, p. 1), many authors clearly find it difficult to disentangle themselves from that positioning. Thus, it has been used interchangeably with terms such as the centre left, the New Middle and the new radical centre. As well, there is much discussion of a new path which resolves the ideological tensions between Left and Right, between progressive liberalism and the radical free market and between social democracy and laissez-faire/neo-liberalism.

The struggle for authors is to extend their conceptualisation of the Third Way "beyond, rather than between, left and right" (Faux, 1999, p. 68) to consider fully issues of social justice, yet to accommodate conservative reforms. Those that believe in the Third Way argue that "a strong economy and a strong society are mutually reinforcing" (Latham, 1998, p. 384) and that the "sterile debate" (Clinton, 1998 in Abrams, 1999, p. 19) can move beyond those who identify government as the "answer" (ibid) and those who say it is "the enemy" (ibid).

The notion certainly has its detractors. It has been variously dismissed as "catchy as a journalistic headline" (Hemerijck & Visser, 1999, p. 117), as "a formula for winning elections" (Abrams, 1999, p. 17). Indeed the evidence suggests that latter might be a fair comment, for in various forms and to varying degrees, it has been adopted by political parties which now hold power in Britain, Germany, the United States, France, Western Europe and New Zealand.

Among those who believe it in, one persistent message is of hope for the marginalised. As such, it offers new possibilities to eliminate women's oppression. A useful question thus becomes: What is the potential of the Third Way to eliminate women's economic, political and social dislocation? To address this question, I first present an abbreviated exploration of the evolution and characteristics of the Third Way project. Second, I offer a brief feminist analysis of the concept and suggest a way forward. I conclude with a challenge to those who are concerned about women's dis-location.

The Third Way Project

The contemporary version of the Third Way supposedly evolved from several factors. First, the mixed results from both the social democratic and the neo-liberal projects fostered the search for a new approach which could both remediate inequalities and stabilise economies. Second, it was seen as a response to rapid changes which have transformed our worlds. These included: globalisation, advances in science and technology within an information age, and the transformation of societies' values and lifestyles.

The details of the modern vision of the Third Way are difficult to pin down. As Abrams notes: "the wonderful vagueness of the term…has been of immense utility, conjuring up as it does some magical mid-point between Left and Right that does not obligate the individual invoking it to be very clear about specifics" (1999, p. 19). However, despite its lack of specificity and although authors tend to emphasise, to varying degrees, their Left or the Right positions in these visions, some common themes emerge.

First, and foremost, although there is a strong emphasis on balance, the Third Way tends to be discussed and analysed in terms of economic opportunities, wealth and growth, rather than in terms of social terms and conditions. Gidden's writings (see: 1994, 1998, 1999) initially stimulated much discussion and his works have a strong and clear social agenda. Although he is a prominent guru in constructing the United Kingdom project, the most authors write of a society revitalised through economic progress and stability. The emphasis is on the details of "deregulation and privatisation, free trade, flexible labour markets, smaller safety nets and fiscal austerity" (Reich, 1999, p. 1).

A second theme revolves around the role of civil society and the third sector . They are often mentioned as keystones to the project which blossom as the state sector remains contained and semi-privatised. Most of the literature subsumes the notion of the latter – charities and non-profit voluntary organisations (Giddens, 1999) – under the former – the wide range of organisations operating outside the governmental and business sectors (Rieff, 1999). Lifelong learning is presented as the vehicle to create a civil society. Community renewal, capacity building and an active citizenry are frequently identified as desirable outcomes of strengthening society, particularly at the local level. Most frequently, these outcomes are linked through civil society to up-skilling, increased human capital, a flexible workforce, and to economic stability and growth.

Third, the vision is strongly based in a particular moral stance. Notably, "(paid) work is seen as a moral precept as well as a policy idea" (Reich, 1999, p. 1). Social justice is hailed as a worthwhile goal and principles of fairness, decency, humaneness, collaboration and cooperation are promoted as means to meet the challenges of the times. Productive partnerships at all levels are presumed to be possible: among individuals, organisations, the public and private spheres and nations. This connectedness links individuals to government in a democratic process (Lloyd & Bilefsky, 1998). In sum, a "social compact" (Reich, 1998) is created in which all members and levels of society feel obligations toward one another and share the resolution of problems.

Fourth, the vision is one of optimism. It suggests that individuals embrace risk and explore the benefits inherent in the new way. Challenges are reframed as opportunities in this world of optimism. The vision is positive, future orientated and consists of "what might be or even should be" (Dahredorf, 1999) rather than the presentation of lived conditions. Advances in technology, science and the information age are key elements in this optimism.

Fifth, the Third Way honours the notion of diversity. Its response to the multiple needs and demands from groups of individuals is to discuss social inclusion. It acknowledges that context is an important definer of economic and social needs, and that context also exhibits great diversity. There are thus an infinite number of responses to the needs of those within diverse groupings, and multiple understandings of how democracy, justice and capitalism can be exercised within particular contexts.

A Feminist Critique

Although the Third Way project is not without hope for feminists, below I briefly present my major concerns, that is, my concerns as a woman who acknowledges the diversity in "woman" and also believes that women share an oppression which is socially constructed. In part, this reflects space limitations, but it also reflects my basic assessment of the project.

First, I have a basic difficulty with this new model because it is based on two models which never worked particularly well in alleviating women's oppression in the first instance. The positive changes that we have seen in our day to day lives have been limited, and inconsistent within, between and among groups of women who differ in class, race, colour, sexual orientation or ability. Indeed, in many countries we have seen our economic, social and political gains reduced or retracted under both models. Given the failure of those "old" models, I remain very suspect of this one which attempts to take the best from each of them.

Second, much of the Third Way discourse is androcentric (Stalker, 1996). The most obvious way in which it displays this is by its tendency to make women invisible. At its most basic, women are simply not acknowledged in the discourse. This is more than a little depressing to realise, given that deletion of women from a discourse is one of the most primitive, unsophisticated and longstanding androcentric practices. Mention of us, when it does occur in the literature, is all too often inserted in superficial or unproblematised ways (see Giddens, 1999).

The invisibility of women is fostered by the Third Way conceputalisations of two of its major tenets. In the first instance, the Third Way conceptualises "work" as a single entity and ignores the distinction between paid and unpaid work. This consistent failure to acknowledge these two different kinds of work negates the essential contribution of women to the social, economic and political well-being of a learning society through our unpaid work. As well, it silences discussion about the inequitable sexual division of labour and the link between the public and private spheres, that is, spheres of power organisations and decision making, which tend to be dominated by men and spheres of domesticity, nurturing and caretaking which tend to be dominated by women. Indeed, usage of the same terms, public and private, as equivalents to state and business suggests an insensitivity to feminist theorisations.

In the second instance, the notion of "diversity," places problems related specifically to women's oppression into a pool of problems. This homogenisation places 50% of the world's population in a peculiarly diminished position. The resultant analysis of problems and creation of strategic solutions lacks credibility when it does not address the specific problems which women face simply because of our sex (Bacchi, 2000).

We have seen that women are deleted from the discourse by the primarily male authors, and that two key conceptualisations also disadvantage us. In addition, the gendered nature of some issues are ignored. Thus, we read of the "economically displaced" (Reich, 1999, p. 1), "low income earners" (Nahan, 1998), "...new realities of double, one-and-a-half, and less than one earned income households, unstable family structures...." " (Hemerijck & Visser, 1999, p. 117) or a general critique that the Third Way does not suit "groups....who aspire to a way of life in which conventional employment is less central" (White, 1998, p. 4). Such discussions, presented without their close links to women's lives, do a disservice to women for whom these situations are particularly relevant. Similarly, discussions of civil society ignore the gendered nature of a large portion of that phenomenon. Since women constitute the majority of participants who support the third, not-for-profit, voluntary sector, this weakens the total analysis. Given the high profile role which civil society is often allocated, this is an important silence.

The third major concern I have about the Third Way project is based in its optimism for the future. Located in the information age, based in computers, science and technology, it gives women little reason to be optimistic. Although women are shifting into these areas, there is considerable evidence that women have not adopted the cyberspace whole heartedly (Spender, 1995). At the same time, and in parallel with the more traditional media, cyberspace has become a prime promulgator of misogynistic messages, pornography and violence against women. The information age, applauded as a base for the success of the Third Way, does not deliver much hope to women unless reconstructed.

The fourth and final concern I have is based on the impure understandings we have of its success to date with regard to removing women's dis-location. Tony Blair, for example, has been identified as committed to improving the lot of women in the UK, under the banner of the Third Way. However, some of these advances have been led and controlled by the European Community (Dickens, 2000) and its involvement in sexual equality issues had less to do with its concern for them and more to do with expanding its jurisdiction and mobilizing support for the Community (Streeck, 1994).

In summary, the Third Way offers promise, but it clearly needs reconstructing if it is to address women's dis-location in society. This is the challenge for adult educators--to help shape that new way. This is not an improbable task, for the Third Way is not a reified reality. Rather it is a paradigm which, because of its highly ambiguous nature (see Eichbaum, 1999), is vulnerable to pressures.

We have an important opportunity to shape the Third Way discourse. We can call for the state's role in shaping society to be revitalised in a way which acknowledges women's economic, political and social location. Legislation has always had the capacity to improve women's lives. Legislation for equal pay for equal work, sex discrimination legislation, sexual harassment laws, the franchise to vote are just a few of the examples of that.

We can call, in addition to targeted legislation and laws, for an active state to provide funds, programmes, policies and structures targeted to women and to men's support of women. This separation out and treatment as "other" has its critics. However, it is one of a plethora of approaches which cannot be easily dismissed. Surely the failure of the First and Second Ways to deliver to women has demonstrated that no single way provides the solution. In keeping with the agenda of the Third Way, the trick will be to find a balance and the conditions under which the most successful approaches from each way can be enhanced.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Third Way is an emerging paradigm which may define, for many years into the future, the environment within which adult educators conduct their theorising, research and practice. It is a complex notion which has strong themes of economic opportunity, civil society, morality, optimism and diversity. I tried above to sound a warning about its deeply androcentric nature. At the same time, I suggested that adult educators have a "window of opportunity" to influence its direction and operationalisation. Given the strong connections of many in our field to civil society and the third sector, it is possible to imagine that we could make a real difference in the day to day lives of women. It is, as always, an exciting prospect.

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"Work? I Have Learned to Live with It": A Biographical Perspective on Work, Learning and Living... ...More than Just a Story

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Abstract: *A biographical perspective on living and learning is more than an outgrowth or continuation of current individualisation processes. Stories of women about work and life, show that the notion of biography holds possibilities to create other meaningful connections between individual and society than those nowadays judged problematic or at loss.*

Biographies Fixing Lives

"Biography" is often used as a category to describe and analyse the impact of complex social processes on the lives of individuals. Moreover, it suggests something about the way people (have to) deal with the changing characteristics and demands of life in society today. Concepts such as "selfreflexive biography" (Giddens, 1991) and "learning biography" (Alheit, 1992) point to the fact that nowadays, when collective guidelines and frames of reference lose their power to give shape and meaning to individual and social life, individuals are both free and obliged to make proper decisions to create and make sense of their life.

In ever new and changing circumstances individuals "fix their lives." This term, introduced by Fischer-Rosenthal (1998), articulates well the ambivalent significations of biography. The dominant conception refers to the "restoration" of what has been lost as a result of the destandardisation of the life course. While the blueprint of the normal life course is fading, people are being held personally responsible to keep up with and adapt to the fast social developments. The lifelong learning discourse tries to persuade them to acquire the qualifications necessary for a good position in the labour market. Moreover, they have to look for alternative and convincing ways for personal meaning giving. The notion of "fixing life" as a necessary survival reaction to current processes of individualisation, tends to reinforce the negative and estranging effects of these processes. We want to stress another way of understanding "fixing life," namely in the sense of "activating and creating anew" different possibilities for meaningful connections between individual and social life. Biographies can indeed be considered as personal answers to the current social situation, thereby bearing witness to agency. They show that individuals succeed in leading their life, making justifiable choices and handling new challenges in serendipitous relation to their social context and the given opportunity structures (Alheit, 1995; Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997).

From this point of view, the concept of biography has a surplus value in social research. For it holds the promise to do justice to the variety and multiplicity of concrete life practices, in contrast with the normative and unifying model of the institutionalised life course. The biographical approach is in fact popular in feminist research because it aims to explore and develop alternative views of and experiences with reality. It is also attractive for adult education research, in view of understanding the learning and action of individuals in relation to their social context. This biographical perspective on agency and biographical approach towards research inspire and guide our work.

Biographical Research on Women Learning for Work

Our research project is situated against the background of analyses of the present-day society and starts from the presupposition that both the relation between individualisation and labour market participation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Geldof, 1999) and between individualisation and lifelong learning (Born, 1999) apply differently to men and women. While paid labour is still conceived of as the pre-eminent way towards self-development and social integration, the current organisation of our labour market seems to have reached some limits. It can no longer realise the cherished emancipatory expectations. New opportunities and liberties for women are restricted. Lifelong learning pretends to open up other possibilities, yet it simultaneously does not fulfill the emancipatory ambitions. Lifelong learning practices today are mainly geared towards the labour market and to a large extent reproduce the dominant mechanisms, thereby neglecting other domains or ways of learning. For women, standardised pathways of life and work do not make real sense any longer. Women today have to make their own choices, give their own meaning to acquired rights in a desirable and responsible manner and create and appropriate new life styles. From this point of departure, we are primarily interested in knowing how women learn to handle the multiple and ambivalent realities of work in their lives, while relating meaningfully their biography to broader social issues. Next, we want to learn about the role adult education and training play in (stimulating and supporting) these learning processes.

In order to obtain a grounded understanding (Strauss, 1987) of these issues, we conducted a qualitative research in different stages. After a literature study, we empirically explored current social perspectives on women, labour and emancipation in Flanders, Belgium. We had interviews with representatives of different organisations covering all relevant social fields. This exploration of the public debate on women and labour shed light on the context in which individual learning processes of women take place. Later, we had biographical narrative interviews with eight women. Each of them experiences work as a crucial element in the reorientation of their life and they all seek support in various adult education practices to realise this change. As a final stage of the research, we will discuss our results in focusgroups with adult educators and engage in a joint reflection on adult education practice.

An important aspect of our research is the continuous interplay between our empirical interview data, our sensitising concepts and the developing theoretical insights. While illustrating this constant and iterative interpretation process, we focus in this paper on the biographies of two (out of the eight) women telling us their life story as part of our research. We give meaning to their lives from a biographical perspective and make a distinction between biographical reflectivity and biographical agency in relation to the work and learning women do. Adult education initiatives are understood as providers of particular social practices (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997) in which these learning processes can, amongst others, come about.

The "Work" Women Do

Magda's Story: A Standard Life Course ... or Biographical Agency

Magda grows up as the youngest in a family of merchants with nine children. It is her child's dream to have one day a shop of her own. After the school years, she gets married, has a son and stops working as an office assistant. A daughter is born. She takes the role of mother and housewife to heart. When her husband sets up his own business in their home, it feels as if he is penetrating her world. While taking up the book-keeping task next to all other activities, she loses control of her doings. As the children grow older, she feels more and more restricted. She looks for a way to break free from the "patterns" that limit her actions. Magda decides to attend evening-classes orienting her towards the baker business. Two years after having finished this training, she opens her special shop for the hobby baker. New horizons are opening up.

At first sight Magda's life course resembles the normal work biography of women: a period of work is interrupted by a period of family care, leading to new activity in the work force later on (Born, 1999). When focusing on her life story however, on the sense she makes of the events and choices in her life, several aspects and multiple layers of meaning appear. For Magda, work is a way of proving herself, of realising her potentialities. It is something she wants to do on her own, taking full responsibility, independently from both her brothers and sisters who have set an example and her husband. She considers and discusses alternative options to reorient her life in the intimate sphere of her family, takes a decision and succeeds in making it come true, in due time. In this light, attending the baker's training can be considered as a multi-layered strategy. It is a way to exercise her hobby (fitting her role as a housewife), to get qualified in book-keeping (useful for her "job" as cooperating spouse), and to keep the possibility open to start her own business (and realise her dream). This multitude of meanings also characterises her final re-entry into the labour market. Her shop is not only a means to realise herself and to be independent. She tries to relate her own project and development to a particular view on labour in our society. Individually, her hobby becomes her job. Socially, she brings together the world of work and the world of leisure, while contributing to meaningful leisure time activities. In this way Magda makes a meaningful connection between her self, her life project and life story on the one hand and opportunities on the labour market on the other.

Denise's Story: A Fragmented Life Course ... or a Selfreflexive Biography

Denise is a single woman without children. As a young girl she loses her father and becomes her mother's "partner".After finishing school, she goes to university. When obtaining her diploma, she doesn't feel able to meet the demands related to someone with a university degree. She finds a job in the sector which she is qualified for, yet it is below her university degree level. She does not like the job and is relieved when the contract ends. She gets involved in the socio-cultural sector as a volunteer. This she finds interesting and challenging, yet, it takes too much of her energy because she has not been professionally trained for it. Denise decides to participate in a training for polyvalent employee and gets a job as a secretary. This routinised job does not suit and frustrates her, while pushing her to person oriented courses and even to therapy seeking for help. Her participation to an international seminar on work and a stay abroad give her back her basic trust. Back home, she has difficulty in taking up the thread. She starts working in a flower shop, but is dismissed soon. Ever since, she has been out of a regular job. She attends another vocational training programme which does not bring her more luck on the labour market. Denise is back in therapy, signs up for several career counselings, takes in interim jobs. Meanwhile she is in another training programme.

Denise's life course is very capricious. At first sight, it seems like a messy, tangled succession of periods of working, unemployment, training, counseling, therapy,... She herself calls it "drifting". Nevertheless, her life story witnesses a certain continuity and coherence, relating different choices and experiences to each other and to her own self. Denise considers her life as a search for the self, for the person she really is. Work is very important for her in this respect. It is the most important way to participate in society. At the same time, she is very critical of the current flexible and stressful labour market and does not want to be part of it. She wants to find herself a suitable job, while also countering the labour market. On the one hand, Denise identifies herself with paid labour. On the other hand, she tries to (and because of her negative work experiences, has to) develop a strong personality apart from work. Denise stresses that se has gained insight in her relation to work, via therapy, from the confrontations of her work aspirations with the real work offers. She feels work does not create opportunities for her. On the contrary, it makes her get stuck, because it is either too easy and frustrating, or too difficult and challenging. Denise reflects on and analyses several options for training and work, but has not yet made a real choice to go for.

Working on the Self

Interpreting the life stories of Magda and Denise, we came across some ambiguities. Central in the two biographies is the development of the self. The multiple meanings, ambivalences and contradictions in the different story themes and threads however, raise questions about the existence of such an authentic self.

An authentic self. It is striking that both women are, in their own way and rhythm, (re)constructing their self/selves in relation to society. According to Fenwick, women see work as "a journey to identify, uncover, release, invent, nurture and struggle with an inner core that they clearly thought of as 'the' self" (1998, p. 200). This seems indeed to be true for Magda and Denise. In the present stage of their life, they are both relating work to the development of and the search for the self. Magda wants to manifest herself as an independent and responsible woman who can realise her dreams and take care of a business, next to being a wife and mother. Denise tries, in search of work, to get in touch with her own real self, her inner strength.

The illusion of coherence. Noticing the continuously changing meanings of work and the multiplicity of ambivalent selves in the stories these women told us, we wonder whether a coherent authentic self is not an illusion (Bloom, 1996). Do complexes of interweaving story threads point to fragmentation and incoherence? Or can they be understood as other, alternative, but meaningful representations of conflicting roles, perspectives and selves? Do they represent another kind of narratives which can contribute to make non-dominant realities and experiences visible and acceptable? And aren't we exactly interested in these alternative, self-willed ways of giving shape to work, biography and the self? From this point of view, Magda's biography should not be understood as the classic story of a successful re-entry. This would wrongly simplify her particular decision making process and mixed aspirations in different social fields. And the story of Denise is perhaps not just confusing and deviating. Maybe it reflects a specific logic to combine real ambiguous and contradictory events, feelings, experiences and situations.

Biographical reflectivity and agency. The striking difference between the two stories can be better understood when we make a distinction between biographical reflectivity and biographical agency. Magda has not only taken her time to change something in her situation, considering and discussing several options. She has eventually made a decision and carried it out. Denise on the contrary, is still looking for ways to develop her self in relation to meaningful work. Except for her commitment in counseling and training courses, she has not really taken any biographical action. At this moment in her life, Magda seems to have found a balance between the reconstruction of past choices and events and the construction of a project for the future. She has realised one of her dormant unlived lives (Alheit, 1995). For Denise, the reflexive retrospection of past experiences takes a lot of her time and energy, at the cost of prospective agency. She is thinking about and comparing her possible selves.

Biographical Learning in Social Practices

Participating in Social Practices

Usher, Bryant, & Johnston (1997) look at learning as a social practice, a continuous interplay between the (re-)construcion of subjectivity and the social reality. They distinguish four social practices in which learning processes of adults can be situated: vocational practices, lifestyle practices, confessional practices and critical practices. Returning to the stories of Magda and Denise, we can say that they engage in several of these practices: attending vocational training, taking up all sorts of courses, being in therapy, doing voluntary work, ... But how is their participation in these practices linked with the biographical development of their self on the one hand and adult education initiatives on the other? How does their learning come into being, and how is it supported and stimulated? We only have partial preliminary answers to these questions.

Magda does not only decide to participate in the baker's training with the intention to re-enter the labour market. It is a strategy serving several aims. Only in retrospect it becomes clear which option she was able to realise. It seems that the vocational training could only be succesful because it made sense to Magda at a certain time, in combination with other developing aspects in her life and opportunities on the labour market. Moreover, she gives a wilful shape to the result of the training, connecting individual aspirations and social issues.

Denise participated in divergent kinds of training, counseling and educational practices. She herself perceives an evolution and meaning in this "consumption" of initiatives. First, she turned to courses directed to the transfer and acquisition of (general) knowledge. Afterwards, she was more interested in learning new skills. Finally, she needed initiatives which helped her on her way to personal growth and understanding. This evolution mirrors her learning: it is not knowledge or skill she is lacking, but she feels hindered by her (lack of insight in her) self. All educational practices Denise was involved in, are given meaning from this perspective and in view of Denise's personal search. In this way, the predetermined educational goals are not reached. Not a single vocational training in Denise's biography has lead to a more or less clear positioning on the labour market. Therapy on the contrary has resulted in a better understanding.

Work for Adult Education Practices

The relationship between adult education initiatives and individual learning processes is equivocal. Education plays an increasing role in the meaningful structuring and construction of people's biographies. Denise's story illustrates well the way in which a life story can (and has to) be made sense of as a learning and education biography. The other side of the picture is that an educational offer is always integrated in a particular life plan and life story, as the examples of Magda and Denise have shown us. "Education should not be conceived of as a mere "*input*" within a simple input-output model of teaching and learning, but more as "*intakes*," that is, as active constructions on the part of biographical subjects" (Dausien, 1996, p. 508). From this point of view, the intended impact of education cannot be foretold or guaranteed and seems to be rather limited. This is especially true when educational interventions are not inspired by the search for meaningful connections between individual's biographies and the opportunity structures in society.

Back and Forth

Confronted with ambivalent and changing perspectives on work, women more or less connect the construction of the self with work. They define their participation to the labour market in a specific way. The tensions between their life and work aspirations on the one hand and the opportunities and limitations of the labour market on the other hand, make that women live and perceive work (experiences) as either a threat or a challenge for their self in process. Depending upon women's competences to deal with this, through reflection and/or action, they succeed in giving their own meaning and direction to work in their lives and in society. The social practices they engage themselves in, including the practice of adult education, can play an important role in this learning process.

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Civil Capital, Adult Education and Community Sustainability: A Theoretical Overview

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Abstract: *As communities struggle to overcome the negative impacts of corporate globalization, they are searching for ways to maintain or achieve sustainability in an era that values economic efficiency above community life and interests. Adult educators can support communities in their search for sustainability by helping to resist corporate globalization and by building civil capital.*

Introduction

Adult educators have a long history of involvement in community life, working with people in their own environment for social justice and democracy. Their work has helped to build the dream of a more inclusive civil society – one that has a place for all people. That dream is now threatened by the insatiable demands of corporate globalization. We are entering what Susan George (1997, p. 1) calls the "Age of Exclusion," a time when the market, which increasingly determines political, social and economic priorities, has "no place for the growing number of people who contribute little or nothing to production or consumption." Faced with the loss of jobs, resources and land, as well as publicly-funded health care, education and social services, increasing numbers of people are becoming unemployed, homeless and defeated. Such exclusion undermines both urban and rural communities, leaving them vulnerable to fragmentation and collapse. Can adult education help to break the cycle of exclusion and build sustainable communities?

Community Sustainability

The rise of corporate globalization has thrust the issue of community sustainability to the forefront of public discussion. The restructuring that characterizes corporate globalization has resulted in such dislocations as hospital closings, school closings, factory relocations, and the privatization of public services, seriously affecting the sustainability of many communities.

Communities, as social networks of interacting individuals, usually concentrated into a defined territory (Johnston, 1994, p. 80), have always experienced sustainability problems. However, the competitive pressures of the global market have intensified these problems, while at the same time eliminating the means to deal with them. Environmental legislation, minimum wage laws, equity legislation, health and safety regulations, food safety, welfare and unemployment coverage, and universal health, education and old age security now all stand as barriers to international trade.

The concept of sustainability itself, although widely used, is vague and ambiguous. While not all things to all people, it means many things to many people, forming the basis of understanding for terms such as sustainable development and sustainable communities. Originally an environmental term, sustainability now justifies a myriad of policies and projects – from environmental plans and community activities to loan schemes and structural adjustment programs.

In addition, the concept of sustainability is often understood in terms of continuing economic growth (Daly, 1996, pp. 193-4). However, economic growth, as expressed through corporate globalization, is grounded in a set of values that does not select for decisions of civil or environmental sustainability. Based on a monetized system of gain and loss, these values block recognition of life itself as a value, resulting in decisions that select against any option that does not turn a profit or remain accountable to stockholders' expectations (McMurtry, 1999). Such values are driving the transition from welfare-state capitalism to the "cancer stage of capitalism" (McMurtry, 1999), with important repercussions for community sustainability.

However, a new understanding of sustainability can rescue it from the narrow confines of econometric thinking and allow it to serve community interests. Instead of an end-point that maximizes economic efficiency to benefit the very few, sustainability can be seen as a means of making group decisions regarding community viability – in other words, a social learning

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process.

John Sewell (1998, p. 37-38), former mayor of Toronto, sees sustainability as a process of small changes in the right direction. It is not an add-on, but an approach and a never-ending process. Sewell points out that decisions about sustainability made by the public realm increase the chance of getting those decisions right.

Röling and Wagemakers (1998) also understand sustainability as a public process. They see it as

> the outcome of the collective decision-making that arises from interaction among stakeholders ... The formulation of sustainability in this manner implies that the definition is part of the problem that stakeholders have to resolve. (p. 9)

In formulating sustainability as a collective decision-making process, Röling and Wagemakers (1998) follow Habermas' argument that

> society can overcome the momentum of what we have constructed in the past ... only by reaching consensus about what action to take next, i.e. not on the basis of controlling things (instrumental rationality), not on the basis of beating competitors or opponents (strategic rationality), but on the basis of shared learning, collaboration, and the development of consensus about the action to take (communicative rationality). (p. 13)

In this way, sustainability as a social learning process provides an opportunity for communities to come together to negotiate the terms of their continued existence, and to devise the action agenda to realize it. Moving sustainability from the scientific/economic realm to the hermeneutic realm still allows a role for expert knowledge, but, more importantly, highlights and centralizes community negotiation, decision-making, knowledge creation and agency. In this way, both urban and rural communities can become learning communities – sites of social learning, resistance and change.

Sustainability is incremental, and can start with the smallest of steps. Even coming together to oppose the closure of a local school or the loss of local jobs to a low-wage "free-trade zone" helps to define what people think a sustainable community includes: public school centres and productive employment.

Such opposition is built on a common cause, sustainability in the face of corporate globalization, which can promote common values while still allowing for dynamic community difference. As feminist Betty Friedan (in Smith, 1999) asserts:

> The new human challenges may not be organized around gender, race, or class, but around the economy, not just because the economy is now irrefutably and irretrievably global in its fundamental reach and character, but because not one soul on the earth today can escape its impact. (p. 115)

Friedan's view is echoed by Lynch (1998, p. 155), who reports that the literature of the International Forum on Globalization, a constellation of social movements and individuals, states that its initial goal is the introduction of the concept that economic globalization is the central factor affecting people's jobs, communities and the environment.

The common values that spark opposition to corporate globalization can be summed up as life values, that is, values that promote life first and foremost. Philosopher John McMurtry (1998, p. 298) calls such an orientation the life code of value, which preserves or extends life (organic movement, sentience and feeling, and thought) through the input of means of life (e.g., clean air, food, water, shelter, affective interaction, environmental space and accessible learning conditions). Holding these means of life at their established scope reproduces life-value; widening or deepening them to a more comprehensive range increases life-value.

Opposing the life code of value is what McMurtry (1998) calls the money of value, which enables money to be preserved and extended, first and foremost. In this code of value, money, not life, is the "regulating objective of thought and action" (p. 299). In other words, "the more money that returns to the investor of money, whatever may happen to life, the better the investment" (p. 299). Thus, money is not used for life, but life is used for money. From this code of value, it follows that more money is always better by definition.

An understanding of these value orientations has enormous consequences for community sustainability. Depending on which value orientation is chosen (whether consciously or unconsciously), the outcomes will be very different. Choosing the money code of value promotes sustainability as continuing economic growth that benefits the very few. Choosing the life code of value promotes sustainability as a social learning process that involves group decision-making regarding community viability and agency.

Civil Capital

Community opposition to corporate globalization can build civil capital, civil solidarity that contributes to actions that enhance community sustainability (Sumner, 1999, p. 81). Otherwise stated, civil capital can be seen as community-group agency that blocks or challenges unsustainable activities. While conceiving of community solidarity as a form of capital development could be seen as not only legitimizing capitalism, but also instrumentalizing human relationships, there are good reasons for using this term.

Capital in the generic sense means "wealth in any form used to help in producing more wealth" (Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 334). This meaning is reflected in the roots of the word capital itself, which is connected etymologically to the words "cattle" and "chattel." Capital, understood as wealth that creates more wealth, has enormous potential as a concept for the sustainability of communities as they try to accumulate the kind of wealth that will help them to survive the destructive forces of corporate globalization.

However, the econometric thrust of the corporate globalization agenda ties all meanings of capital to the money values of the global market. Thus, the *Harper Collins Dictionary of Economics* defines capital as "the contribution to productive activity made by investment in physical capital ... and in human capital," which makes a "significant contribution toward economic growth" (Pass et al, 1991, p. 256). This linkage forms the basis for theory and practice about human capital and, to a large extent, social capital. But, in reappropriating the deep meaning of the concept of capital from the superficial meaning of economists, civil capital can put it to work on behalf of communities struggling against the bottom-line imperatives of the global market by creating forms of community wealth that sustain themselves and grow over time - the essence of any good form of capital.

Dependent on alternatives to values based on money, civil capital situates itself outside the market and inside the community, as one of its deeper resources for community sustainability. This location rules out civil capital's worth in the eyes of the global market because it does not directly maximize profits. In other words, civil capital cannot have positive value in the global corporate market system because it is used to promote life, not money.

Unlike social and human capital, which carry a veneer of political neutrality but work to promote money values, civil capital promotes life values. Overtly political, civil capital is based on the understanding that politics is the process in which a community confronts a series of great issues and chooses between opposing values (Lipson, 1981). The greatest issue facing both rural and urban communities today is corporate globalization. It ultimately forces them to choose between the life code of value and the money code of value. Choosing the life code of value promotes civil capital development, which can protect and enhance community sustainability.

The power of civil capital is shown not only in communities that take a stand against the corrosive effects of corporate globalization, but also in situations like the opposition to the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999. That opposition was civil solidarity *par excellence*, the demands of a global civil society made manifest to those who control the global economy. In spite of their myriad local concerns, the Teamsters marched with people dressed as sea turtles and the AFL-CIO joined with members of the Council of Canadians. All were there to promote life values over money values, whatever their specific interests. Such opposition and alliances provide prime sites of struggle and learning for adult education.

A New Role for Adult Education

Antonio Gramsci (in Hoare & Smith, 1999) maintained that

> Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field. (p. 350)

For Gramsci (in Hoare & Smith, 1999, p. 12), hegemony involves the "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group. The greatest hegemonic force in the world today is corporate globalization, legitimated by tacit consent in the form of public capitulation to a fallacious inevitability, but backed by enormous force (e.g., the Asian meltdown, Kosovo). In spite of this consent (tacit or overt), however, hegemony is always contested, always opposed. And it is in this opposition that adult education can find a new role by supporting civil capital development for community sustainability.

As Mayo (1999, p. 84) notes, adult education "can serve to consolidate as well as challenge the existing hegemony," or in Habermasian terms, can either serve the system or promote the lifeworld. Historically, it has done both, but the unparalleled force of corporate globalization demands an unprecedented response from adult educators. And while civil society

> is regarded as an area that, for the most part, consolidates, through its dominant institutions, the existing hegemonic arrangements, ... [it] also contains sites or pockets, often within the dominant institutions themselves, wherein these arrangements are constantly renegotiated and contested. (Mayo 1999, p. 7)

Adult educators have long been community activists, promoting a life-rich, sustainable civil society. In fact, they have been building civil capital for decades by their involvement in community issues. Now is the time to recognize and encourage their contribution to community sustainability. Whether it's a campaign against opening a Walmart store or demands for labelling genetically modified foods, adult educators can be part of the opposition that builds civil capital and enhances community sustainability. Working with community groups of all kinds – farm women, parents' groups, labour organizations, environmental coalitions, church groups – adult educators can take a stand against corporate globalization, break the pattern of tacit consent and join the counter-hegemonic force that values life over money, and community sustainability over corporate globalization. They can also help to formulate and develop "a normative stance that seeks to negate the power of market ideology and promote an alternative" (Lynch, 1998, p. 155).

Realistically speaking, opposition to corporate globalization is not sweeping through urban and rural communities. Adult educators are well aware of the sort of community inertia that is encompassed in Bourdieu's (1990, p. 53) concept of habitus – systems of durable, transposable dispositions. Created and recreated as objective structures and personal history converge, these systems of dispositions express the idea of predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination (Bellamy, 1994, p. 125-6).

Habitus is both a limit and a site of resistance. In this way, while the tendency of many people might be tacit consent, there is also a history of shared civil concerns that balks at the commodification of public goods, at pricing the priceless, that is the new colonialism of corporate globalization. That shared history is what McMurtry (1999b, p. 1) calls the civil commons – "any co-operative human construction that protects and/or enables the universal access to life goods." McMurtry (1998, p. 25) describes the civil commons as "the vast social fabric of unpriced goods, protecting and enabling life in a wide and deep seamless web of historical evolution that sustains society and civilization." Universal health care, environmental regulations, libraries and public education are all co-operative human constructs that form part of the civil commons. The shared history of the civil commons can form the basis of a community site of resistance to corporate globalization. Adult educators can acknowledge that shared history and build on it, promoting civil capital and building community sustainability in the resistance to the effects of corporate globalization.

Conclusion

Little has been written regarding the political-economic dimensions of community sustainability and the work of adult educators within that arena. Civil capital introduces a working general concept for sustainable community action and the contribution adult educators can make to that action. Grounded in life values and based on the generic meaning of capital, civil capital can maintain and build a life-rich civil society that involves more than just money values. Civil capital can provide a tool in the fight against corporate globalization. It removes the veneer of "neutrality" from all forms of capital development and reveals a political-economic dimension that is always covertly present, but never admitted, in concepts like human capital and social capital. It also represents a social, not an individual, approach to both capital development and adult education. And, finally, it appropriates capital from the system and moves it to the lifeworld, thereby providing an opportunity for the lifeworld to colonize the system. Working from a life-value orientation, adult educators can encourage civil capital development by joining communities in their resistance to corporate globalization and their search for sustainability.

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The Role of Positionality in Teaching for Critical Consciousness: Implications for Adult Education

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Abstract: *This paper examines how differences in positionality of the three co-authors (as a white man, a white woman, and an African-American woman) informs both the theorizing and the differences in practice of education for critical consciousness in adult higher education settings.*

Introduction

The role of adult and higher education in teaching for critical consciousness and social change and in responding to the educational needs of a multicultural society has been discussed in many adult education circles. These discourses are influenced by a variety of theoretical orientations with social transformation and emancipation as its goal, including critical theory and pedagogy (Brookfield, 1995; Shor, 1996; Welton, 1995), transformational learning (Mezirow, 1995), feminist theory and pedagogy (Hart, 1992; hooks, 1994; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996; Tisdell, 1998), Africentric and critical multicultural perspectives on education (Banks, 1993; Hayes & Colin, 1994; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995, Sheared, 1994). Each of these paradigms has a different emphasis and primary unit of analysis; yet, they all are concerned with the role of education in working for critical consciousness and social change. Many emancipatory adult educators are informed by all of these paradigms, and are thus theoretically grounded in similar places. Yet, as adult educators, we do represent different social locations and positionality (race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ableness), and thus tend to implement these theoretical frames *in practice* in quite different ways. We believe that these differences in practice are based in part by our differences in positionality. This issue of how the positionality of the instructor shapes teaching and learning for critical consciousness is one of the important questions for the 21st century that has not been adequately explored. Therefore the purpose of this paper is two-fold: (a) to explore the similarities and differences in the theoretical orientation of critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, transformative learning, and critical multiculturalism: and (b) to discuss how positionality impacts *the practice* of emancipatory adult education, based partly on our own experience as three co-authors of different social locations and that of other adult educators.

The Literature that Informs the Paper

When exploring the theoretical literature of teaching for critical consciousness in adult education the lens of practice brings to light the differences and similarities among the various discourses. *Critical pedagogy* tends to give greater attention to privilege and oppression where the primary unit of analysis is class. From this perspective, the teacher is seen more as a liberator and less as a facilitator with the goal of helping the oppressed recognize the sociopolitical and economic contradictions of the world and how to take action against (primarily) class-based oppression. The critical pedagogue openly advocates for social justice through the use of problem posing and dialogical means in a collective and horizontal relationship with students as subjects not objects. Practice is rooted in rationality and students are encouraged to look beyond the personal to the political (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1996, Welton, 1995). No attention is given to the positionality of the instructor or how it shapes learning. Similar to critical pedagogy is *transformative learning*, where both share rational, non-affective, and subject-centered approaches to emancipation. However, they part company at the juncture of collective and individual transformation. Mezirow (1995) finds collective transformation dependent on personal transformation, where the instructor is seen more as a facilitator contextualizing the teaching to the learner's experience and promoting social change through individual self-understanding and personal fulfillment. The primary unit of analysis here is the individual, where difference is viewed in terms of personality not the student's social location, and no attention is given to the instructor's positionality, with little analysis of how systems of power and privilege shape learning. *Feminist pedagogy* in general shifts the focus of teaching for critical consciousness from an emphasis on rationality, to one that emphasizes learning through relationships and affective ways of knowing, where an emphasis has been on gender. There are different versions of feminist pedagogy, and it is only the structural and poststructural models that deal with systems of power and privilege based on the intersections of gender with race, class, sexual orientation (Tisdell, 1998). In these models the instructor focuses on challenging power relations based on an examination of how participants construct knowledge through the affective and rational domains. The unit of analysis is the *connections between* the individual and the social structure or the systems of power and privilege (their race, class, gender) that shape how individuals view the world. Finally, the discourses of *critical multiculturalism*, also inform the emancipatory adult education discourses. Grounded initially in the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s with an emphasis on how to teach to alter power relations based on race, the primary unit of analysis in critical multiculturalism is race (Banks, 1997; hooks, 1994; Sleeter, 1996) But these discourses are also informed by the discourses of power and privilege in critical theory and pedagogy. The issue of positionality (particularly based on race) of both instructors and students are dealt with here and the instructor's purpose is to examine how race (and other) power relations shape teaching and learning. A confluence of these bodies of literature can offer some direction to how emancipatory adult educators might implement practice. But a more thorough look at how positionality of instructors and students is related to the classroom processes is necessary.

How the Paper was Constructed

The co-authors, Mary Stone Hanley (an African-American woman), Libby Tisdell (a white woman), and Ed Taylor (a white man) dialogued about their similarities and differences in the ways they approach educating for critical consciousness in light of their positionality and where they situate themselves relative to the intersecting paradigms discussed in the previous paragraph. Through a taped dialogue, we discovered in a very tangible way, how positionality influences our ways of knowing and doing. We found that despite our similar theoretical grounding, our positionality also shaped the way we interacted and HOW we even talked about these issues. Three significant themes emerged from over 10 hours of taped discussion, that of a) positionality in our theorizing and practice; b) constructing knowledge between emotions and rationality; and c) deconstructing teacher authority and teacher relations. Each theme is explored via portions of the actual dialogue because it preserves the individual voices and makes the differences evident. It was also the dialectic manner of the dialogue process that led to a new understanding about the role of positionality in teaching for critical consciousness.

Positionality in Our Theorizing and Practice

Libby: I'm convinced, based both on research and my own experience, that the positionality (gender, race, class) of both instructors and learners shape how classroom dynamics unfold and how knowledge is constructed in a learning environment. Unfortunately as a topic of study until very recently it has been ignored in the literature. I have become aware of how it shapes teaching and learning and interacts with affect from teaching classes that focus on diversity issues. The content of such classes is controversial and people typically have strong emotions and much passion. It is neither possible nor desirable to deal with these issues *only* on a rational level. In terms of my own teaching, the fact that I am a white woman from a middle class background, socialized to value relationships, affects my teaching and how students relate to me, and the various positionalities of the students affect the way they relate to each other. I use lots of stories, and examples from my own and others' life experience when trying to clarify a point in theory we are working with. As a result, students probably know more about me, and expect me to be somewhat more relational and nurturing than they would of most white males. In trying to make positionality visible, I include in my curriculum the works of lots of people of color, and highlight and value cultural differences in the way we speak, tell a story, sing, interact, learn. Of course, I do this as a white woman. What is important in educating myself (as well as others) for critical consciousness is that *I know* that I do this as a *white woman*. This way I can guard against assuming that others should interact and behave as I do, using "whiteness" as the standard.

Mary: As an educator, critical multiculturalism is most reflective of my current world outlook based on experience as a marginalized working woman and as an African American confronted by the dominant U.S. culture. Critical multiculturalism as discussed by Banks (1997), Sleeter (1996), and Gay (1995) brings the discourse on race, social class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation to the center of the story of who we are as a country, and contests the half truths, lies, and mythology that has been put forth as history and contemporary social relationships. The decentering of power in multiculturalism and the social justice promise of critical theory, to me provide a framework for social change, and a grounding place for my own work. My positionality as an African American woman has a lot to do with people's expectations and how we inter-relate in my classroom. I'm teaching a predominantly European-American group. I don't want to shut them down. When confronted by racism, which is possible, even probable, I'm afraid that I will silence them if I lose my temper. I always start off the Multicultural Education and Diversity and Equity class by saying that European Americans have to deal with their guilt, and people of color have to deal with their rage. I try to get all of my students to understand that my ultimate students are the students that these people will teach, for I am an adult educator working with adults who are, or will be, teaching children. Teachers need to know that they are cultural workers.

Ed: There are two philosophical paradigms that inform my thinking: that of the critical humanist (a critical humanist rooted in rationality and personal autonomy based on the work of Mezirow, 1995, and Brookfield, 1995) and the emancipatory feminist paradigm more in line with the philosophy of bell hooks (1994), which more directly deals with positionality. First, I believe, along with Freire and hooks, that no education is politically neutral. My teaching methods, course curriculum, and ways I learn with my students reflect a particular political perspective of whose voices are included and what is considered knowledge. In most of my classes, I talk about my agenda as well as have students explore their own in relationship to the topic under study. A second belief I hold is the importance of recognizing one's positionality and how multiple identities, student and teacher's alike, shape their educational experience. A third belief, without which the others could not be understood, is the essentiality of critical-reflection. Given these beliefs, on practical level, I approach the idea of positionality by attempting to create an educational environment that allows difference to flourish. This means taking an active role at addressing the power disparities that exist between and among students and faculty by establishing ground rules early on, including often marginalized voices about the topic under discussion through readings, outside speakers, and setting conditions and a tone necessary for all voices to be included in critical discourse.

Constructing Knowledge: Between Emotions and Rationality

Ed: I would say that in most adult education teaching paradigms, particularly that of transformative learning as discussed by Mezirow and others, promoting rationality is seen as the basis for fostering critical consciousness. However, research clearly shows that this is a pretty limited perspective of the process of change (Taylor, 1997). Even though rational discourse and reflection are fundamental, emotions, other ways of knowing, and unconscious learning are of equal importance.

Mary: I definitely think the balance on the scale of rationality and emotion is culturally constructed. I find Anglocentric culture very rational and somewhat emotionally repressed. And I find that there is so much learning that goes on physically. The physical self is a major source of information and if we only use one source, the mind, we'd limiting our learning. When you put something into physical motion you experience it in a different way, and it becomes internalized in a different way.

Libby: I totally agree when you say that how we deal with emotions and rationality is cultural. As an

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Irish-Catholic girl/woman, I was socialized to attend to other people's emotional needs. At the same time, I was also socialized to avoid conflict (anger is "bad"), and other "negative emotions" (the overt expression of want, need, or desire is "selfish"), and to "rationally" deal with (and not express) such negative emotions. Further, the body was seen as something to be suspicious of – certainly not as a source of knowledge.

Mary: The academy has always been about the Eurocentric aspects of the dominant society. To not introduce other ways of knowing and other ways of thinking is to do a disservice to people whom we are trying to educate, because they will have to deal with other people from other cultures. This old reality is based on White supremacy; it's based on a certain class position.... If we're going to claim to be intellectuals, and boast that the academy is intellectually challenging, then we're going to have to address the true complexity of our culture – now *that's* an academic challenge!

Ed: Like previous research, on an intellectual level I recognize the significance of feelings and their interrelationship with rationality, but on a practical level I often find myself at an impasse of how to deal with intense feelings in the classroom. Feelings most often seem to manifest themselves in relationship to personal self-disclosure about a particular event or experience. Furthermore, too much focus on the personal starts to turn the classroom experience from one of education into therapy.... In response to this challenge of having to engage emotions to effectively promote rationality I draw on the guidance of hooks (1994) shaping my practice. To begin, I work at getting my students to recognize that the personal is always a partial view of an experience, never complete, indicative of a particular perspective, and needs to be recognized for its partiality. And second, that the personal voice of experience should be interpreted only within the boundaries of that experience, such that one personal experience does not imply understanding or knowledge of related experiences. Third, the personal is only a beginning point, not an ending, instead it must be problematized and connected to the broader social, political, and historical context of which originates.

Libby: I totally agree. If we just go by "my experience" or this person's experience, who more or less become a spokesperson for an entire cultural group, then we've done a disservice. Experience is always partial. But I think our job, is helping ourselves and our students understand other people's experience, in some ways beyond just what is written and spoken. We can do this partially through readings, through exploring theory. This part is easy for me. But, we can also do it by providing experiential opportunities in the classroom. And for critical consciousness, I think you have to DO things differently too, beyond just talk about it. This is what is harder for me – trying to figure out what to DO differently.

Deconstructing Teacher Authority: Teacher Student Relations

Ed: Speaking of dealing with power relations, one of the things we always need to be mindful of in the higher education classroom, is issues about dealing with our role as an authority, as the "representative of the university." I'm always trying to figure out how to deal with this, because critical and feminist pedagogy approaches to teaching and learning, decenter the notion of "teacher authority" and attempt to have students become authorities of their own knowledge.

Libby: How to deal with authority issues is quite central to the feminist and critical pedagogy literature. As a feminist who does value relationships, I try to model a relational or collaborative authority style. But for me, some things that are not negotiable. I would agree with Freire that I see myself as an educator and NOT a facilitator (Freire & Macedo, 1995), so participants will read about some unnegotiated aspects of the curriculum that I choose relative to the course content. And they will have to do some writing – that's part of what higher education is about, and I guess is a part of "academic rigor." But there are lots of aspects that are negotiable, both of the course content, and the classroom process, so these aspects are negotiated at the beginning, and in so doing groups claim some of their own power to determine how the class will be conducted.

Mary: I always cringe a bit when I hear the term "academic rigor." It's usually said as if there is some codified standard written in stone somewhere. Some of the most racist, sexist, classist research and material is written with "academic rigor". I expect my students to write coherently and to synthesize and evaluate the literature and classroom discussions with their thinking and experience. I expect them to test theory and practice through praxis. In the Diversity and Equity class, I start off with a lesson in dialectical materialism. A tenant of dialectics is that you only know something in its movement. You never truly know anything in its stasis; really knowing something is understanding where it came from, as well as where it is now, its internal structure, and its external context. We study White supremacy in this context. Then I have them write autobiographies. They have to write about themselves, but they also have to do research and apply that research to their autobiography, reflecting on how the research material affects their understanding of their development and their teaching. I have them go back from their earliest memories because it's difficult to know where you are until you look at how you got there. It's been an interesting phenomena to me that so many European Americans don't consider themselves to have culture. I find that absolutely fascinating. It's like a fish being in water. They're been in the water for so long that they don't recognize it as being anything.

Conclusion

As we reflected on our initial dialogue we were struck with a number of insights. First, in spite of our very similar theoretical grounding, both our teaching practices and the way we talk about them are quite different; we believe this is a direct result of our differences in positionality by race, gender, and class, in combination with personality differences. For example, it seems that while Ed is very much interested in teaching for social change, he still emphasizes rationality as a way to get there in a higher education classroom. While he recognizes experience as important, he emphasizes critically (and rationally) reflecting both on those experiences and how positionality shapes them. This is perhaps the most typical (of the three of us) of what has been done in adult higher education in the past ten years. We believe that this privileging of the rational and relative discomfort with too much emphasis on the affective or experiential apart from rationality is informed in large part by his positionality as a white male, along with his personality. Mary, on the other hand, wants the students to actually have a different experience in the classroom itself; she doesn't just want students to critically reflect on past experiences. The emphasis on constructing knowledge through engaging in a different experience, such as exploring an idea or way of being, and physically "putting it in motion" in the classroom is primary for her. Critical reflection is also important, to examine how the comfort/discomfort level relates to one's culture of origin, and how new ways of knowing/experiencing can create new forms of cultural knowledge as we work for social change; yet it is not more important that the experience itself. We believe that Mary's greater comfort level with having the experience and "doing things differently" in the classroom, is due in part to race differences as well as Mary's personality and life experience as a theater artist. Mary's experience within the African American community, has made her more comfortable with greater modulation in voice, physical movement, and gesture as part of day to day communication patterns, which affects her comfort level in this regard. Of course, quite apart from her cultural background, Mary's experience as a theater artist also increases her comfort level with doing these types of activities. Libby is situated somewhere between Mary and Ed – incorporating more space for affect and emotion than Ed, still with quite an emphasis on rationality, but struggling to incorporate "doing things differently" as part of education for critical consciousness. Her comfort with rationality is reflective of her Irish-Catholic cultural background of "existing from the neck up," but as a woman in particular, she is quite comfortable with "positive emotions" that promote relational knowing. Yet. she struggles with anger, or too much passionate exchange, although believes this is an important aspect of educating for critical consciousness. We believe this is fairly typical of white women.

The fact that we are very close friends affected the way in which we could engage in this dialogue. We could tease each other about being uncomfortable with emotions or affect, or conflict, or emphasizing power relations, or physical or experiential activities in the classroom. We could argue about, and examine whether something was a "personality quirk" or indicated a gender, cultural, or class tendency. Yet we believe that our positionality and that of each of our students affects how students relate with the course content and each other in the classroom. In spite of some of our differences, it is important to recognize our common theoretical grounding, and the fact that we all value and require our students to integrate insights from both theory and practice. We also recognize the importance of engaging students holistically – affectively, somatically, and rationally, although practically speaking, because of our positionality, each of us is more comfortable with some of those ways of interrelating than others. We also differ in our comfort level with degrees of self disclosure in our teaching and writing, which is also partly shaped by our positionality along with our personality differences. Finally, we recognize the strengths and limitations of our own power as a teacher and the role it plays in teacher-student relationship. While we have only scratched the surface in discussing how positionality shapes learning, our hope is that by beginning this discussion other adult educators will continue it with us along with their colleagues and students.

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Partners in the Transfer of Learning: A Qualitative Study of Workplace Literacy Programs

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Abstract: *This study investigated the common types of transfer strategies used by the key stakeholders in 11 Canadian workplace education programs. Results indicated that the Role Time Model was a useful classification system: to understand the dimensions of a transfer partnership; to document the transfer of learning strategies and to identify the barriers influencing the transfer of learning.*

Introduction

At first glance, the notion of transfer of learning seems very straightforward and simple. However, it is a highly complex concept to investigate, measure and demonstrate. Taylor (1998) refers to the transfer of learning in workplace literacy programs as the educational component of the economic search for the return on investment. It is more concerned with the learning process, the workplace as a learning context and the application by trainees of new knowledge and skills gained through a learning activity. Within this frame, the present study attempted to unravel some of the questions related to enhancing the process of transfer.

In the context of the workplace, transfer of learning is defined as the effective application by trainees to their jobs of the knowledge and skills gained as a result of attending an educational program. (Cormier & Hagman, 1987; Broad, 1997) It occurs when learning in one context or with one set of materials impacts on performance in another context or with other related materials. From a theoretical point of view, transfer of learning occurs whenever prior learned knowledge and skills affect the way in which new knowledge and skills are learned and performed. When later acquisition or performance is facilitated, transfer is positive. When later acquisition or performance is impeded, transfer is negative. Simply put, transfer of learning is often referred to as the "So What?" or "Now What?" phase of the program planning process.

In one of the first critical reviews on the training transfer literature, Baldwin and Ford (1988) pointed out that there is a growing recognition of a transfer problem in organizational training. It is estimated that while North American industries annually spend over one hundred billion dollars in training and development, not more than 10% of these expenditures actually result in transfer to the job. Researchers have similarly concluded that the amount of training conducted in an organization fails to transfer to the work setting (p. 63). As sponsors of workplace literacy programs demand more concrete and useful results, it is essential that a concerted plan be developed for helping participants apply what they have learned.

The Role and Time Model of Learning Transfer

In terms of a classification system that addresses the various factors influencing the transfer of learning, Broad and Newstrom (1992) developed a Role and Time Model which depicts three key roles – instructor, trainee, supervisor and three training time periods – before, during and after. This transfer matrix assists in the understanding of who are the people responsible for the transfer of learning and when are the right times to support transfer. Each of the nine cells in the matrix contains a wide range of teaching strategies, learning strategies and support strategies.

Using this classification system as a developing framework, the purpose of the study was to examine the different roles in a transfer partnership and the time periods in a training program that support transfer. Specifically, the study sought to identify the common types of transfer strategies used by the instructors, trainees and supervisors and the barriers that keep trainees from applying newly learned skills to their jobs. A broad range of workplace literacy programs across Canada was studied.

Methodology

The research strategy of this exploratory study was qualitative. This approach seemed suitable, given the complexity of the transfer concept. Through a National Advisory Committee, 11 workplace literacy programs were purposely selected, based on four criteria. Programs selected for the study were from the manufacturing, utilities, service, mining, health, and natural resources sectors. As well as representing the various occupational sectors, these programs also represented the different regions of the country and models of program delivery.[1]

Participants for the study were recruited from three different types of program stakeholders – the instructor, the trainee and the workplace supervisor. Interview schedules were [1]developed for each of the three groups of stakeholders based on the transfer of learning literature and interviews with experts from North America. For each of the 11 sites, two or three instructors affiliated with the program and four to six trainees presently or previously involved in a program were interviewed. One workplace supervisor currently on the shop floor was also interviewed from each program. Over 90 participants provided information for the investigation. Content analysis using a constant comparative technique was used to determine the common types of transfer strategies and barriers to the transfer of learning. The basic procedure used consisted of four strategies outlined by Strauss (1987). Validity was enhanced through the use of an independent panel of graduate students in adult education who verified the classification system of transfer strategies by role and time period.

Presentation of Results

Role and Time Combinations in Learning Transfer

Given the rich description of each of the workplace programs through the use of three different types of interview schedules, it was possible to determine if transfer of learning had occurred. Based on the data, instructors, trainees and supervisors reported that transfer of learning was evident within each of the 11 workplace literacy programs. However, there were certain role and time combinations of transfer strategies reported by each partner that were more frequently used in these programs. Because of the volume of data collected, simple frequency counts were calculated on interview questions that pertained to who and when transfer strategies were used. The results of these frequency counts enabled a set of rankings which appear in Table 1.

In examining the role-time combinations, the highest (1) and the lowest (9) rankings fall within the role of the instructor during and after the program. Instructors reported that they had made the most significant effort to support transfer while delivering the program. Most often because of contractual arrangements with the employer, they left the organization once a program had been completed, leaving few doors open to support the learning transfer of trainees once they returned back to their jobs.

Table 1 – Role Time Combination for Using Transfer Strategies

Role	**TIME PERIODS**		
	Before	**During**	**After**
Instructor	2	1	9
Trainee	5	3	4
Supervisor	7	6	8
Key: 1 = high; 9 = low			

The rankings of 3, 4, 5 are associated with the role of the trainee. For the most part, trainees felt that they had made good attempts to apply what they had learned by engaging in transfer strategies during, after and before the program in that sequence. These rankings seem to support the idea that trainees recognize the need to work together with instructors to increase the likelihood of learning transfer. The lowest rankings (6, 7, 8) fall within the role of supervisor. On the surface, these rankings seem to indicate that supervisors are not supportive of the need for learning transfer, however this is somewhat contrary to what the supervisors reported. Generally, they want to be supportive but because of work environment circumstances outside of their control, it is very difficult. Many barriers to using transfer strategies exist in this role-time combination.

Partners in the Transfer of Learning

In the more complete study write-up (see Taylor, 2000), each stakeholder profile is described and accompanied by the key transfer of learning strategies that were most commonly used. Because of the page limitations here only a partial text of the role of the instructor is presented. This is intended to give a flavour of the results. A summary chart of all transfer strategies for instructors, trainees and supervisors will be distributed in the conference session.

The Role of the Instructor

Before a program begins, one of the key steps for the instructor in the transfer of learning process was to identify "what" is to be transferred. Most of the instructors felt that a good starting point for this type of identification was the information already gained through tools such as the individual assessment, oral reading and writing samples, workplace needs assessments, pretests and job task analyses. As one instructor replied, "How I figured out what needed to be transferred was based on the questionnaire that my participants completed prior to the beginning of the program. They themselves told me what they wanted to transfer or needed to improve on in order to perform better on the job or to increase their chances at applying for a newly created position."

Instructors also found that the implementation of a variety of contextual teaching techniques during a workplace program had a lasting effect. For example, many instructors encouraged transfer by linking the program content to real examples in the learner's work or home life. In several cases, instructors simulated the kind of meeting that would take place on the shop floor with trainees by practicing minutes writing, or making motions and asking for information clarification. Other instructors used the actual operating manuals when a new piece of equipment arrived to present lessons on its different parts and functions. In this way, new terms and phrases were introduced using a situated learning approach.

There was also a general consensus from instructors that once a program had been completed, the evaluation results became a powerful tool for understanding how and when the transfer of learning had taken place. When a program was offered more than once at a company, then these evaluation results became instrumental in fine tuning transfer strategies. As one instructor indicated, "It helps to determine which teaching strategies work best and produce transfer to the learners' jobs and to their lives." Different evaluation methods for gaining insights into the transfer process included such tools as open ended learner and supervisor interviews, statistics tracking forms, check lists and weekly group feedback sessions using transfer objectives as the focus for discussion.

Barriers to the Transfer of Learning

As much as transfer of learning was evident according to instructors, there were also barriers or inhibitors. These barriers could be described under four major categories: organizational, programmatic, lack of support and learner attitude. The first two categories are briefly presented here. Some instructors felt that the organizational climate can influence how well trainees actually transfer knowledge, skills and attitudes back to the job. If there was poor communication between the employer and the employees, or if there was a general low morale in the workplace or if people were not being encouraged, then these factors effected how much learning was transferred. As one instructor put it, "Transfer is related to whether an organization is really a learning organization. If it is consistent in its commitment to helping employees learn, if confidentiality is respected, if there are internal systems to encourage promotion, and if there are mechanisms in place that reward people for knowledge, then it can happen." In some programs, instructors also mentioned that the organizational restructuring at the workplace and the consequent alternation of positions was not clear to employees. This resulted in learners not knowing whether they should practice their new skills back on the job.

Program elements such as the length of the session, the size of the class, location and time of day or night can all act as barriers to the transfer of learning. Some instructors reported that before any kind of transfer can take place, enough practice time has to be allotted during the class time; this was not always the case. As one instructor said, "If the learners end up working overtime and miss their class, it means less practice time for them – it just doesn't happen." Others mentioned that large class sizes make it difficult to attend to specific objectives and to "really see if they are applying the new technical information back on their jobs." One instructor claimed that "the biggest barrier to transfer is when the learning program is off-site. Learning should be done on the site, during working hours. This would make transfer of learning much easier and more enjoyable. Students and employees would see improvements faster, both in work and in self-esteem."

Discussion and Implications

This study has attempted to illustrate how a Role Time Model can be used to understand the different dimensions of a transfer partnership in workplace education. Secondly, it has described some of the common transfer strategies that have been implemented by instructors, trainees and supervisors across a variety of basic skills programs. Thirdly, a number of significant barriers influencing the transfer of learning have been identified which shed some light as to why trainees are not always able to apply newly learned skills to their jobs. Together these findings have implications for practice in workplace literacy and for further research in the area of transfer.

The organizing structure for this investigation was based on a three-part classification system which identified the major partners in transfer and the key time periods to support effective transfer. This Role Time Model has proven to be a useful framework in organizing transfer strategies by each partner in each time period. It also has provided guidelines on how learning professionals can build the transfer partnership. By using this classification system, practitioners can take a closer look at who is really involved in the implementation of strong workplace initiatives and what needs to be done to seriously talk about transfer of learning.

A third contribution this study has made is in the area of barriers to learning transfer. The findings suggest that, according to instructors, these barriers can be categorized into discrete factors. Trainees discussed their key inhibitors to transfer as attitudinal and the lack of opportunity to use skills. The supervisors perceived their barriers as being shop floor pressures, attitudinal and the limited opportunities to practice. These barriers can be viewed by both practitioners and researchers through two lenses – characteristics of trainees and characteristics of the work environment. It is in this latter area that much more opportunity exists for stakeholder support in transfer. This seems to be the door of entry to turn these mentioned barriers into enhancers. In part, the rich domain of recent empirical studies on work environment characteristics can help build new transfer knowledge around inhibitors. For example, Rouiller and Goldstein (1993) developed an extensive transfer climate survey based on social learning theory in which they identified a number of situational cues and types of feedback. This kind of study illustrates that transfer of learning is not a simple process, but at the same time, provides some ways for changing workplace climates that are not conducive to transfer. In addition, Brinkerhoff and Montesino (1995) attempted to intervene to change a work environmental factor of supervisory support. In this study, supervisors discussed with trainees, prior to training, such issues as course content, job expectations and post-training concerns. Results supported the use of such intervention strategies to improve the transfer of learning.

On a final note, it seems clear from this study that the transfer of learning is not an accidental thing. It can be engineered, measured and investigated. As a result, literacy training professionals can create support systems with the other stakeholders to work towards higher levels of transfer. Also, it seems evident that learners and their supervisors are now gaining new status as partners in the management of the transfer process.

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Adult Learning and Self Work

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Abstract: *The purpose of this paper is to theorize adult education as a vehicle for self change and to explore how such theorizing has consequences for practice as an adult educator.*

Introduction

Adult educators are almost always engaged in promoting learning for personal change. Sometimes this is made explicit, for example in programs which aim to improve self-esteem, or self-concept, or which help people discover their "authentic" self. Sometimes it is more implicit; for example in programs which address significant social issues such as gender stereotyping, racial discrimination, migration, domestic violence, environmental concerns, and perhaps health issues: the idea being that individual change is inextricably linked to broader social change. In the workplace, too, most changes imply a reorientation of individuals' values or attitudes or the way they see themselves, for example in learning how to implement a new innovation, or a new technology, or a new set of procedures in the workplace, education plays a role in influencing new worker identities. In all such programs, I argue, our pedagogical practices contain implicit theorizations concerning the nature of the self, its development or capacity for change, and the way the self relates to others or to society more generally. By engaging with theorizations concerning the self, and self change, practitioners will better be able to analyze their own assumptions, make explicit their theoretical position, and tailor their pedagogical practices accordingly.

The purpose of this paper is to theorize adult education as a vehicle for self change and to explore how such theorizing has consequences for practice as an adult educator. Historically, the most dominant theorizations have come from developmental psychology. In particular the psychological literature on adult development has been seen as a source of understanding the dynamics of change in adult life, and as such has been screened for its pedagogical implications. Although this literature is quite diverse, by and large it has in common the conventional view that adult education can lead to a greater awareness of self through cultivating a self which is independent, rational, autonomous, coherent, and which has a sense of social responsibility. Such a view of the self has been strongly challenged in recent years from a range of different theoretical positions, largely because it is seen as overly static and essentialist, and thus ignoring the socially constructed nature of selfhood. At the very least the increasing pluralisation of society has challenged any pretence that universal social and normative frames of reference can provide unchanging anchoring points for identity. Indeed, increasing social and cultural mobility has begun to erode the possibility of developing a self built on any singular and stable socio-cultural community. This has meant that the fashioning of "self" has become an individual reflexive enterprise, a lifelong learning project in which the subject incorporates experiences and events into an ongoing narrative about the self. (See Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Gergen, 1996). The argument presented in this paper is that the focus on the self as text or narrative offers new possibilities for understanding learning and its relation to self-change. The paper commences with some general observations about the nature and limitations of dominant psychological theorizations of the self which have informed adult education practice. It then traces the various critiques of such theorizations (e.g., Rose, 1996) and proposes a narrative approach to understanding the self. This is followed by an analysis of the pedagogical implications of adopting such a perspective within a relational view of the self.

Theorizing Self Change

The theoretical models of adult development most frequently cited in adult education texts are those of Maslow, Havighurst, Erikson, Levinson, Gould, Loevinger, and Labouvie-vief. Each of these models presents a descriptive account of development, an explanation of the fundamental processes underlying developmental progress, and a clear view

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of the end point of development: the mature, fully developed, psychologically healthy person.

All the above approaches attempt to chart the life course in terms of a sequence of phases or stages: periods of stability, equilibrium and balance alternate, in a largely predictable way, with periods of instability and transition. Accepting for the moment that the life course is indeed quite predictable and stable: what is the source of this predictability and stability? Is it the result of a natural psychological unfolding or maturation? Or is it the result of the living out of a set of largely social expectations which vary from one society to another and from one historical period to another? If the latter, to what extent do social and cultural groupings construct and then prescribe the life course patterns of their members? These are the kinds of questions which were being asked in the mid-1980's within the developmental psychology academy at the same time that Gilligan (1986) was challenging the gender bias in developmental theories (see the proceedings of a conference on the theme of "social structure and social construction of life stages," published in Human Development, 1986, *29*, 145-180). In many ways the questions are trivial to sociologists, but they are significant because they represent an attempt to incorporate sociological theory into an ongoing interest in self-development and change. The arguments being advanced were essentially threefold: firstly that age-graded norms, statuses and roles are a feature of social organization; secondly, that the state is a key producer of the institutionalization of the life course; and finally, that the phenomenon of the "self" as an organized human subjectivity, is itself a social construction (at least in part). Now the first two of these arguments are quite compatible with extant attempts to chart the life course: all that is needed is a commonsense recognition that the life course varies historically and culturally, and a recognition that there exist a diversity of trajectories which are equally legitimate. But the idea that the concept of "self" is also socially constructed poses a more fundamental challenge to the psychology academy. After all, the "self" is the very subject of psychology, and all the developmental theories assume a self which, however connected to society, is ultimately separate from society. This is an assumption which also pervades much therapeutic and educational work: whether the task is to discover one's authentic self, to transcend social constraints, to release one's inner longings, to unmask the false assumptions of childhood, or to critically reflect on one's sociocultural assumptions and thereby challenge them. Further challenges to the privileging of the autonomous self in psychology can be found in the writings of Burman (1994) and Rose (1996).

Theorizations about the self and its capacity for change are clearly critical to the way we conceive of therapeutic and educational interventions. It is clear from the above that a view of the self as standing separate from the social realm cannot be sustained. What then are the implications for practice of a theorization of the self that begins with its socially constructed nature? Well this depends on how one understands "social construction" and the processes leading to such a construction. One view of social construction is that exemplified by critical pedagogy whereby the self participates in its own subjugation and domination through "false consciousness" produced by membership of a particular social group, or through the internalization of social "oppression" via the mechanism of "repression" (in the psychoanalytic sense). But critical pedagogy tends to reify the social as a monolithic "other" which serves to oppress and crush the self. Self change in critical pedagogy is based on ideology critique, whereby the aim is to analyze and uncover of one's ideological positioning, to understand how this positioning operates in the interests of oppression, and through dialogue and action, free oneself of "false consciousness." The problem with this is that it theorizes a self which is capable of moving from "false" to "true" consciousness: that is, a rational and unified self which is capable of freeing itself from its social situatedness. In this way critical pedagogy shares common ground with the andragogical and humanistic traditions, traditions which it opposes for their individualistic approach.

It seems that what is needed is a view of social construction which avoids the assumption of a unitary, coherent and rational, subject. A way forward is to replace this view of the individual with the idea of the subject as a position within a discourse. In this way the "subject" and the "social" are not seen as opposed to each other, but as jointly produced through discursive practices (see Henriques and others, 1984 for a pioneering and influential work which introduced this notion to psychology). What is required then, is a shift in the theories upon which adult education draws: from theories of the knowing subject, to theories of discursive practices.

The contemporary debate in this respect is centered on the role of narrative or discourse in shaping or positioning the "self."

The idea of narrative is attractive to therapists and educators because they are often confronted with the "stories" of clients and learners and invariably need to respond in some way. These stories emerge from a particular problem or issue but they are invariably stories about aspects of the self-perceptions of well being, self satisfaction, self esteem, self doubt, efficacy, and so on. One approach is to accept the story as "given," that is true for the person concerned, and to work within the boundaries and parameters of the story as told. But this limits the capacity of the educator or therapist to intervene: their role becomes advisory only, there is no fundamental challenge to the definition of the problem, and there is little prospect that the problem will be addressed in all its complexity. An alternative is to challenge the story as told with a view to exploring different narratives about the self. It is at this point that two quite different approaches to the narrative are apparent.

One approach views a narrative construction as a lens through which the world is seen or as a kind of internal model which is a guide to identity and action. The role of educational and therapeutic intervention is to explore different ways of viewing the world and different internal models to guide action, that is, to construct a new "replacement" narrative which is more functional and adaptive for the person concerned. The resulting re-authoring of the self has as a normative goal a single, unified and coherent narrative which resides in the mind of a single individual.

Gergen and Kaye's (1992) alternative is to see the self as relational, as a form of language game. In the exploration of new ways of relating to others, a multiplicity of self-accounts is invited, but a commitment to none. In a therapeutic context, such an approach: "...encourages the client, on the one hand, to explore a variety of means of understanding the self, but discourages a commitment to any of these accounts as standing for the 'truth of self.' The narrative constructions thus remain fluid, open to the shifting tides of circumstance to the forms of dance that provide fullest sustenance" (p. 255). The idea of self narration changing according the relationship in which one is engaged illustrates a shift in focus from individual selves coming together to form a relationship, to one where the relationship takes center stage, with selves being realized only as a byproduct of relatedness.

The main theoretical tension apparent in the above approaches to a narrative understanding of the self is whether the process of self narration should or could be targeted towards the construction of a stable, coherent "bounded" identity as a normative goal; or whether such a project is a chimera, neither desirable nor possible in a world of multiple and shifting, open-ended and ambiguous narratives and identities (a relational view of the self). The remainder of this paper will explore this tension and how it subtly affects adult education practice, particularly practice based on critical self-reflection.

A Narrative Approach to Adult Education Pedagogy

The narrative approach to understanding development and change has much in common with existing practices in adult education, especially those associated with reflection on experience. Furthermore there is certainly much common ground in the idea of the critical subject as one who maintains a permanent critique of him/herself in the practice and pursuit of liberty. But how does one's theorization of self-narration have an impact on pedagogical practices?

First, I would like to explore the implications of adopting a relational view of the self. It seems that such a view implies a certain attitude towards what critical self-reflection may achieve as a pedagogical tool. It implies for example, that there is no necessity to search for an invariant or definitive story. Indeed it would be overly rigid and prescriptive to develop a singular narrative which simply replaces an earlier, more dysfunctional narrative, because singular narratives restrain and limit the capacity to explore different relationships. The emphasis instead is on the indeterminacy of identity, the relativity of meaning, and the generation and exploration of a multiplicity of meanings. To return to Gergen and Kaye (1992), there is a "progression from learning new meanings, to developing new categories of meaning, to transforming one's premises about the nature of meaning itself" (p. 257). Under what conditions can such transformations occur? Anderson and Goolishian (1992) cite the following conditions:

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- where learners have the experience of being heard
- where learners have their point of view and feelings understood
- where learners have feel themselves confirmed and accepted.

This involves a form of interested enquiry on behalf of the educator, one which opens premises for exploration. It also implies an openness to different ways of punctuating experience and a readiness to explore multiple perspectives and endorse their coexistence. Such interventions ostensibly enable learners to construct things from different viewpoints releasing them from the oppression of limiting narrative beliefs. Learners can be invited to: "find exceptions to their predominating experience; to view themselves as prisoners of a culturally inculcated story they did not create; to imagine how they might relate their experience to different people in their lives; to consider what response they might invite via their interactional proclivities; to relate what they imagine to be the experience of others close to them; to consider how they would experience their lives if they operated from different assumptions-how they might act, what resources they could call upon in different contexts; what new solutions might emerge; and to recall precepts once believed, but now jettisoned" (1992, p. 258).

On first glance this appears to be strikingly similar to existing theory and practice in adult education. Brookfield (1995) for example, regards critical reflection as "the hunting of assumptions of power and hegemony. The best way to unearth these assumptions is to look at what we do from as many unfamiliar angles as possible" (1995, p. 28). This appears to be totally compatible with Gergen and Kaye's approach to therapy, however when Brookfield moves on to propose ways of unearthing assumptions he begins by identifying "four critically reflective lenses," one of which is autobiography. But one's autobiography is not seen as something which is open to reinterpretation and reauthoring. Instead it is seen as something which needs to be "un-earthed" so as to expose its influence on our beliefs and practices as teachers: "Analyzing our autobiographies as learners has important implications for how we teach…the insights and meanings we draw from these deep experiences are likely to have a profound and long lasting influence…we may think we're teaching according to a widely accepted curricular or pedagogic model, only to find, on reflection, that the foundations of our practice have been laid in our autobiographies as learners" (1995, p. 31).

Note the emphasis here on autobiography as a foundation of practice, the uncovering of which leads to a better understanding and explanation for our otherwise uncritically accepted beliefs and commitments regarding teaching and learning. But this approach assumes a singular biography, which, however open to denial and distortion in the process of reflection, is nevertheless available to be "discovered." The pedagogical emphasis is therefore on the accurate rendering of one's autobiography, which invariably means addressing the distortions and denials blocking such an accurate rendition. The emphasis at the outset then is on discovery rather than creation: the questions posed are "Who am I?" and "Have I got it right?" and "What is the secret of my desire?" rather than "Is this rendering of experience/autobiography desirable?" and "What relationships can be invented or modulated through such a rendering of experience? It is the latter questions which are posed when adopting a relational view of the self. Although some of the teaching techniques may be similar on the surface (for example exploring alternative interpretations with other teachers/learners), the whole project is fundamentally different. For example, in exploring one's positionality as a teacher, the task is not to "discover" and problematise "who we are" or "how we are positioned" in terms of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, or ableness; but to explore multiple stories around each of these categories with a view to opening up new relations of power and authority (see Tisdell, 1998, for a slightly different treatment of positionality in post-structuralist feminist pedagogy).

Thus from a relational view the pedagogy of self reflection insists, not on discovering who one is, but on creating who one might become. But some critics have claimed that an extreme relational point of view rejects any standards by which to judge or evaluate what we are to become, and rejects the pursuit of any stable or coherent identity as being a normative goal.

But it is clearly possible to maintain a relational point of view so long as one's standards and evaluative criteria are problematised and open to reinscription. Similarly with the question of the pursuit of a coherent, continuous self as a normative goal. Now in many adult education sites this is seen as indispensable to transformative (and thereby resistant) adult education practice. For example, courses designed to provide opportunities to explore indigenous "ways of knowing" are often based on the working assumption that there is a culture to be "discovered." Participants, in discovering their cultural heritage, are provided with a new anchoring point for their identity, an identity which had hitherto being fragmented by colonization. Now it is true that a relational point of view would avoid notions like "discovery" and it would reject the idea of a unitary, fixed, and coherent cultural identity. But it does not reject indigenous culture as meaningless, it simply insists that there is space for reinscription; for the telling of new stories that have not yet been told – stories which are partial, hybrid and fragile (see Taylor, 1995). It is this opening up of possibilities which is the distinguishing feature of a pedagogy built on a relational view of the self.

Concluding Remarks

A conventional view of adult education as cultivating a self which is independent, rational, autonomous, and coherent, is no longer sustainable in a world characterized by difference and diversity. The problem with such a conventional view is that it is incompatible with inclusive educational practice. The need to take into account a plurality of perspectives demands a pedagogy which invites a multiplicity of self-accounts. A narrative approach which incorporates a relational view of the self, I argued, achieves this aim. It constitutes a fundamental shift in how learning for self-change is conceived and realized in the formulation of goals and purposes, and in everyday engagement with learners.

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Spiritual Development and Commitments to Emancipatory Education in Women Adult Educators for Social Change

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Abstract: *This paper discusses the results of a qualitative research study of the spiritual development of a multicultural group of women adult educators for social change, and its relationship to their current commitment to emancipatory adult education practice.*

Teaching for social change is the work of passion for many adult emancipatory educators, often fueled by a deep underlying ethical, social and spiritual commitment. Indeed, it is important work, and there has been considerable theoretical debate and some attention to how adult educators can attempt to teach in an emancipatory way, in critical and feminist pedagogy, in discussions of challenging power relations based on race, class, or gender (Hayes & Colin, 1994; Tisdell, 1998; Walters & Manicom, 1996). What has been missing from the literature is attention to what drives this underlying commitment or how spirituality informs the work of such emancipatory adult educators. This is somewhat surprising, since almost all who write about education for social change cite the important influence of the work of educator and activist Paulo Freire, who was a deeply spiritual man strongly informed by the liberation theology movement of Latin America (Freire, 1997). As noted elsewhere (Tisdell, 1999), there has also been relatively little attention to the subject of spirituality and spiritual development (as change over time) in the mainstream academic adult education literature . There is limited broader discussion of how spirituality affects teaching and learning (Dirkx, 1997; English, 1999), and its possibility for offering hope to emancipatory education efforts (Hart & Holten, 1993; hooks, 1994). But with the exception of the recent study on community and commitment by Daloz et al (1996) where the connection between spiritual commitment and social action is implied, *empirical research* on spiritual development and/or how it relates to a commitment to do social justice work is extremely limited. Clearly there are both male and female adult educators and activists teaching for social change who are motivated to do so partly because of their spiritual commitments. But many are women of different race and class backgrounds guided by feminist and antiracist educational perspectives, who have also had to renegotiate their spirituality in light of having been raised in patriarchal religious traditions. How has their spiritual development changed over time, and how does their spiritual commitment relate to their cultural background and current emancipatory education efforts? *In light of the lack of adult education literature that deals with women, spiritual development and social justice, the purpose of this study was to examine the spiritual development of a multicultural group of women adult educators for social change, and its relationship to their current commitment to emancipatory adult education practice.* The study offers new insight into spiritual development in the often ignored socio-cultural context, and some implications for how adult educators may draw on spirituality in their own emancipatory education efforts.

Theoretical Framework/Relevant Literature

This study is informed conceptually by Merriam and Caffarella's (1999) recent call for more integrative perspectives on adult development and greater attention to how the socio-cultural context informs adult development. But given the fact that the focus of the study is on the spiritual development of a multicultural group of women adult educators teaching for social change, there are three bodies of literature that informs the study. First is the feminist, antiracist, and critical pedagogy literature in the field of adult education cited above that strongly informs the work of the participants in the study. Second is the literature on spiritual development, which is particularly reliant on Fowler's (1981) study, which resulted in a stage theory (of 6 stages) of faith development, based on 97% white, Judeo-Christian sample. While Fowler's theory is framed largely from a psychological perspective with almost an exclusively white sample, it contributes to our understanding of how people construct knowledge through image and symbol, an area that has been ignored by most development and learning theorists. But in ignoring the sociocultural context, it does not attend to how knowledge construction through image and symbol is also bound to culture. Finally, given the attention to women and culture, the literature by feminists of color (e.g., Anzaldua, 1987; Gunn Allen, 1992; Hill Collins, 1999; hooks, 1994), who discuss how cultural image and symbol from within their culture inform spiritual knowledge construction and meaning-making, ways of living in community, and working for justice in the world is also central to the study.

Methodology

From a research perspective, this qualitative research study was informed by a poststructural feminist research theoretical framework, which suggests that the positionality (race, gender, class, sexual orientation) of researchers, teachers, and students affects how one gathers and accesses data, and how one constructs and views knowledge, in research and teaching. With this as a guiding principle, this phase of this ongoing research was interpretive or phenomenological. There were 16 participants (3 African American, 2 Latina, 7 European American, 3 Asian American, 1 Native American). Criteria for sample selection were that all participants: (1) be women adult educators for social change either in higher education or as community activists; (2) have grown up and been educated in a specific religious tradition as a child; (3) note that their adult spirituality (either based on a re-appropriation of the religious tradition of their childhood, or a different spirituality) strongly motivated them to do their social justice work. All participants participated in a 1.5-3- hour taped (and later transcribed) interview. Questions focused on how their spirituality has developed over the years, motivates and informs their adult education practice, and relates to their own race/ethnicity, and cultural background. Many participants also provided written documents of their own writing that addressed some of their social action pursuits or issues related to their spirituality. Data were analyzed according to the constant comparative method (Merriam, 1998).

Findings

As introduction, it is interesting to note that while all these women were socialized in a specific faith tradition, only one is currently an active participant in her childhood religion. Further, all of these women have personal experiences of marginalization. The women of color experience this based on their race or ethnicity. Of the white women, three are lesbians, two are Jewish, four are of working class backgrounds, and the only white, heterosexual, of upper-middle class background participant had been married to a Muslim man from North Africa, so also had personal experiences of marginalization. Such experiences may have contributed to participants' greater interest in "teaching across borders" of race, gender, culture, and also relates to the three overlapping themes of spiritual development discussed by the participants.

Moving Away – Spiraling Back

The first and most overarching theme was that spiritual development was captured as a spiral process of moving away and "re-membering" or reframing spiritual attitudes and symbols from their culture of origin. The participants reported a move away from their childhood religious tradition, due to what was viewed as some underlying sexism, heterosexism, racism, or other hypocrisy in their childhood religious tradition. Some more or less drifted away in their early adulthood, while others, such as Shirley, an African American Civil Rights Activist, were more intentional. She notes about her young adulthood *"I became convinced Christianity was a trick – the oppressor to keep us humble and in bondage... Even the terminology 'Lord', 'Master' – Father/ God – I had serious issue with it, and stopped going to church."* Yet, all the participants also reported spiraling back and reclaiming important childhood religious and cultural symbols and metaphors. For example, Julia, a Chicana, reframed Our Lady of Guadalupe as a feminist activist liberator, based partly in Catholicism and partly in the Aztec Goddess traditions. And Greta, a white woman who also grew up Catholic, discussed the continued importance of the metaphor of the Resurrection in her life, though she has long since left the Catholic Church, and notes: "*...I think that has* *really profoundly affected me. That Easter – there's always some resurrection. You go to hell, you die and you're really at the bottom of mystery, but then you get resurrected. Often I think about when I'm in bad shape—that resurrection."* The role of music from their childhood tradition was mentioned most often as what continues to be meaningful. Anna, an African American woman, described the music of Aretha Franklin in connection to her ancestors and childhood religious tradition as particularly significant, and notes*"The way that Aretha sings is very old, so when I go back to my childhood, it's really connected to my parents childhood, and so on, and so on, so she takes me back to places I don't even know that I know about. There are ancient roots that are beyond my memory of this time and place. ... When I listen to Aretha – all of those songs are songs of struggle ... about how to survive, how to resist oppression, and I got to thinking about other spirituals that I know, and they're all at that level."*

A Healing Life-force of Interconnectedness and Wholeness

Participants described significant personal spiritual experiences as those that pointed to the interconnectedness of all things through what many referred to as "the life-force," that also facilitated healing and the courage to take new action, and/or that lead to developing a more global consciousness. Some of these experiences related to grief and loss of a loved one, as was the case for Anna who described a transformed presence of her mother shortly after her mother's death. Harriet, who grew up Pentecostal in the rural South, described a physical healing experience that she had that helped her come to terms with being a lesbian, and notes her thinking at that time as *"a turning point for me, because I thought 'why would God heal me, if I was this person that was condemned to hell, , and I thought 'OK, this is my sign, that it's OK for me to be a lesbian'."* Elise also reported a significant healing experience in the presence of a leader in the Siddha Yoga tradition in the aftermath of a miscarriage that helped her work through her own grief and also facilitated healing in her relationship with her own mother. These experiences were perceived as being a result of the Life-force, and as Lisa, who grew up in Alaska, notes, "*Spirituality is some kind of aware honoring of that Life-force that is happening through everything*," that is about the interconnectedness and affirmation of all of life. This honoring of the Life-force was related to the theme of authentic identity development, taken up next.

The Development of Authentic Identity

Virtually all of the participants discussed spiritual experiences that facilitated healing and the courage to take new action as those that facilitated the development of authentic identity. Ava, who grew up in Central America, after describing parts of her mixed cultural heritage along with some of her Mayan ancestry, noted *"I think that spirituality is to know who you are, and to be able to define who you are, wherever you are, despite the changing conditions of your life."* Many discussed this in relationship to personal changes, such as the importance of their spirituality in going through a divorce. Harriet's experience of her physical healing, also assured her of the authenticity of her own lesbian identity, and Elise's spiritual experience, helped her deal more proactively and more maturely with her own relationship with her mother. Furthermore, for Elise, the fact that her healing was facilitated by a woman was significant. And in explaining the incident noted above, she noted *"I needed that woman energy. I needed it. I needed a mother. I didn't need a tangible mother. I needed to know and experience that love energy, that nurturing energy that my mother could not give, so I could forgive my mother... So to be able to have that experience* was part of my personal development."

Some of the participants described experiences of moving away from their childhood religious traditions to develop other parts of themselves as an important part of both their spiritual development and the development of their identity. Anna described her move away from her childhood religion in her young adulthood and her involvement in neo-Marxist social movements as facilitating a greater understanding of spirituality and her own identity. She notes *"I think Marxism is a form of spirituality because it really is about connections with other people; it's a rather earthly bound nature of connections, but it's still about looking back and looking forward, and taking care of each other... So I guess it became in my Marxist period, which lasted until I was in my 30s; it was a transformation of God being outside of me who controlled all things [to] an inside internal controlling force –*

that human, or that life on the planet work was involved in making change, involved in creating reality, taking care of each other... that those connections happen here because of what we do as opposed to some other something outside of you doing something, and so I think in retrospect, my spirituality was still there." Similarly, Greta and Shirley also described their foray into neo-Marxist political literature and social movements, along with their "atheist phase" as related to their overall spiritual development. In sum, all the participants viewed their spiritual development as related to a more authentic identity, and consequently to also be more accepting of others' identity.

Discussion and Implications for Practice

The findings of the study offer some interesting insights about the relationship between spiritual development, culture, and emancipatory adult education efforts. The participants indeed had a strong sense of mission in terms of trying to challenge systems of oppression based on race, class, gender, ability, and sexual orientation in their adult education practices. For many, this was fueled not only by their spirituality, but also by a connection to their personal and cultural history, and in some cases an ancestral connection as well. In this respect, the stories of the participants in this study are similar to some of the participants in the Daloz et al (1996) study on community and commitment.

In light of the importance of spirituality in the lives of these women, it was initially perplexing that only one of the participants was still active as a regular attendee at services in the religion of her childhood. Yet given that most of these women are teaching classes or working in programs where they are problemetizing and trying to change the nature of *structural* power relations based on gender, race, class, sexual orientation, dis/ability, it is perhaps no surprise that these women would also have trouble with similar structural oppression in aspects of organized religion. Class issues were alluded to by several, but most often what was specifically mentioned as problematic aspects of their childhood religious tradition was the sexism and for many, the heterosexism as well, particularly for participants who grew up Catholic, or in the more conservative Protestant denominations.

In spite of having serious issues with structural systems of oppression in their faiths of origin, most were strongly attached to the symbols, music, and some of the rituals from their childhood religious traditions and the conceptual meanings attached to them. For example, while Greta has long since moved away from Catholicism, the symbolic meaning of Resurrection – the promise of new life after a dark night of the soul – continues to be an important metaphor for her. Similarly, even though these women had moved beyond their childhood religious tradition, they did often spiral back, and "re-member" those aspects of it that were life-giving, at the same time that they integrated and were exposed to new ideas, new spiritual traditions, and had further spiritual experiences as an adult. However, what the women in this study seemed to be most attentive to as they "re-membered" their faith of origin was related to symbolic forms of knowing and unconscious processes – the music, aspects of ritual, particular symbols. This was reminiscent of Fowler's (1981) remarks in his critiquing of Piaget and Kohlberg for ignoring the role of symbol in the knowledge construction process.

It is important to also note that aspects of their childhood tradition that they were particularly attached to are also deeply rooted in a cultural identity. For example, there was evidence of this in the cultural and spiritual significance for Julia as Chicana of *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, in what the music of Aretha Franklin brought up for Anna of the African American experience, the significance of wilderness for both Beverly, an Alaska Native woman, and for Lisa who also grew up in Alaska. This aspect of the cultural significance of spirituality may also explain, in part, why Sue continued to attend services in the Korean Presbyterian church; while there were aspects she found problematic, it was affirming of her cultural identity as a Korean-American. In any event, this aspect of the study offers some beginning insights to the relation between cultural and spiritual significance that has been little discussed in the spiritual development or the adult development literature. Further, what was most often mentioned as an important spiritual symbol for these women was a feminine symbol, embodied in one reminiscent of their culture, or in who participants had framed as an important current spiritual symbol for them. It is interesting to note that currently three of the participants now identify largely with the Siddha Yoga tradition, which is headed by a woman. While only a couple of participants noted that feminine figures were important spiritual figures for them specifically because they were women, it may be that on an unconscious level these spiritual figures are important in affirming their gender identity and their spirituality as women.

As many participants discussed, spiritual experience is not primarily about rationality. For the participants, spirituality was about experiences of a perceived higher power or a Life-force, about an understanding of the wholeness of all of creation, about making ultimate meaning out of one's life purpose, which for these participants was partly working for social justice. In Fowler's (1981) terms, spirituality is largely about symbolic processes that are not rational. And as may noted, it is difficult even to put language around spiritual experience, as language in many ways forces people to map rational processes around what is experienced outside of rationality. Yet at the same time, none of the participants suspended their rationality in the process of describing their own spiritual development. Part of what their spiritual development seemed to be about was having spiritual experiences, and critically and rationally analyzing some of what those experiences were about while continuing to be open to new spiritual experiences. The move away from their childhood spirituality was partly a result of rational thinking processes – thinking rationally about aspects of their childhood traditions and finding some of what was taught problematic. Furthermore, integrating new insights from different paradigms and new spiritual traditions was an important part of spiritual development. For example, Greta, Anna, and Shirley went through an "atheist phase" that was influenced partly by a foray into Marxism, the Black Power movement, and other social movements on an intellectual level. Yet like Freire (1997) who discusses the similarities between Marxism and Christianity, they eventually were able to integrate the aspects of Marxism that focuses on challenging structural oppression, with their spiritual beliefs, to develop new aspects of their spirituality. However, these aspects of rationally thinking about their spiritual experience was not a substitute for spiritual experience itself which was viewed as being outside of the realm of the rational. Thus what may fuel spiritual development is the integration of symbolic knowing and spiritual experience with the rational process of thinking about those experiences. This potentially includes attending to the cultural and gendered nature of those experiences.

All of the women in the study reported that their spirituality and own spiritual development indeed informed their educational practices, particularly in what they saw as the interconnection of spirituality and culture. There was, however, a difference in how directly participants discussed these things in their educational contexts, particularly between how those who were working in higher education (8 participants) teaching classes focusing on diversity and those who did adult education work in community based organizations (7 participants). The higher educators tended to draw on it more in preparation for classes (through meditation), in advising sessions where it may be directly discussed, and in classroom activities where it might be more implicit, such as in the use of music, symbols, artforms, and occasional activities that might suggest a spiritual connection that moves beyond conflict. Those who worked in community based organizations, on the other hand, reported that it comes up more directly, because members of the community bring it up and incorporate it. Both groups discussed the important role of knowledge construction through the affective, symbolic, and spiritual domains, and the limits of rationality in emancipatory education practice. In sum, while this study is limited, it offers some insight into women's spiritual development, and how spirituality informs the work of women adult educators teaching for social change and makes a beginning contribution to the emancipatory adult education literature.

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Practicing Citizens: Adult Stories of Cocooning and Taking Flight

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Abstract: *This qualitative study concerns how a specific vehicle for social intervention programs impacts upon the civic behavior of targeted individuals. The crux of the problem is whether individuals can learn citizenship, and, if provided the skills and opportunities, will citizens utilize their knowledge to participate politically.*

Background and Purpose

Over the last thirty years, social scientists have documented an increasing decline in the active participation of citizens of the United States in politics, government, and the affairs of their communities. They generalize democracy and citizenship have shifted further away from the notion of citizens sharing responsibility in governance and more toward the concept of citizens as rights bearing and the recipients of services (Sandel, 1996; Schachter, 1997). However, citizens have reported they would like to participate politically if they just knew how to penetrate the political process (Harwood, 1991; Stout, 1996).

Present trends of social policy require from citizens an active form of political participation. Comprehensive community-level programs have been developed for combating social problems (Kaftarian & Hansen, 1994; Lavrakas, 1995). Program facilitators have established neighborhood leadership institute training programs to promote the development of civic skills among individuals who come from different ethnic, lower-and middle-class income groups, and have had little community leadership experience (Boyte, 1989).

The Gwinnett Neighborhood Leadership Institute (GNLI) in the Atlanta metropolitan area provided participants with knowledge about community and county governments, opportunities to meet local officials, and the introduction to a range of services. The purpose of this research was to study the impact of GNLI training on the political participation of individuals, their perception of citizenship, and the nature of learning during training.

Relevant Literature

Principal theoretical frameworks and perspectives include participatory democracy and political behavior theories, civil society, collaborative leadership and adult civic learning. Barber (1984) insists that a healthy democracy cannot be sustained without the participation of citizens. Pateman (1970) claims through active participation, citizens come to realize the difference between personal desires and the common good. Furthermore, participation is both educative and reiterative. Mansbridge (1995) acknowledges citizens who actively participate in democratic governance often feel the experience has changed them, and those who observe them often believe the experience has long-run effects on the citizens' character.

Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995), assert that civic skills and psychological engagement combat negative effects of differences in socio-economic status. Rosenstone and Hanson (1993) define terms of political efficacy as both internal, the confidence to participate, and external, participants feeling their activities had some meaningful effect.

The concept of civil society (Putnam, 1995) maintains specific community environments must be in place for citizenship to flourish. Portney and Berry (1997) identify critical elements as the beliefs and types of political behavior that contribute to positive attitudes by residents about their neighborhood and encourage a willingness to work cooperatively on its behalf. Collaborative leadership principles (Chrislip & Larson, 1994; Gastil, 1994, Stout, 1996) include broad-based involvement, commitment, action, peer problem-solving, acceptance of individual contributions, and the sustenance of hope.

Civic learning is interactive. Citizens are influenced by each other and in turn influence the environment (Sigel, 1989). Boggs (1991), Brookfield (1987b), Daloz, Keen, Keen, and Parks (1996), Freire (1970), and Jarvis (1992) contradict the rationale of the weakened and limited citizen and address those structures and processes that promote the importance of civic learning for the development of competent and active citizens that comprise the public realm.

Methodology

More often, a composite picture showing how groups of individuals meet or fail the normative perspective of the political participation of citizens is developed through quantitative data. Unfortunately, it is often collected from knee-jerk reactions to telephone surveys that use predetermined and closed interview questions.

Qualitative evaluation and research methodology was utilized in this study to provide an in-depth investigation into the perceptions, behaviors, and attitudes of individuals in a specific context (Patton, 1985). Fifteen participants from the GNLI training cycles, 1995-1996, 1996-1997, and 1997-1998, were purposefully selected for face-to-face interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. Selection criteria of ethnicity, age, gender, and experience reflected the program's efforts of recruiting participants. Data was analyzed using constant comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Research questions included: (1) How has NLI training influenced participants' perceptions of themselves as citizens? (2) How has NLI training affected behaviors of participants regarding political participation? (3) How has NLI training affected attitudes of participants regarding political participation? (4) How has NLI training affected the nature of learning of participants regarding citizenship and political participation?

Findings and Conclusions

One overarching conclusion gained from this study was to confirm that citizenship is an art that develops from adult learning and practice. The impact of GNLI training influenced the following areas: (1) a broadened perception of citizenship; (2) optimism for local government; (3) tolerance for the political process; (4) the development of significant behaviors regarding political participation; and (5) the nature of learning regarding political participation.

Broadened and Active Perception of Citizenship

Citizenship *before* GNLI training meant a passive relationship with government, concern for individual rights, and dependence on electing public leaders to represent their interests. The impact of training resulted in a more broadened and collectivist view of citizenship. One participant explained, "...being in GNLI, you focus on... community activities. At one time I never paid that much attention to community activities and being involved...everyone within a community as a whole. And, you know, you would actually see your neighbors!" Participants also, placed citizenship beyond their own neighborhoods: "Generally, you didn't stray outside your subdivision...then during and after the program...I found out I have an impact of a wider range beyond the subdivision and at the county level."

Participant Attitudes toward Political Participation

Essential to participants' belief they could make a difference in their community was what one participant pinned as "the courage and willingness" to participate. A participant related, "There are things that I can do, contacts that I made, that let me know, yeah, there is some valid reason to this madness...why I vote and still have some impact on more than just voting. You don't have to just sit back and say maybe next time we'll get somebody in that's better." Another citizen was amazed with his efforts in a neighborhood clean-up campaign: "It was surprising to me. You would explain to 'em where you're from, who you're with, and they would actually help sponsor it. You figured they'd turn you absolutely down!"

The belief that one could make a difference gave participants the courage to become a *practicing citizen*. Participants reported that the training helped them find voice. A participant confided previously that she did not have the courage to get up and speak in church: "I don't like to get up in front of people and speak, and I know I should be able to." Another participant used her newly found voice to aid her abused nephew. She claimed it helped her "go before the courts and talk to different people and help him [nephew] out." A naturalized citizen learned to overcome his fear of approaching the administration of various community services: "In the past, I would be really scared to approach somebody and say, Hey, I need help. Now I know if there is a need I feel I can go to county or go to other resources"

Optimism toward Local Government

Participants tended to be cynical about government or politics as usual and were more optimistic in how they could collectively effect change at the local level. Participants reported they would be more likely to contact and work with officials as opposed to contacting a Congressman on the state or national level. One participant spoke to the power of grassroots efforts: "problems won't get changed by the political, it's going to get changed by individual morality, cultural issues, not by something that's by the government [federal].

Tolerance

Participants responded negatively toward the political and bureaucratic process and more positively toward individuals working within the process. Reservations were expressed as follows: "[I feel] confident and also unfortunate. There's a flipside. I need a pencil or probably three forms to do this or that just to get the pencil…but there were some folks trying to shake the tree and make things a little bit easier." Participants admitted a tendency to "blame people for what is not getting done." Becoming familiar with local officials and administrators during training, prompted participants to say, "I think it helped me to realize that regular people run our government."

Participants exhibited some tolerance toward the ambiguity of the process in which issues were not always resolved and citizens were not always satisfied: "We don't have all the answers. I think that some members [class participants] are better accepting of that than others. That's been the frustration of learning about government. Just knowing it's not easy to change things."

Developed Political Behaviors

Participants were afforded the opportunity to contact officials in local government and leaders in community activities providing them with a network of resources. They found they could give faces to what were previously known as a list of titles and job descriptions. A participant related her experiences in contacting local officials "they're not hard to reach but sometimes hard to communicate one-on-one. Got to get them out of the office…bring them down where they see and actively get them involved to see what I'm talking about."

Also, participants related the importance of contacting neighbors, "…when we first started out, we used fliers and then we would talk to people as we were putting out the fliers." The bottom line, according to another participant, was "I think so much of the people not being involved is not feeling connected. If they never get that connection, then nobody, then no friend calls them passionate about some issue and recruits them to do something."

Navigating the political process. Navigating meant knowing "what's out there" and how to access it. GNLI training gave them entrance to organizations. Participants said: "I didn't have an idea of what the resources are, the resources in education, health, and social services. I was working with the new immigrants and I had never accessed those resources," or, "these people actually have this kind of information all ready. We don't have to go and pick it up and make it up ourselves." Other participants noted that it was easier to participate if you "at least have an organization [GNLI] and use their name to say I represent or I am an alumni of…and I have an interest in whatever," and that making yourself available wasn't always easy because, "You can't just walk into the homeless shelter downtown and say I want to stay overnight. You have to be established and they have to have faith in ya."

Participants began to develop an insider's knowledge of the political process. One participant wryly explained his experience in attending council meetings, "We learned the process. Commissioners talk at you, this is just how it works. The other side is, oh my god, this *is* the way it works!" Another participant observed, "We spent a year in meetings talking about concepts. They have so much talent, but the board will never enact anything." Other participants came to discern real policy effects of skewed implementation, "They have a youth center, [but] it's for kids. I guess the oldest one there is probably 12…nothing for the teens and that's in the housing projects…so that's what I been lookin' at."

Cocooning. A relatively small number of these participants are actually participating in activities outside the GNLI. A few are serving on different community boards and one is serving as a member of local governing commission. More participate in GNLI organizational and training activities or they are participating in the community through the workplace. The intent of the training is understood by most of the participants as well as the knowledge that many had not yet extended themselves beyond the institute. One participant confirmed, "that GNLI training is another step toward getting involved in the community." Another stated, "I feel like you've trained me to get beyond that so that I can go out and start my own project somewhere else with different groups of people." Still another explained that the GNLI mission is "to train leaders... not take all these leaders that you have just trained and keep them."

Thus, the most revealing aspect of this study was political participation must be learned and practiced in a safe environment. Natural history has shown us many winged insects go through a metamorphosis that effects the end result of unfolding their wings and taking flight. The metamorphosis from caterpillar to moth includes a stage where the larva spins a cocoon that provides shelter for a pupa (Farber, 1984). During this stage the pupa is mysteriously rearranged to form the body of a mature moth with folded wings. When it is ready, the moth emerges from its cocoon, unfolds its wings and takes flight into the world. Similarly, GNLI itself can be visualized as a cocoon sheltering its graduates so they can mature as they think about and practice citizenship in a safe environment. Practicing citizens in this stage involved themselves in aiding the program through administrative tasks, serving on an alumni board, or serving on GNLI committees. Hopefully, these participants practicing citizenship within the shelter of GNLI will gain enough confidence and motivation to emerge from the boundaries of the institute.

Nature of learning. A principal requirement of GNLI training was to participate in a group project that would improve the quality of their neighborhood or community. Participants had to work together effectively and use community resources. Recall of their experiences in respective group projects and the interactivity that evolved through them elicited remarks from participants that this way of learning garnered the most frustration, hard work, and meaning. Participants commented, "You had to collaborate with different groups...the people who you are working with. Otherwise you can't work with projects you do. It has to be a team work." Participants related how this nature of learning helped them to grow individually, "It helps you deal with people...I'm a good listener. I like to listen to different peoples' ideas and say, 'Let's pool them together and see what we have'."

Participants learned to reflect critically and consider alternatives to problems. They found they "learned to ask a lot more questions rather than accept what is." One participant discovered the difference between substantive council meetings held during the workday and meetings held at night to suffice the public. He described his experience:

> *Those are meetings that they just do the approval, the voting on...It's already been discussed during the day! I showed up [at a night meeting] and I thought, well, OK, we're going to discuss this bill...then the first thing is, here's the bill and are there any comments from the floor? OK, let's do a vote! [Laughter.] We're missing something!*

Another participant wrestles with the school bus shortage in her community: "realizing that things have to be done for us not to have 500 busses. Maybe we can get away with 200 if we do the schedule, but have we thought of the impact? It's a cost consideration, but is the cost worth it?"

Implications

The major implication for this study is its value in strengthening democracy and citizenship. The underlying urgency is even in a mature democracy, citizens begin to take for granted its beliefs, institutions, and benefits. Specifically, it provides a place for adult educators to critically question the purposes and goals of leadership programs and for public administrators to study how policy programs are actually implemented. It has also investigated the impact of experiential learning or learning in the social context as it is connected to the learning format experienced in this specific neighborhood leadership institute. It draws a strong connection to the characteristics of adult education for social change or popular education as well as community development and thus contributes to the knowledge of these areas of adult education.

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The Deeper Layers of Learning

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Abstract: *The literature on adult education stresses often a shift from traditional reproductive learning towards communicative learning. This paper explores a further shift in late modernity towards ideosyncratic, aesthetic learning. Is there such a shift? If so, why? And what is it exactly? How would facilitation looks like?*

At the surface, learning seems to be a clear concept. It seems to assume a body of rather objective, secure knowledge and learning itself is the acquisition of such knowledge. I shall refer to that sort of learning as *reproductive learning*. A more complex and dynamic situation grows where the existing body of knowledge raises questions, controversies. Then it comes to *communicative learning*, the sharing and construction with others of knowledge. But communicative learning itself thrives on and supports in individuals *ideosyncratic learning*, the quest for the most personal expression of the most personal ideas, intuitions, feelings. Ideosyncratic learning is the carrier of the radical individualization and aesthetization of the late modern world. and stresses autonomy, creativity, and self-realization.

Theoretical Exploration

The hypothesis above is rather general. What I intend to do is to stuff the hypothesis with concepts from different types of learning theories. My paper is essentially just a conceptual exercise, not a proof that the theory is correct. To avoid eclecticism, I start with rather broad learning theories and than detail these theories with concepts of learning theories of a more limited scope. To be more precise, I start with socialization theory, then accentuate my analysis by applying concepts from the epistemology of learning and move from there to the theory on cognitive learning and subsequently to the theory on motivation and affective learning. Finally I shall touch the theory on facilitation of learning. Although sometimes I leave this rigid structure and jump a little bit back and forth.

Institutionalized Individualization

I am referring in my hypothesis mainly to everyday learning. So you may call this socialization theory. Learning at schools and for instance in corporate training is just a small part of it. In late modernity such everyday learning is embedded in broader processes of globalization, localization and individualization. The process as a whole can be characterized as *institutionalized individualization* (Beck, cited in Giddens, 1998, p. 36). Just to sketch the framework of my argument, I shall demonstrate these developments for three central examples, respectively for the domains of economics, politics and culture.

Globalization in the domain of economics leads to an intensified competition and an increase in the scale of corporations that leads paradoxically to an internal structure that is more decentralized and encourages communicative learning through forms of *collaborative management* at the workplace. At the same time corporations encourage ideosyncratic learning through a greater autonomy and flexibility of their workers.

Globalization in the domain of politics leads to horizontal global political structures, an increasing complicated network of all sorts of new institutions, treaties and regulations. At the same time the traditional hierarchical national political structures decentralize and are partly broken down in public-private partnerships, involving citizens in these forms of communicative learning through all sort of new *participatory systems* (Wildemeersch a.o., 1998). Horizontalization leads also to ideosyncratic learning because it replaces the role of ideologies by personal interests and personal commitments. This development has been described in the literature as a shift towards life politics (Giddens, 1991, pp. 209-231) and "personalized politics" (Lichterman, 1996).

Globalization in the domain of culture refers to the growing impact of mass culture facilitating communicative learning through modeling *life styles* as quasi-communities, that replace traditional communities such as the neighborhood and the family, and leads to ideosyncratic learning in fostering an aesthetically expressive individualism (Bellah, 1985; Maffesoli, 1996)

Constructivism and Pragmatism

Why is this? Why does globalization leads to localized communicative learning and towards individualized ideosyncratic learning? It has often been said, that it is so because globalization makes the knowledge about the world more complex, dynamic, fragmented. But that is a rather general remark. It seems to me that there are at least three slightly different developments:

- Sometimes indeed the world itself becomes more complex. For instance the multinational corporation is an organizational and technical more complex environment that makes learning about it also more complicated.
- Sometimes the world itself is not necessarily more complicated, but there is just more fragmented information. For instance, mass communication gives adults an overload of information about political questions such as pollution, war and poverty, but we lack now authoritative narratives that structures this information for us (Lyotard, 1979).
- Finally, modernization seems to foster *performative learning*. Knowledge is often organized in constructions about how the world is, but we have to deconstruct and reconstruct knowledge in action-oriented constructions that helps us to solve concrete and situated problems. (Dewey, 1938; Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997, pp.1-27)

In terms of the epistemology of learning there is shift from objectivism to constructivism towards pragmatism. Constructivism is still an umbrella for quite different types of theory ranging from the Russian learning psychology (Vygotski, 1978) towards situative learning (Wenger, 1998). See for an excellent synthesis Driscoll (1994, pp. 359-373). Pragmatism refers to the classical theory of experiential learning as learning by doing (Dewey, 1938; Lewin, 1935).

Divergence and Convergence

Before I move on, let me warn you not to make the fashionable mistake to see reproductive learning as an obsolete phenomenon just because new forms of learning emerge. There is still a lot of reproductive learning and partly that is still unavoidable as a way to introduce children and adults to complicated knowledge constructions. Communicative learning is often not a replacement but an elaboration of such reproductive learning. Communicative learning, as can be observed in for instance collaborative management, horizontal politics and negotiated family relations, are not just forms of social construction of knowledge, but processes of deconstruction and reconstruction.

This process can be highlighted in more detail by applying to communicative learning the distinction between divergent and convergent thinking. In development and learning theory this has been often described as the dual process of assimilation and accommodation (Piaget,1952; Kolb, 1984). My reasoning below rests in particular on the description of divergent and convergent thinking in task-oriented groups by Johnson & Johnson (2000, pp. 273-375) who refer to divergent and convergent thinking as differentiation and integration of positions.

Divergent thinking in general is the competence to assimilate a rich variety of facts and arguments. For instance, within the framework of reproductive learning it means the assimilation of such a rich variety of facts and arguments through structuring them in a pre-determined perspective. Communicative learning conversely is based on the juxtaposition and discussion of different perspectives. Communication results, at its best, in more ideas, insights and strategies that no member had previously thought of, and in communication incorrect constructions are more likely to be recognized and rejected (Johnson & Johnson, 2000, pp. 277-279).

Convergent thinking is the counterpart of divergent thinking. It is the competence to accommodate different and paradoxical facts in a new coherent framework. In communicative learning, convergent thinking is crucial in building consensus. The phenomenon of *group polarization* (Meyers & Lamm, 1976) demonstrates that groups can develop a consensus that is a qualitative shift from the earlier individual perspectives, a shift that can be more risky or more cautious than the earlier individual perspectives. Ideally, each consensus is temporary, because it has to be tested again and again when new insights and critiques come to the fore.

Learning Climate

We have to realize that these are only potential features of communication. It does not always materialize. Because at the same time there is a tendency in communication to oppress critical thinking. This phenomenon has been described in the literature as *groupthink* (Janis, 1982). Such an oppression of critical thinking in groups can be caused by a range of factors. I just mention two important factors. Firstly, a directive leadership that doesn't allow open and critical group discussions. Secondly a quite common fear in group members to damage the cohesion of the group by making critical remarks. Groupthink limits divergent thinking by setting limits on the sort and amount of facts, arguments, perspectives that are allowed in the discussion. In doing so it replaces the great narratives of earlier times by the "small narrative" of the group and produces so its own form of reproductive learning.

A comparable phenomenon can be distracted from motivation theory. Communication and more general the presence of others seems to stimulate our thinking and learning. Deeper down, theoretically the facts are not that simple. In particular, the question is what could be a good mix of competition and cooperation. Competition seems to work better with simple tasks. But when tasks become more complicated, competition raises feelings of anxiety and insecurity, which in turn increases the likelihood that the dominant or most probable response will occur (Johnson & Johnson, 2000, pp. 279-280). So again, communication is a potential feature that does not always materialize; it depends on the extent of openness and cooperation in communication.

Concluding, communicative learning only materializes under the condition of the facilitation of critical thinking and an open learning climate.

Community and Identity

But there is something wrong with communicative learning. It is just as reproductive learning the intrusion of the society in individuals. Or even worse, communicative learning is a more sophisticated intrusion of society in individuals than reproductive learning was/is (Foucault, 1980). But just because society intrudes deeper in the individual, it therefore triggers of also an opposite tendency. While society introduces forms of communicative learning as a more sophisticated strategy to get grip on individuals, these individuals feel threatened and develop personal learning strategies to hold a grip on their own life.

Equally interesting is the form that these learning activities takes, in order to hold grip on the own life. Whether it is the domain of culture, politics or culture people strive for making a difference, to be special, stressing their personal uniqueness. That's why I started to call it ideosyncratic learning. Of course, ideosyncratic learning leads most of the time only to a relative uniqueness. Most people want both at the same time, to belong to a community and to be special, to have an own identity (Bakan cited in Kegan, 1994, p. 217)

Ideosyncratic learning could be called, equally correct, aesthetical learning, because, as we will see below, ideosyncratic learning is not just cognitive learning, in the sense of learning through rational reasoning, but is based in affective learning, in the sense of learning through expression of highly personal intuitions, feelings, tastes.

Creativity

Above I described communicative learning as a combination of divergent and convergent thinking. In this context ideosyncratic learning can be defined as the development of a competence for convergent thinking and more precisely as *creativity* (i.e., the competence to develop innovative knowledge constructions). Communicative learning itself stimulates such creative, ideosyncratic learning in individual participants.

To illustrate this we have to go back for a moment to communicative learning. Divergent thinking in communication is a characteristic of communication itself, but convergent thinking at the contrary is much more a uniquely individual process. Communication as divergent thinking can become just chaos if there are no participants that offer ways to converge this information. But communication not only thrives on such convergent thinking of individual participants, it also stimulates it. Ultimately communication is just a trigger, a strong incentive for the development of convergent thinking in individuals. But even when you accept that under ideal conditions communicative learning is superior to the convergent learning of the individuals participating in it, that does not mean that learning stops when a consensus has been reached in communicative learning. Both the arguments generated in communication and the possible consensus reached in any of these communications, enter the individual thinking as new material that must be accommodated by these individuals, in order to hold grip on their own thinking.

Self-realization

But how do you facilitate creativity in individuals? What is it exactly? How can people get a better grip on differentiated, fragmented knowledge? How do people choose and mix different constructions of knowledge, when juxtaposed? Most authors refer to it as something that goes beyond, or better underlies, rational thinking. For instance, philosophers refer to it as a shift from instrumental and normative towards aesthetical judgments (Habermas, 1981, pp. 25-71; Früchtl, 1996). Wenger (1998, pp. 51-71) refers to it as the experience of meaning. Crossan, Lane, & White (1999) in the discussion of learning organizations, refer to it as an unique individual process based on intuition. Bellah a.o. (1985, pp. 333-334), in their definition of expressive individualism, refer to it as a unique core of feeling and intuition. For me, it is also related to courage and endurance. Courage to be critical. Endurance in the wrestling with facts and arguments.

From humanistic learning psychology (Rogers, 1969) we may learn that facilitation of such aesthetical and affective learning processes should be rather non-directive. It is also seems to be something that is not easily to do in a group; maybe this explains why we see now, whether embedded in communicative learning or not, in facilitation of adult learning the rise of individual mentoring, counseling, coaching of learning. It also takes probably often rather informal forms, in asides of the formal learning process. Finally the development of creativity is not a quick fix, these learning processes reach their zenith often only in mid-life and probably less than 50 % of the adults will reach that point ever (Kegan, 1994, pp. 185-197).

Quasi-idiosyncrasy

I could easily have stopped here, but there is something weird with the way I used the concepts of communicative learning, ideosyncratic learning, aesthetical learning, creativity, meaning, etc., compared to the rather common way of using this sort of concepts in late modern common language. I used the concepts of communicative and ideosyncratic learning as the deeper layers of learning that apply to all domains of learning, such as economics, politics and culture. In late modern language there is a tendency to limit the use of the concepts of community and in particular idiosyncrasy to the domain of culture and, even more interesting, to understand also just reproductive learning in the domain of culture in terms of communicative and ideosyncratic learning.

The reason of this different use of the concepts of community and idiosyncrasy seems to be the ongoing rationalization of the domains of economics and politics. Although a lot of people see possibilities to develop an creative and satisfying role in the domain of economics, for many other people work is, despite the philosophy of human resources development, largely still an alienating experience, in the sense that it doesn't lead to sustained human relations and durable purposes (Sennett, 1998). Likewise politics, political participation and voluntary work is for some people still a way to express social commitment, but for many people politics became just too rationalized and bureaucratized and that makes it difficult for many of us to experience participation in it as meaningful and as an expression of our deepest feelings and intuitions. Therefore the search for community and identity in the domain of culture becomes for many people an alternative way to react on the intrusion of society in the individual, it becomes a different way to protect and develop an own identity. The alienation of rational forms of thinking leads to a new romanticism.

That makes it understandable that in late modernity the expression of community has been often sought in the domain of mass culture, that offers a broad range of life-styles as *quasi-communities* (Maffesoli (1996, pp. 1-67). Different of the traditional communities, based on spatial closeness, these lifestyles as the new communities are based on closeness in style, taste. An individual person can express his or her personal identity by a specific pattern of conspicuous consumption, leading to *quasi-idiosyncrasy*.

Although much of this is just reproductive learning, following role models as developed and disseminated in mass culture, there is of course, also in this domain, a stimulus for in-depth learning. Communicative learning starts for instance where people follow art classes, become theater players, form music groups, sport in amateur competition. And in turn this supports the learning of real idiosyncrasy in developing a personal style in individuals, who sometimes become professionals and role models themselves.

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Questions for the Adult Educator on a Virtual Odyssey: An Analysis of Internet and Web-based Learning

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Abstract: *This paper examines the argument that lifelong learning should become increasingly dependent on education technology because this will alleviate many of the barriers to learning adults face. Lifelong learning is diverse, and so caution is needed when generalising from case specific research. The premise that new learning technologies promote social inclusion is still relatively untested.*

Introduction: The Growth of New Learning Technologies

Information technology skills have become a new form of literacy for the 21st century, and yet the impact that these will have on adult education has been woefully under-explored (Boshier, 1999). Recently, Boshier (1999) and others initiated the examination of Internet and Web learning from an "adult education" perspective. This paper is a further contribution to these debates drawing particularly on an analysis of adult educational policy within the UK, and an examination of the fragmented but increasingly extensive empirical data world-wide about on-line learning.

New communication and information technologies have become ubiquitous within higher education and the skills associated with their use have been identified as essential key outcomes for graduates in the UK (DfEE, 1997). These media have challenged notions of locality and proximity. For example, time and distance have new meanings when one uses asynchronous communications such as email or gains access to libraries and other information resources through the Internet. One consequence has been that a third generation of distance learning based on these communication technologies has been developing which is being portrayed as a solution to many of the structural barriers that adult learners experience (Halal & Liebowitz, 1994; Laurillard, 1993; McConnell, 1998). These include: a restricted time for study; the lack of courses at times that fit around employment or caring responsibilities; geographical distance from centres of learning; lack of transport or financial constraints; and a desire to study at local centres. Not surprisingly, the policy discourse has assimilated these notions, and flexible learning has become the "condensation symbol" (Edelman, 1977) or shorthand descriptor for Internet and Web-based learning and a central feature of the strategy to widen participation and ensure lifelong learning.

This paper will review a range of discourses that are constructing understandings of Internet and Web-based learning and seek to show how these have been used by the policy discourse to present a rational account of how to initiate change in educational practice. For example, Boshier and Chia (1999) identified four discourses: techno-utopianism, techno-cynicism, techno-zealotry, and techno-structuralism. These ideas may be regarded as polarising discourses in which the debates have become simplified into oppositional positions between the optimists who regard the Internet as a liberatory and empowering technology and the pessimists who warn of the exclusionary nature of the media and point to difficulties in ensuring mass access to the technologies (Webb, 1999). Empirical evidence can be found to support both positions, yet I would argue that if adult educators are to engage fully with these debates, the question about how this evidence is used to justify such diverse arguments needs to be examined. To answer this, the paper will examine differences in the situations in which the Web has been used because as others have argued, differences in the contexts and in the institutional purposes and players involved are critical to understanding how technologically based learning impacts on the participation of adult learners (Gorard & Selwyn, 1999; Webb, 1999).

Constructions of Lifelong Learning and Web-based Learning in Recent UK Policy

Many governments, suggests Longworth, (1999), are basing their strategies for more effective learning on the use of education technology, including open and distance learning and delivery through networks. In the UK, key projects that exemplify this are the University for Industry (UfI, now called Learning Direct), aimed at adult learners, and the National Grid for Learning, a schools based project to help teachers and students obtain access to a wide range of learning materials on-line. The rationale for these developments is best summed up by a statement in the UK Government's Green Paper, "The Learning Age," which argued that: "As the University for Industry will demonstrate, one of the best ways to overcome some of the barriers to learning will be to use the new broadcasting and other technologies." (DfEE, 1998, p.1.2). Another aspect of the rationale is that the UfI is expected to provide a structure of "support for businesses to secure the skills that they need to compete in the world" by being a broker to stimulate employer-led training, and learning in the further and higher education sectors to address the UK's "skills requirements and to improve UK competitiveness" (DfEE, 1998, p.7.2).

What is interesting about these statements is that they infer two apparently different approaches to lifelong learning. On the one hand, the language positions the UfI firmly within an inclusive discourse of lifelong learning that regards learning as essential for everyone to realise their individual human potential (Longworth, 1999). It proposes that this may be achieved by "help[ing] all adults realise their potential by opening up access to learning through local opportunities, using technology, and broadcasting to create an open network" (DfEE, 1998, p.1.2). In these ways, the language within the "Learning Age" articulates many of the key elements found within public narratives about social inclusion and widening participation, as the following claims about the use of new technologies illustrate: "The UfI will help people find the time to learn...make learning more accessible and affordable...provide a clear route to learning opportunities [and] take the fear out of learning" (DfEE, 1998, p. 9)

On the other hand, the policy document highlights a narrower conception of lifelong learning in which the UfI is seen to be an instrumental mechanism to help solve the economic needs of the state and industry, and of individuals' needs for education and training to help their employment. A Skills Task Force is a central part of this strategy along with the setting of national education and training targets for everyone over 16 years of age (DfEE, 1998). Yet, as Robertson, (1998) reminds us this is a supply-sided initiative, rather than demand led. There is little evidence that those who have not traditionally participated in education and training will suddenly find this attractive simply because it has been technologically "repackaged" (Gorard and Selwyn, 1999).

Underpinning these two approaches to lifelong learning is an optimistic account of the role of new learning technologies that invokes the discourses of techno-utopians and techno-zealots (Boshier and Chia, 1999) and their presence may explain why these two constructions of lifelong learning are not presented as a contradiction within these UK policies. Such optimism may also stem from a view that the Internet and the World Wide Web appear to make knowledge available to those with access to the hardware at the touch of a key and the cost of a phone call. These appear to be just another product that may be purchased, or a leisure pursuit. In other words, they have become commodified as information (Lyotard, 1984), and informal learning has become a lifestyle product that can be purchased through videos, computer games and CD-ROMs, as info-cation or edu-tainment (Edwards, 1998). The boundaries between education, leisure and entertainment and other sectors have become blurred, what Edwards (1998) has termed a process of de-differentiation. Therefore, by highlighting the positive role of the Internet and the Web in this dual construction of lifelong learning, policy-makers have blurred the boundaries between learning for personal development, and learning to get a better job. In a chameleon-like way lifelong learning seems able to encompass on the one hand, the language of widening participation and social inclusion, and on the other, appears to be addressing the economic needs of the state and industry.

The Role of Web-based Learning in Reaching the Learners who are Hard to Reach

There is a large and growing body of literature about the use of the Web in learning, about which a number of distinctions need to be drawn. These include firstly, recognising the use of technology for managing the teaching and learning process, where it may be used for marketing courses and institutions, providing information and guidance, registration, tracking, and assessment. Secondly, the use of computer mediated communications (CMC) such as email, asynchronous conferencing, or synchronous conferencing. Thirdly, the use of the technology such as multi-user object orientated (MOOs) or multi user dimensions (MUDs) to simulate virtual environments. Inglis et al (1999) argue that each of these may draw on a range of pedagogic strategies. For example, they might include on the one hand, those that stress knowledge transfer, and emphasise the recall of set packages of knowledge; those that carefully sequence knowledge and encourage information transfer through structured teacher led activities; and those that encourage "learning by doing" in order to achieve competency. On the other hand, there are others that see interaction between the student and student, and the student and tutor, as critical to the students' learning, and these tend to draw on personal construction models, social construction models or conceptual shift models. It is the facility for these more interactive strategies that has given rise to a number of optimistic accounts of how Web learning may enhance adult learning, along with its apparent neutrality and public accessibility as a channel of information irrespective of time, place and institutional personnel. However, these arguments are contested.

For example, Paulsen (1994) drew distinctions between four pedagogical paradigms in CMC. These included: firstly, learning alone, where the focus is on information retrieval by consulting existing databases or on-line sites; secondly, learning one to one, where teaching and learning is developed using electronic mail; thirdly, learning one to many where information is available through bulletin boards; and fourthly, learning many to many, where virtual simulations occur through computer conferencing, debate, role play, and so on. Paulsen has argued that it is in the area of the "many to many" techniques, more so than others, that Internet learning shows major advantages over face to face learning,. However, Paulsen's samples involved only well qualified learners and professional practitioners, and he offered little discussion of other factors which might have contributed to the success of the CMC. Similarly, Kaye (1992) recognised the relationships between the pedagogic style of the on-line tutor, and the potential of Web-based media to facilitate collaborative learning in his study of continuing professional development, but unlike Paulsen, he acknowledged the influence of the wider social factors operating in workplaces and educational organisations. Not surprisingly, these cases have contributed to the development of optimistic discourses about the use of Web-based learning but little attention has been given to the impact of different settings, different educational purposes and differences among students.

Part of the reason for this lack of attention to the problem of meaning when constructing generalisations for policy and practice from diverse case studies may be because frequently evaluations have been practitioner-led (Inglis et al, 1999). Also, practitioners have not often been the key players in the development of policies around new learning technologies. Policy-makers and practitioners leading developments have used the research literature to support their strategies and practices but have left many premises untested. For example, Inglis et al (1999) suggest that the technology itself encourages innovation to keep ahead of the competition, and so rather than wait for the results of longitudinal studies, policy is developed on the basis of the best understandings of known best practice. They claim that even costings models tend to underestimate the full costs of development and delivery, and they suggest that technology cannot solve the access problems created by situational and institutional barriers (Cross, 1981). In addition, they argue that digital learning involving interaction between the tutor and the learner is probably no cheaper than face to face teaching. The main financial gains are likely to be felt by institutions that defray their high development costs through global marketing and recruitment of many small specialist groups of learners. In turn these learners who are seeking specialist professional provision gain access to learning that would otherwise be beyond their reach. Further cost benefits are most likely to accrue to those institutions where distance learning has used the remote classroom model rather than interactive learning, and these are more prevalent in the USA, than in Australia and the UK. If these findings are accepted, they suggest that the recent UK strategies for lifelong learning centred on the

Internet and the Web are based on some dubious assumptions about the costs and benefits to institutions and to disadvantaged individuals.

Even when practitioners do attempt to theorise the relationship between contexts, learning goals, learner characteristics and the learning media, in order to explore Internet learning and its value for adult learners, as in the case of Lyman's, (1999) model of situated learning, the data drawn upon posits the discourses of techno-utopia and techno-zealot described earlier. This is not surprising since much of the literature on CMC has identified a tendency towards democratic interaction (Boyd, 1987; Harasim, 1987) and promoted a democratic theory about its use (Yates, 1997). It has suggested that the media lacks social cues and this promotes social equality (Kiesler, 1987; Sproull & Kiesler, 1993). Further support has come from more recent studies of gender mixed on-line discussion groups (Hardy et al, 1994; McConnell, 1997; Selfe & Meyer, 1991). Sproull and Kiesler (1993). They have suggested that the communications technology, with its plain text format and the perceived ephemeralness of its messages, has led people to forget or ignore their audiences. They have argued that the medium contributes to deindividuation which means that the users of CMC become less sensitive to each other, and the resulting reduced social awareness leads to messages which ignore social boundaries, involve greater levels of social revelation than in face to face encounters, and they are more likely to "speak" bluntly and write "flaming" messages. Yet this analysis whilst providing some evidence for the role of CMC in promoting social equity, also helps to explain why a number of other writers have suggested that CMC does little to equalise differences in gendered communications, and may exacerbate some differences, even though some women's voices are increasingly being heard (Ferris, 1996; Herring, 1994; Pohl and Michaelson, 1998; We, 1993).

In a similar way, others have shown that the Web carries social markers (Yates, 1997) and that as a different, but still social space our understandings of how learning operates in different contexts and with different groups is as relevant to Internet and Web-based learning as it is to the conventional classroom. The issue which underpins these concerns is the extent to which there are similarities and differences between CMC and face to face conversations. Studies which have explored this have argued that all communications' media are social constructs and that interaction is socially negotiated. Perrolle (1991) used Habermas' theory of linguistic competence to examine these matters and argued that because some of the social norms of communications such as how we build trust and develop linguistic competence are removed or obscured in CMC, there is the potential for communications via computers to be distorted. However, she also acknowledged that some social indicators of power and status differences which can negatively affect people's participation in face to face conversations can be hidden in CMC, and so there is a greater potential for more equal participation by each gender, class, race and ability group. In the end, Perrolle has been cautious in assuming that the technology will always be deployed in such emancipatory ways and has suggested that because the design and use of hardware and software is socially negotiated it may still reflect, and even reify, unequal relations of power and authority.

Equally problematic, for understanding how Web learning can be used to support lifelong learning and increase the participation of the socially excluded, is that much of the literature has been derived from studies of learners who have had considerable experience of formal education. Much of this literature originates from analyses of continuing professional development, and undergraduate and postgraduate teaching, and little seems to be changing (see for example Banks et al, 1998). Gorard and Selwyn's (1999) analysis of the virtual college movement in the UK concluded that educationalists and researchers should avoid viewing ICT as a "technical fix" for post compulsory education and training. They suggest that one of the "problems" of computers is that as Postman (1992) argues they encourage a focus on technical solutions but this view obscures many of the social and cultural contexts of these new lifelong learning policies.

Conclusion

An alternative view of Internet and Web learning to that found in this policy discourse would be to regard the Internet as a medium that extends pre-existing identities and institutions rather than radically transforming them (Poster, 1997). This is neither an optimistic nor a pessimistic view of the technology but rather one that seeks to understand technology within a socially constructed context and to evaluate its use in diverse contexts, and in relation to learners and their goals. The argument of this paper has been that the majority of studies of on-line learning that have been associated with the optimistic discourses of the techno-utopianists and the techno-zealots have derived their findings from case studies within the field of continuing professional development, continuing vocational education or from work with traditional undergraduate and postgraduate university students. Few studies of on-line learning have focused on the non traditional learner or learners who have not participated beyond initial compulsory education.

In addition, many of the extrapolations from empirical research that have been used to make claims about the Web, have blurred different conceptualisations of lifelong learning, such as learning for personal development and promoting social inclusion, and learning to improve a country's competitiveness and enabling the individual to get a better job. The extent to which the Internet and Web-based learning may be able to deliver these different objectives is likely to be variable and to some extent unknown. What is needed is a more extended analytical review of how different groups of adult learners interact on-line and perceive their learning. Analysis of a wider range of cases is likely to strengthen the argument that the context in which the Web is deployed has to be understood before one can assert that it will be the panacea for adult learning of the future and be a key strategy for educational activists and policy makers with a lifelong learning and widening participation agenda.

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Beyond Coady: Adult Education and the End of Utopian Modernism

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Any biographer faces enormous tasks in crafting another's life. It is always difficult to disentangle one's own beliefs, values, doubts and desires from those one is writing about. But the biographer of Moses Michael Coady, born in 1882 into a large Irish Catholic family in a peripheral region of Canada, the Margaree Valley of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, confronts another vexing problem. When Coady died in 1959 at age 77, he was carried to his grave on the hill overlooking Antigonish by two fishermen, two farmers, a miner and a steelworker. Many newspapers noted that he had been a big man, in every way. Coady was a big man, close to 6'4" and carrying 240 pounds, an imposing and disturbing presence in the community halls and government conference rooms of feudalistic Nova Scotia through the 1930s to the mid-1950s. Yet, size and the scent of danger were not the only huge features about this complex and contrary man. To this day, the name of Coady is linked with heroism, of feats of exceeding magnitude. In Canadian adult education folklore, Coady's name is stamped indelibly with emancipatory longing and exemplary pedagogical practices. If one were to believe the myths, Coady rose suddenly like a colossus out of a small, obscure place to lead the suffering Maritimes and oppressed of the earth to the promised land of economic liberation and plentitude. Today, at the dawn of a new millenium, Coady's dream of the co-operative kingdom has proved to be an illusion. The Atlantic Canada fishery is in acute crisis, our forests mismanaged, our coal and steel industry in utter chaos and shambles. One can visit the little fishing villages of Nova Scotia, some the scene of the great co-operative tours of the late 1930s, and scarcely tell which village was the model of economic self-help and social dynamism. There are still many signs of co-operative enterprise, but they chug along more or less like every other economic venture. Nova Scotia is the graveyard of utopias, the land of excessive expectations, dashed hopes and unfulfilled longings.

From 1930 until his death, Moses Coady was at the epicentre of a remarkable awakening of primary producers and household workers. This movement to break the stranglehold of feudal economic and political structures on the minds and outlook of impoverished Maritimers, anchored in eastern Nova Scotia, spread throughout the Maritimes and Atlantic Canada, at first like wildfire, linked with co-operative movement in every other part of Canada, New England and the mid-west USA, spreading from there into the Caribbean, Latin America and other parts of the world. From the early to late 1930s for an evanescent moment, this movement for a people's economy, named the "Antigonish Movement," caught the imagination of the world. Journalists, liberal-minded religious leaders, papal authorities, eastern seaboard intellectuals, theologians, professors, social reformers, politicians, poets, co-operative leaders and curious youth....they came from far and wide to witness the "miracle of Antigonish." Antigonish glowed with a radiant light. It clearly became not just an interesting movement worth attending to and learning something from; it was an imaginative space, a place into which people with varying interests could project their own desires, fantasies and longings. Many people, spiritually dislocated and bewildered by the scale and scope of change in the post-world war I era, desperately wanted Moses Michael Coady to be their modern Moses who could fashion a non-violent alternative to fascism and communism. They wanted Antigonish to be their Bethlehem and the co-operative self-help movement their promised land.

Movement publicists were under constant pressure to represent the movement in positive, upbeat language, images and stories. The desires of the public for concrete solutions and hope converged happily with the movement's leaders own desire for an emancipated Maritimes. Coady believed in the co-operative revolution with a terrible and fanatical belief. He, too, constantly foregrounded its successes, fueling the myth of the "modern miracle" and pushing himself on to very dangerous territory. He came to actually believe that he had been, in fact, chosen by God to teach the entire world his divine blueprint for the "good and abundant life."

People who knew Moses Coady, who would playfully characterize himself at times as "little Mosie from the Margaree," often remarked on the genial and humble nature of this big, rough farm boy. But anyone who reads the voluminous correspondence and attends carefully to the endless speeches and writings of Moses Coady cannot help being struck by the rather ungenial and unhumble nature of his vision of the world. The biographer of Moses Coady must dispel the soft glow of the halo around this complex and very human person, and then resist the temptation to slide into post-modern cynicism about the way big power always checkmates us in the end. As historian, biographers must tell the truth as they sees it, come what may, and this means placing the person in time and place. And Moses Michael Coady's place is smack in the heart of the first five decades of the horrific 20th century. As always, there are lessons here and these are not easy to digest for those committed to emancipatory learning and action.

In this paper I want to query the "Coady legacy," probing Moses Coady's outlook and practice for contradictions. I want to ask the question of what we don't want to take from Coady into the 21st century. Coady, I argue, possessed a flawed vision of the world and this world outlook bears the marks of the utopian modernist impulses of the first five decades of the 20th century. Coady, I also argue, fell prey to hubris, and this "arrogance towards the gods" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990, p. 574) led inevitably to his nemesis, the revelation of the illusionary nature of his divine blueprint for the masses of the earth.

"Passion for Grandiose Schemes"

Coady, this rural farm boy from the Margaree, who only started attending school regularly in his early teens, was a late bloomer. He was 46 when he erupted like a volcano on the Nova Scotia scene to lead the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department on to the world stage. Once erupted, this vesuvious of a man never stopped thinking or writing about "world revolution." Donning the prophetic mantle in the early 1930s, Coady crafted his message of redemption for Martimers who were, yet again, living through hard times. In meeting hall after meeting hall, Coady told his depression audience that although the Maritimes were "fields of lost opportunities," there were still opportunities that "were not being taken advantage of." But to take advantage, the "mind had to be educated." It was only "through study and education that a people could see and seize the opportunities that would be profitable..." (Scrapbooks, 1931, speech to New Glasgow Rotary Club). Coady valued deeply the possibility hunting mind, and nobody worked harder to arouse Nova Scotians and Maritimers from their slumber. By 1934, enough activity was mushrooming in eastern Nova Scotia to render Coady's message plausible. The anxiety and fearfulness of the early struggling days appeared to be over. The Extension Department's fragile survival time had ended and new energy and enthusiasm flowed through the communities like an electrical current. *The Xavier Weekly*, February 18, 1933, had exuded: " A new life is springing up in our province. People recognize the necessity of awakening. Consequently, they are beginning to do their own thinking and, having the courage of their convictions, they act accordingly. Cooperative ideas are abroad."

It didn't take long for the modestly consequential accomplishments of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department to turn into something more—the "miracle of Antigonish." The spawn of the Extension's herculean efforts, with limited staff and resources, to defeat the giant of feudalist capitalism, were a significant array of co-operative institutions in Atlantic Canada and other parts of North America and the world. Coady was widely hailed as the heroic leader of the non-revolutionary alternative to fascism and communism. But Coady, for reasons that remain hidden from us, crossed over the line from running an innovative Extension Department to imagining that the Antigonish Movement was the solution to the world's problems. By the early 1940s, Coady believed that he had discovered the blueprint, that he had the "democratic formula" to solve most of the problems of the earth's impoverished masses. Coady never had enough evidence from his experience in the Maritime co-operative movement in the 1940s and 1950s to assume that he had, indeed, found the blueprint for life on earth. In fact, the Antigonish Movement had been cut off from the grassroots at the outbreak of World War II. During the 1940s desperate co-operative leaders tried to organize federated structures to maintain the co-operative movement's presence against an awakening capitalism. Most of the educational attention in the war and its aftermath was focused on training elite managers for the co-operative institutions. Evidence from co-operative reports of the 1940s indicates clearly that the common people were not participating very much in the life of their institutions. By the early 1950s, the co-operative movement's energy had dissipated, its emancipatory potential exhausted. In his dying days, Coady imagined that the Eastern Co-operative Services, formed in 1957 to unify co-operative services, was the capstone of the movement, the guarantee of its permanence. By 1965 it had collapsed. The old, dying Coady ended up scarred in body and soul, angry at his own people for betraying the co-operative utopia, calling the Church to impossible acts of dedication and effort and railing at the darkness of the world on the edge of domination by that "hideous thing," communism.

Coady's agonal last few years reflect, I think, a profound state of hubris. No one can be certain how Coady deceived himself into thinking that he had a divine mission to liberate the people's of the world. But we can trace some of the streams that flowed into the making of Coady's millenarianism. Coady's theology was a kind of everyman's Thomism. St. Thomas, the "Common Doctor" of the Roman Church, believed that God, nature and humankind were knowable through reason and revelation. Coady tended to make up his own theology as he went along, hinging his ideas loosely to Catholic teachings. From Thomas, whose thinking was deeply influenced by Aristotle, Coady took the idea that God had revealed his blueprint for knowing God through the sacred text and his blueprint for ordering the economic, social, cultural and political world. There was only one true, or best, way of knowing God and ordering the world. In other words, Coady saw himself as God's architect of the new economic and social order. The correct formula for organizing the economy, for example, existed in the divine plan. Through scientific knowledge humankind could know the correct formula. The blueprint could be worked out by expert social architects and applied to the masses to develop their "social intelligence." In a letter expressing typical sentiments written to his buddy, Father Michael Gillis, Coady explained that all we could do in life, was "apply with persistent and unfaltering effort the right democratic formula. It matters not how slow it is or how great the difficulties in the way, that will ultimately win. There is nothing worth copying from the communists, but their persistent zeal should make us ashamed of ourselves…(L)et us nose our ship in the wind and sail it to the bitter end. We will win in proportion to our faith" (Coady to Gillis, December 20, 1950).

This assumption is the linchpin in Coady's meaning perspective. Coady's theological certainty that he could discover an economic order that had transcendental approval placed huge burdens on him. It is important to recognize two fascinating things. First, Coady's theological dogmatism converges with modernist assumptions about the role of the intellectual. Modernist intellectuals were, in Zygmunt Bauman's terms, legislators and not interpreters. The modernist intellectual is a creature of the Enlightenment, legislated by reason to announce the one best way for humankind. Coady's Thomist beliefs made it easy for him to advocate a scientific formula for solving economic and social problems. Second, once Coady believed that he had a divinely appointed mission to legislate the one best way, viz. the co-operative way, he was now faced with a huge contradiction. He wanted the little people of the earth to be "masters of their own destiny." But Coady already knew, before they did, what their destiny ought to be. To be sure, this terrible belief fired the volcanic Coady to superhuman efforts on behalf of the economic emancipation of the exploited primary producers. But it was Coady himself, and not God, who imposed his view that the "so-called common people, by virtue of their numbers, have a messianic role to play in this drama of progress. They will kill us with their ignorance or save us by their enlightenment" ("Can Achieve High Destiny in Maritimes," *Halifax Herald*, January 1, 1941). The common people, within Coady's world outlook, were instruments for the fulfillment of God's revealed plan for humankind. But it was Coady himself, and not God, who laid this immense burden of historical necessity upon the common people.

It is also fascinating to consider that the prevalent ethos of the first five decades of the 20th century was an ethos of the grandiose dream of remaking humankind according to some law of historical necessity. The three greater shapers of the 20th century – Lenin, Stalin and Hitler – all propagated views of secular liberation that were anchored in the illusion that history was leading inexorably in a particular direction and that acts of will could ensure that it got there. Historical events during World War I and its aftermath created an electrifying apocalyptic atmosphere. The Bolshevik Revolution promised the world a journey to a secular paradise; Hitler's revolution a thousand year reign. In an obscure backwater of North America, a priest named Moses Coady imagined that the co-operative revolution could compete on the world scene with these totalizing ideologies. Coady desired the co-operative movement to be so permanently fixed in the world that he imagined that those who built "sound co-operatives" could "feel that if they should come back 5,000 or 10,000 years from now they would still find their co-operatives in a flourishing condition" ("People in Business," Minnesota Association of Co-operatives, St. Paul, Minn., 1946). This wild dream of a permanent millennial order inhabited his religious outlook on time and space. Yet, on the underside of this dream of permanence lies deep anxiety that the world will actually turn out to be chaotic, unpredictable and exploitative of God's little people of the earth.

I believe that Coady's belief that divine reason had revealed the blueprint for the remaking of humankind converged with the prevalent, illusionary ethos of the early to mid-20th century redemptive dreams. The first half of the 20th century was not a modest time. The men who dominated this part of the century dreamed big and had little compunction about imagining that they could remake the entire world in their image, no matter what cost. Lenin, Hitler and Stalin exemplified this terrible vision. This was the ethos of a strangely violent and abstract age, and Moses Michael Coady shared in this ethos of the grand, sweeping reconstruction of the social order. Perhaps this was a manifestation of an atavistic "Catholic triumphalism," the Roman Church's age-old dream of universal domination. Coady wanted a different world from the tyrants; but he still wanted his vision of the "good and abundant life" imposed on a pandemonious world. Utopian modernism ruled the 20th century: a potent, dangerous ideology of the will to control in the service of historical (or divine) necessity.

Terrible Belief and Dark Impulses

Throughout his mature life, from his mid-40s to his late-70s, Moses Coady thundered against the "vested interests" that kept the common people enchained and preached a gospel very close to syndicalism. Coady's granite idea, his fundamental legacy to the 21st century, was simply that unless the primary producers and industrial working class controlled production, talk of democracy was futile. Coady thought that co-operative ownership was the one best way of accomplishing this transcendentally blessed (or historically necessary) project. But this assumption carries some potentially dark impulses and anti-democratic tendencies. By the early 1950s, Coady's thought had taken a decided apocalyptic turn. He tried to present a brave public front in face of evidence that the co-operative movement was not fulfilling its divinely appointed mission. He wrote to Michael Gillis on January 31, 1951 that he had been talking to several of the priests around Antigonish who were in the dumps. Coady suggested to Father John Angus Rankin that "we get together a small number of our leading men who will meet as occasion offers from time to time....My idea would be that I would notify the fellows of a given area that some of the boys were to meet, say in Sydney, at a given time. Only the central fellows would know the whole gang. In this way we would avoid jealousies. This is only to resurrect the technique of a former day before we started Extension. The number is rather formidable but I can't see how we could possibly not take the fellows mentioned above." Coady thought that forming this vanguard of male conspirators would "keep up morale and build the fellows who are going to lead in the future; it will, and this is very important, create a very strong, although possibly a silent, pressure group that will keep all our top leaders on the right track, so to speak." This vanguard, meeting in "these little private seances," would determine what ideas "should prevail at say St. Joseph's Society, clergy meetings, rural and industrial conferences,..." (Coady to Gillis, January 31, 1951). This letter recalls the early, World War I days when Father Tompkins had spearheaded a conspiratorial elite of priests – "Bolsheviks of a better sort" – to shape the Church's social agenda. But this extraordinary letter to his mentor Gillis reveals Coady's own desperation, his manipulative side and how difficult it was for Catholics to act democratically. This great proponent of democracy was even willing, in his darkest hour, to engineer both the people and their leaders to control their own destinies. But if the Truth pre-exists communally validated learning processes and procedures, then the leader (or educator) is pressed toward manipulative and anti-democratic practices.

In his text, *Critical Social Science* (1987), Brian Fay distinguishes "educative" from "instrumental" modes of altering how people think and act. Instrumentalists assume that the "laws of social life have an independent power which can only be dealt with by ascertaining what these laws are and regulating actions accordingly" (p. 92). Because Coady, following St.Thomas, believes that "objective science" reveals the laws governing social life, Coady's pedagogical action is oriented to enabling learners to bring their economic practice in line with revealed law. Coady wants the common people, fishers, farmers, coal miners, to reflect upon their life situations and transform their self-understandings. But he must necessarily be alarmed when the people's reflective learning processes move away from revealed law, i.e. the co-operative blueprint or formula. Coady was fundamentally a social engineer who thought he was mandated to instrumentalize God's blueprint in a dark world. His social engineering impulse is woven like crabgrass into his genuine longing for a democratic, people's economy.

Dogmatists don't make good democrats. Another dark impulse that resides within a world outlook that is premised on preexistent, revealed Truth is only manifest when the common people fail to live up to their historical mission. Even though Coady put on a brave public face about the future of the co-operative movement in the mid-1950s, progress in many sections of the country was disappointingly slow. The crooked world was unwilling to travel down the road Coady had in mind for it. Now Coady tapped into the shadowy side of hubris: he turned against the people who were not following the blueprint. In an astonishingly candid speech to the United Maritime Fishermen (UMF) on February 17, 1954, Coady railed against the fishermen whose poverty, illiteracy and ill-health had dulled their intelligence, weakened their wills and almost destroyed ambition. Coady accused the fishermen of ungratefulness. Even though the organization of the UMF was followed by increased prices for lobsters and other fish, all the fishermen still refused to come into the movement. An utterly dismayed and furious Coady lashed out at groups of individuals who still "shopped around from week to week and sell their lobsters to private profit dealers if they get an extra cent here and a half there....One moment's thought should convince these canny in-and-outers that if there were no co-operatives the prices would immediately snap back to where they were in the old days. It takes education and enlightenment to know and weigh these things."

Coady believed that some co-operative executives had betrayed the movement. "The enemy from without will naturally try his wiles on our business leaders, but the real enemy is the one from within. We know that in the credit unions, co-operative stores and producer co-operatives we have had leaders who have embezzled money, defrauded the people in some other ways and had secret agreements with old-line businessmen. By their betrayal they weakened the confidence of the people in the noble cause of co-operation. What is the answer to that? Education of course. If 80% of the fishermen of this country get the scientific knowledge, the proper understanding of social techniques, and the fundamental co-operative philosophy that will make them deadly in earnest, then no co-operative business manager anywhere in this country would dare allow himself to be bribed by the enemy." Coady's imagination was, in his dying days, haunted by images of the betrayal and moral weakness of the co-op movement's leaders and the common people. But he also believed, more generally, that the world's Church and democratic leaders had betrayed the masses of the earth. He believed that Western leaders had sold out the people and lacked the "stamina to oppose the monopolistic overlords, landlords and warlords who were enslaving the world." He wrote to Rev. F.J. Smyth on July 13, 1956, that: "Only a declaration that will be as revolutionary as Christianity was two thousand years ago will jolt nominal Christians out of their lethargy and attract the heretical, schismatic and pagan world. We are only temporizing and playing a clever game of opportunism if we are going to keep on indulging in the platitudes that have been characteristic of our statements in the past." The masses of the world were looking, so Coady imagined, to its Christian leaders for a declaration that would "strike them as a call to action by men who not only believe what they teach but give the impression that they are convinced of its ultimate triumph. This will enable us to avoid the imputation that we are waverers, if not apologists for a status quo that has very little to commend it."

Once Moses Michael Coady assumed the prophet's mantle and became God's amanuensis, he trod a path that would inevitably lead him into some dark places. One might suggest, perhaps, that Moses Coady betrayed his own God by assuming that he knew that it was possible to find permanent order and harmony in a tiny part of the universe.

Christians have almost always believed that this world is not humankind's true home; permanence lies in eternity. Like Prometheus, Coady tried to steal some of God's fire, the coveted blueprint (or golden key) revealing God's plan for the earthly realm of economics, culture and politics. This impulse to control a world perceived to be on the verge of being engulfed by the evil of overlords, landlords and warlords is a distinctly modernist impulse. Modernists want a dominant meta-narrative, so did Coady. Modernists want a rational world governed by scientific knowing, so did Coady. Modernists incline to blueprints and one best ways of thinking and acting, so did Coady. When "utopian desire" couples with "modernism," a potent and dangerous brew is concocted.

Utopian modernism proffers a redemptive politics to the world. At the end of the barbarous 20th century, we know what a ghastly illusion communism and fascism were. We know, as well, that millions of people in the world were in the caught in the grip of fantastical ideologies. Coady tried to counter fascism and communism by offering an alternative, the co-operative blueprint. But he, too, was caught up in a redemptive narrative that failed to deliver what Coady thought it promised. Coady had not discovered the golden key or the holy grail of economic organization. Even with his relentless beating of the drum of "democratic control" of the economy, Coady failed utterly to consider that the co-operative organization form could be only formally democratic (one person one vote) and could be anti-democratic in its internal governance. But, in my view, Coady's greatest failing is that he did not "respect the limits of the human capacity to change the world in which we live." Intellectual historian Martin Jay admits that "there has been a widespread recognition of the complexity of the world and of the difficulty of mastering or even steering that complexity" (Jay, *Tikkun*, November/December 1999). In fact, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, the title of Coady's only published book, is a thoroughly modernist vision. Its desire is excessive and promethean in urge. The 20th century plainly indicates that the world usually breaks your heart and few of us have much control over our destinies. The horror and illusions of the 20th century might indicate to us that we should never again articulate a "redemptive politics," and that any "transformative vision" ought to be self-limiting. In fact, I disagree with Coady's simplistic reduction of social action to the economic realm. The experience of Nazism and 20th century inability to resist political evil, suggests, as Hannah Arendt has argued, the defense of republics by citizens who understand what they are defending.

A Gendered Edge: Auto/biographical Research into Doctors and Lifelong Learning in the Inner-city

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Abstract: *This paper considers "lifelong learning" among a group of doctors within the "male" medical profession. It explores their struggle to be effective and reflective practitioners, in a world where subjective knowledge and cultural understanding are often derided, and yet "success" may depend on the integration of medical with cultural and emotional literacy.*

Introduction

This paper derives from recent research into the nature, scope and meaning of "lifelong learning" among 25 doctors, more precisely General Practitioners (GPs) or family physicians, working in difficult areas of inner London and the South East of England. "Lifelong learning" is the new mantra in the United Kingdom: everyone should be engaged in it but its meaning is often vague and reduced to a narrow vocationalism. The research, which was highly collaborative and dialogical, longitudinal and in-depth, explored, over a period of nearly four years, the experience and meaning of learning among doctors, in a context of their wider professional and personal development. The study was located in inner-city areas, where health needs may be greatest and resources - including doctors - most severely stretched. Put crudely, the poorer you are, the unhealthier you are likely to be and the shorter your life. Doctors as well as patients, in such situations, can exist on a kind of edge (West, forthcoming).

Doctors in the United Kingdom are also, like doctors elsewhere, facing a period of changing roles and expectations, and growing concern and criticism over levels of performance and accountability. The criticism is mainly about clinical effectiveness, and the adequacy of the knowledge base from which they draw, but also includes the fact that many doctors may not be good communicators. Some appear disinclined to give it priority because they feel ill equipped to handle difficult emotional topics, perhaps because they feel threatened by well-informed patients. Questions are being asked about how doctors are trained. This includes priorities in the medical curriculum and, for some, the lack of attention given to the emotional/interrelational aspects of the role, such as listening to the patient's voice and story in the management of illness (Sinclair, 1998).

Change is also pervasive in health care. Relationships between users of services, and providers, as well as between different professional groups, are under constant scrutiny and subject to intense debate in a less deferential, better-educated and more litigious culture. Moreover, there are various "postmodern" challenges for the doctor: to the medical model's "technoculture" and drugs based treatments, as evidenced in the burgeoning alternative and complementary medicine movements. "Authority" is more widely questioned, including that of medical science, not the least because science often produces contradictory evidence, even confusion, and scientists argue among themselves about what evidence actually is, as in the BSE scandal. At one time, Hodgkin suggests, it was obvious that doctors were there to battle against death and disease. The British National Health Service (NHS) offered a viable means to deliver good care for everyone. Medical research, and its technological by-products, provided the possibility of health for all. But nowadays, doctors must juggle with many competing ways of seeing the same situation, between themselves and their patients, or between themselves and other professionals. Clinical reality, as perceived by clinicians, has to be reconciled with patients' beliefs, resources have to be balanced against individual patient need, and ethical dilemmas *"spring 'hydra-headed,' daily, from medical advance."* As complementary or alternative therapies increase in popularity some doctors embrace them, others remain sceptical. At some point, Hodgkin muses, medicine's modernist, confident "centre" may splinter into many professional fragments (Hodgkin, 1996).

Some Background: Men and Women Managing Change.

In previous work I focused on the stories of adult learners living in communities undergoing major economic and social dislocations (West, 1996). I wanted to understand more of how learners managed change and transition, and the resources they were able to draw on, and how this could best be conceptualized. I developed an interdisciplinary frame, a "cultural psychology," which used object relations theory to explain how significant others – who were often crucial in life spacing and managing transitions (Courtney, 1992) – were "internalized" as good objects in intra-psychic life. In feminist psychoanalytic theory, for instance, the development of a self is contingent and dialectical a product of the relationships in which we are embedded and the wider cultural scripts which shape them (West, 1996). Patterns in inter-subjective life serve as the building blocks of personality in early life. But such patterns, including good relationships, can also be crucial to processes of autobiographical reconstruction, and developing a more confident agency in the world, in later life too.

Frosh (1991), drawing on psychoanalytic theory, argues there are, at the extremes, two potential responses to life crises: a fluid and generative creativity or a pathological defensiveness against change and uncertainty of whatever kind. Frosh argues that the one "chosen" depends on the strength and cohesion of a self: whether this self is sufficiently secure to cope with perpetual uncertainty and remain open to new experience, or not. We all experience times of fragility: progression requires degrees of subjective cohesion and feelings of security. At the heart of such security, as well as more effective agency in the world, is openness to supportive others, to the possibilities for a potential diversity of self which others can encourage within us. We are, psychologically - as, for instance, in the growth of the feminist and black consciousness movements - all of a piece.

Women, it seemed, in this earlier research, were often better able than men to manage the emotional and biographical processes of transition. Women have often needed to adapt to new roles and demands, including finding paid work, while continuing to carry prime domestic responsibilities. They were better at patchworking a life, creating meaning and purpose from many fragments, which may partly be because women had less at stake in the older division of labour and its status and material rewards. Many feminist writers suggest that the construction of feminine identity has, in contrast to dominant forms of masculinity, emphasised co-operation, mutual support, the importance of emotional life and of sharing experience in all its dimensions. Many men, in contrast, when old roles fragment, can be locked into psychological defensiveness and the pretence of coping. It was interesting that those men in the study who were rebuilding lives, following redundancy or unemployment, through higher education, tended to give more attention to the private and intimate dimensions, including relationships (West, 1996).

General Practitioners: Their Position, Status and Training

GPs work in a medical lifeworld where specialist, hard, "scientific" knowledge has traditionally been reified, while the softer skills of human communication and psychological insight have often been considered "other" and feminine in what appears to be a highly masculinist culture (Sinclair, 1998; Seidler, 1994). Bennet (1997), from a psychiatrist's perspective, argues that doctors can also imbibe a myth (and a very male myth) of omnipotence in medical training. They learn that they are given a kind of sacred knowledge, trust and authority and part of the contract with society is that they must always be competent, beyond weakness, vulnerability, even doubt, like good men should. Or they had better learn to cope with their fears quickly, and disguise them. Reality often disappoints, as doctors become tired and disillusioned, not least with themselves. Initial optimism, idealism and commitment can be replaced, in the light of harsh reality, by feelings of loss, disillusionment and failure, in mid-career. This is a world where it can be hard, even dangerous, to admit psychological distress, for fear of what colleagues say. And this in a context of increasing levels of stress, alcoholism and suicide among many doctors, and where medical training still seems prejudiced against social as well psychological knowledge (Seidler, 1994; Sinclair, 1998).

Auto/biographical Research

The use of biographical, life history and/or narrative research methods – in the stories people tell, why they tell them in the way they do and how they may be shaped by culture and dominant truths, as well as psychological states of being - has developed rapidly in the "postmodern" moment, in an attempt to explore, more satisfactorily, the complexities of lived experience (Josselson & Lieblich,, 1995). Auto/biography goes further in challenging the fiction of the detached, objective biographer or researcher of others' histories; the idea that a researcher's own history and identity play little or no part in constructing the "other's" story. Stanley (1994) writes about the "intertextuality" at the core of all biography, which has been suppressed in supposedly "objective" accounts of others' lives. The active and contingent presence of the biographer has been excised from the research account, preserving a kind of *de facto* claim for biography and life history research as science: a process producing "the truth," and nothing but the truth on its subject. Fine (1992) argues, instead, for the reflexive and self-reflexive potential of experience, in which the knower is part of the matrix of what is known, and where the researcher needs to ask her/himself in what way has s/he grown in, and shaped the process of research. Such an aspiration assumes no monopoly of knowing but attempts, through collaboration and mutuality, to name more of what is difficult to say or articulate, and to think about its meaning collaboratively. This is a process that strives to surface power relationships, discomforts, dead ends and uncertainties. Rather than an absence of rigour, or truth, such auto/biographical methods ask much of the researcher, in terms of self-awareness, social and emotional intelligence, sensitivity, integrity, courage and openness. Such values, and aspirations, underlay the study (West, forthcoming).

A diverse group of doctors – men and women, black and white, new and long-standing, older and younger – were involved in the research. The process began with an evaluation of an experiment in self-directed learning groups (SDL) in inner-London. The groups were designed to give time for doctors to address their fears and anxieties, and identify a learning agenda, through a careful and supportive analysis of interactions with patients, including their impact on the doctor. Each SDL group consisted of about 8 doctors, was confidential, and had a skilled facilitator. The evaluation provided the basis of the more extended study into how GPs manage change, including the use made of education. And the research sought to locate the doctors' stories in whole life histories as well as present contexts. 25 doctors were interviewed up to 6 times, over nearly four years, in an intense and collaborative dialogue about what facilitated or inhibited development.

Two Case Studies

Many of the GPs in the study considered their initial training, most especially its textbook approach and its construction of illness as primarily physical and biological, was often unhelpful in managing their work among the diverse peoples and problems of the inner-city. There were a number of doctors who - because of their own multiple identities and experiences of oppression – felt on the margins of the profession. But such doctors could raise radical questions about the health of medical culture and their initial training. Hart (1998) has used standpoint theory to consider the position of such "insider-outsiders" who seek to cross boundaries between different worlds and knowledges. Standpoint theorists argue that we need to see the world from diverse perspectives, across groups and within individual selves. This is not simply a matter of accumulating different knowledge, from different standpoints, and composing a more diverse mosaic. The process is more painful because of a complex power relationship between different identities and knowledge. There is often a hierarchical relationship between what is culturally "inside" and what is "other,' what is acceptable and what is hard to say. This applied to many of the doctors, and transcending the difficulties involved, including the marginalisation of important parts of self and story, was often the key to professional and personal health.

Dr Aidene Croft, for instance, is a Lesbian, who works in a difficult, impoverished part of London's East End. She is white but talks with a ***"different"*** accent. She mentioned her sexual identity, from the beginning, and that this fitted uneasily into the "male" and predominantly heterosexual culture of medics and training. She was glad to be a representative, in the study, of women and men like her, against the presumption of many doctors, that they are all, or should be, straight, have a heterosexual partner and "2.4 children" at private school. Aidene's experience of being an outsider, as well as emotionally vulnerable, was pivotal to her developing story.

Towards the end of the research, as we revisited various themes, she said:

> *.... When I started off as a doctor, I think I was just be petrified and stunned between my living as, I was going to say, a rampant lesbian. No, a very active, social life and political life and campaigning life, lobbying. Very much as an umbrella of socialist, feminist, a whole umbrella group dealing with employers, employment issues, day care, abortion, all the things that make up, that actually made up in the early '70s. Very burning issues. And when I was at medical school they were very separate. That was my person and then I would take the head to medical school. The head: in a motor bike, in leathers, in trousers for my exams and breaking all the images, but still just very much my head and they can take or leave the rest of me. But not really, that wasn't real. It was real in so far as I needed to earn a living, find a role in life. It was real, but they were actually very, looking back, they were very, very separate... I was very much trying to connect the two, but it was that I knew that I couldn't actually tolerate that level of incompatibility.*

Aidene hated her training, hospital medicine and its mores, and considered giving up being a doctor altogether. She tried general practice, and "*found more humanity*" there. She forged a strong relationship with a GP trainer. For the first time, she said, she felt seen, valued and "fed," as she did in her personal life with a new partner. The trainer accepted and respected her as she was, and made her feel that she could be more of herself as a doctor. The secret was being authentic and the experience relieved her, as she put it, "*of the burden of the whole hierarchy of medicine. That I could just be the particular doctor that I am, with that particular patient.*" Aidene was an active lifelong learner, and developed an eclectic style in her work, drawing on a range of therapies. She was interested in mental health issues – she had suffered a major breakdown herself and had been in therapy – and talked of being able to understand what it was like to be an outsider, from the inside. Her patients knew, in some sense, she was one of them, and responded openly to her. She had also learned to be realistic: she could write a letter asking that a patient be rehoused by the local council, but she could not provide the house. Omnipotence too had to be transcended.

Daniel Cohen, like Aidene, considered himself an outsider, on the inside. Questions of self, and the cultural and familial roots of many of his anxieties, were inseparable from his work as a GP. There was no neat distinction between questions of "*who am I?*" or "*Where do I come from?*" or "*Why do I have the kind of problems that I think I have?*" and those such as "*Why am I doing my work – what is the nature of my work?*" "*How can I best help the people I'm working with – what is the nature of their problems?*" There was a seamless web connecting him to patients, their story to his. Daniel, like Aidene, experienced a major crisis in his career, and entered a period of psychotherapy. And he too had been engaged in recovering diverse parts of his identity, over a long period, some of which had been repressed or denied. His life partner was crucial to his ontological project of self, as was therapy. He recovered his Jewishness, for instance; and a spiritual awareness. Integrating these different aspects of self and knowledge into his core identity was at the heart, he said, of his lifelong learning, and had enabled him to work more effectively with diverse patients. He told me about a Somali woman refugee who came to the surgery one day. She had five children, whose father had been killed in a war. The patient brought Daniel a gift and he was immensely moved. It was, he felt, a symbol that he was providing "a secure base," which related, in turn, to his own experience, as a child of refugees:

> *I can remember how incredibly important the GP was to us as a secure base. We had a very very intelligent link worker who is a Somali doctor herself, but can't practice here so she works as a link worker. And we ended up having the most extraordinary conversation with the mother about Darwinian evolution in relation to why were her children getting asthma and eczema here when children didn't get it in Somalia*

> *and we talked about the way sort of the immune system might be adapted for one environment but actually then is mal-adapted to another environment because the sort of ancestral immune system as it evolved is not to meet what it meets here. And I found myself having a grown up conversation with this mother of the sort I might have with you and she was transformed from being a sort of exotic stereotype into actually being an intelligent equal. And... I felt it was part of, part of a process of her becoming a person again....*

He had never, he said, made that connection before, prior to the research. Daniel hated the profession's antipathy to subjective insight. He argued, instead, for a subversive synthesis, taking what was essential from the medical model but locating this within a more psychologically and culturally literate paradigm.

Lifelong Learning and the Split between Personal and Academic Ways of Knowing

Research such as the above raises basic questions about lifelong learning. The Delors Report (1996) argued that it should encompass learning to relate, to be, to do, as well as think, in an uncertain, fragile world, but one redolent with new possibilities. Part of the problem may be a profound split between personhood and medical practice, science from subjectivity. Palmer (1997) has observed that the split is the consequence of a culture, which distrusts the idea of personal truth. If the academy, including medicine, claims multiple ways of knowing a world, the objective way – taking us into *"the real world"* and *"out of ourselves"* – remains a hegemonic value. The self within the culture is not a resource to be used but *"a danger to be suppressed, not a potential to be fulfilled but an obstacle to be overcome."* Parker refers to the importance of recovering the teacher within, the teacher we knew as children, but tended to lose contact with on becoming an adult; someone who invites us to honour a truer self rather than ego, expectations or image. In psychoanalytic terms, this is the good object "parent," who can become available to us in later as well as early life. For many doctors, the trainer, partner and or colleague – when times were hard, messy and they felt most inadequate – was vital to progress. The good object mirrors other possibilities for a self in professional as well as personal life and the more we can people our minds with such objects, the more we can experiment with who and what we are, in progressive ways. There is in fact a connection between the growing diversity of a postmodern culture and the potential diversity of selves, in considering lifelong learning. The twentieth century has been one in which many groups and whole cultures have made various and, sometimes, viscous attempts to reject "otherness." But engaging with otherness can be the means to a potential hybridity of self, which is no disaster but the means to a profoundly dialectical learning – the ontological project of the self – over a whole life.

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Place Matters: Producing Power and Identity

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Abstract: *"Place" plays a significant role in producing power relations in continuing professional education. Where we "locate" our CPE programs influences not only their purposes and processes but also produces the identities of the participating professionals and professions as well as the power professionals and professions exercise in society.*

Having worked as a continuing educator for a number of years in a variety of contexts, I have come to wonder about a seemingly inconsequential decision: where do we locate our continuing professional education programs and why do we put them where we do? Practically, continuing educators often answer such questions by default: the facility they represent or what is available are the de facto solutions. Theoretically, the question has had almost no importance. If addressed at all, it shows up in check lists in meeting planning manuals (were meeting rooms reserved, what seating arrangements were requested). I believe, however, that where we choose to place our continuing education programs has a profound effect on what happens and what the consequences are. To put this question more theoretically, how does socially-constructed, materially-defined *place* produce the professional identity and power of participants and professions?

In my view "place" matters. Place plays a significant role in shaping continuing professional education because people invest in place to empower themselves (Harvey, 1993). The "location" of our CPE programs significantly influences the power relations that shape the identities of the participating professionals as well as the ability to exercise that professional power. Thus the locating of CPE programs is not just a matter of technical programmatic exercise as typically presumed but represents significant programming dilemmas whose ultimate arbitration have important consequences for the identity of professionals and their ability to exercise power in society.

In brief, that is the problem and my response to it. I have considered various aspects of the issues in different places. I began with a detailed accounting and analysis of a case study of continuing professional education in which I was a participant (for an extended depiction of the case, see Wilson, in press a). The point of that exercise was to reflect upon my experience within light of specific theoretical questions relating the question of place with the production of power and identity. Subsequently, I reported more directly the specific findings of that analysis along with a discussion of the methodology I used in constructing the case and its analysis (Wilson, in press b). The purpose of this paper is to focus more on the theoretical construction of the question itself with a specific interest in considering some of the attendant ambiguities framing how to understand the relations among place, power, and identity. To organize the paper, I first overview the two theoretical traditions I have drawn upon to ask this question. Then I address theoretical issues related to understanding place, power, and identity. I conclude with a brief review of findings in order to offer my admonitions for CPE practice.

Place Matters: Locating a Politics of Identity

Much "modern" adult education theory has tended to be functionalist, that is, structuralist, ahistorical, and apolitical. In recent decades there has been a decided attempt to historicize American adult education as well as engage in a more "critical" analysis of it in order to understand better our political and ethical responsibilities as adult educators. Such analyses, while quite important, are limited because understanding the role of power in adult education practice is more than a matter of revealing its historical antecedents or theorizing its presence in the here and now. Both frames of analysis struggle with their perceived lack of utility; working adult educators too often find it too easy to dismiss such insights because the relevance remains unapparent in practical ways. In an attempt to address that legitimate concern, I draw upon the spatial analysis of human interaction (the "new geography") to help understand the political consequences of everyday adult education practice. Harvey (1992, p. 3) has noted that "there are real geographies of social action, real as well as metaphorical territories and spaces of power" in order to ask "why and by what means do social beings invest places ... with social power; and how and for what purposes is that power then deployed and used across a highly differentiated system of interlinked places?" (p. 21).

To expand and ground the political analysis of adult education practice I examine the relationships among place, power, and identity. To do that I will draw upon two related conversations focused on the one hand on reasserting "space" into social analysis (Bird, et al., 1992; Friedland & Boden, 1994; Lefebrve, 1974; Soja, 1989) and on the other on what has come to be termed the "politics of identity" (Keith & Pile, 1993). I use the paper to introduce these starting points to argue that the social construction of place, as a constituting and constituted dimension of human interaction, plays a key role in producing and reproducing power and identity (Harvey, 1993). I parrot Harvey's (1993) questions, by what social processes is space constructed, in order to ask how place shapes/produces power and identity in adult education. Practically, this leads to examining how place, power, and identity shape and are shaped by adult education practice.

The Reassertion of Space and the Location of Identity

There is a stream of analysis focused on "reasserting space" into social analysis (Bird, et al., 1992; Friedland & Boden, 1994; Lefebrve, 1974; Soja, 1989). It is becoming increasingly clear in much recent social analysis that not only are knowledge and power interconnected (see, e.g., Foucault, 1980; Giddens, 1984) but that knowledge, power, space/place closely intertwine to frame our social practices (Friedland & Boden, 1994; Lefebrve, 1974; Soja, 1989): "space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic" (Lefebrve as cited in Soja, 1989, p. 80). As Foucault (1984, p. 252) has remarked, "space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power." Earlier Foucault (1980, p. 149) had commented that "a whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers." Soja (1989, p. 20) interprets Foucault as constructing a "crucial nexus," "a linkage between space, knowledge, and power" which Foucault describes as "the spatializing description of discursive realities giv[ing] on to the analysis of related effects of power" (1980, p. 149). I take this to mean, following on Foucault, that structures of meaning which are implicated in the production and use of power are themselves implicated and produced in specific places (while this reads in a linearly causal way, it is more adequately envisioned relationally and recursively). While the thing we call "place" may begin as a physical construct, "the organization and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience" (Soja, 1989, p. 79-80). Most directly then, space does more than provide the "settings of interaction" (Giddens, 1984); it itself is a fundamental constituent of knowledge/power regimes. The point to draw from these various comments is that in order to understand something like continuing education in the professions we have to map a geography of it as a set of social practices, a human geography in which power is created, enacted, altered.

A second framing concept, one evolving from the identity debates of the past several decades, is that of "locating a politics of identity" (Keith & Pile, 1993). The question of identity has, of course, a long history. But as Bondi (1993) has put it, the postmodern twist of "who am I," with its persistently pesky political connotations, has increasingly become also a locational question of "where am I." In trying to understand this locationalness of identity, Keith and Pile (1993) reject synchronic or essentialist approaches to put forth Baudelarian, Foucauldian notions of identity as becoming or process. What makes their analysis poststructuralist as well as postmodernist is the premium they place on the creation of subjectivity and difference as definers of identity: "Any articulation of identity . . . is only momentarily complete . . . . In such a fragile world of identity formation and object formation, political subjects are articulated through moments of closure that create subjects as surfaces of inscription . . . invariably incomplete" (p. 27). Thus a significant poststructuralist question is the debate between a sanctified cogito and an inscribed subjectivity. But this poststructuralist concern with the inscription of subjectivities is also profoundly locational: identity and location are inseparable. Paraphrasing Benjamin, to know oneself is "an exercise in mapping where one stands" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 26). As Harvey (1993) says, to understand the complex dimensions of human interaction we have to recognize a "locality" to them, a "placeness" that is both constituted as well as constituting, or as Giddens (1979) would say, both medium and outcome. So difference and location combine to define identity within a relational field: "There is no identity outside of its context" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 28). Thus the "place of politics" cannot meaningfully be separated from the "politics of place" (Keith & Pile, 1993). So, in terms of constructing a geography of continuing professional education as sets of social practices and power relations, I also see as part of that mapping a process of analyzing the relationships between location and identity formation.

Attendant Ambiguities: Place and Identity

Given these starting points – space as key component of social analysis and place as fundamental to identity – there are two theoretical problems of concern to much analysis in the new geography and the politics of identity and which also help shape this analysis: "space" is neither a self-evident concept nor a transparent metaphor (Friedland & Boden, 1994; Keith & Pile, 1993; Smith, 1992; Soja, 1989). Put another way, space is not an empty container in which history unfolds nor is its meaning stable enough to be plundered at will by those presuming its meaning is uncontested. For example, in the many forms of 20th century Marxist analysis, history is the presumed cauldron out of which springs the materialist conditions structuring society; space is "dead" in this view, whereas time is the active agent (Harvey, 1992; Soja, 1989). More recently in the proliferation of positional presentments, "space" has become a foundationalist metaphor for the conceptualization of identity politics (Keith & Pile, 1993; Smith & Katz, 1993). In either case the use of space has become problematic, one in its perceived non-effect and two in the presumed consensus of literal and metaphoric meanings. Let me unpack these claims in a bit more detail.

In terms of the presumed self-evidentialness of the idea of space, Freidland and Boden argue that against the backdrop of typical 19th and 20th century historicist analysis, "a variety of analysts are attempting to rethink the consequences of modernity with new understandings of space and time" (1994, p. 21). Foremost among these analysts surely must be Giddens whose ongoing project of standing classical sociology on its head has routinely relied upon his concepts of "time-space distanciation" to reframe social analysis (see, in particular, 1979 & 1984). In Giddens' view, the very framework of our social lives, modernity, is fundamentally shaped by a different sense of space and time than in premodern times. Likewise, Jameson (1989), noted cultural critic and theorist of the postmodern, has also argued that space is a fundamental organizing concern for analyzing social life. In his analysis of the "cultural logic of late capitalism," he has shown how the reshaping of our sense of space – "postmodern hyperspace" – "has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself" (1989, p. 45). This lost sense of space has lead to a "sharper dilemma which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the great global multinational and decentered communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects" (1989, p. 45). Soja's concerns are more explicitly political: "we must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies are filled with politics and power" (1989, p. 6). More recently Herod has summarized a stream of analysis: "The making of the economic and social landscape in particular ways is now recognized a being fundamental to the articulation of political power" (1997, p. 1). Important for understanding the role of place in producing power in continuing professional education is the claim Keith and Pile (1993, p. 24) add that "space is produced and reproduced and thus represents the site and outcome of social, political, and economic struggle." This means we have to come to understand how space is represented, how its meaning is produced, and who gets to produce it. Space, then, is not nothing but rather a significant constituent of social life. This insight is significant in understanding the relationships among place, power, and identity in continuing professional education.

The second observation, that the literal and metaphoric meanings of space/place are neither stable nor self-evident, is also significant for mounting the analysis of place and power. This has become particularly evident in the continuing debates about the politics of identity in which locational metaphors uncritically abound (Keith & Pile, 1993). It has become routine to talk about place as if everyone agreed upon its meaning:

> Much social and cultural theory in the last two decades has depended heavily on spatial metaphors. The myriad "decenterings" of modernism . . .the displacement of political economy by cultural discourse, and a host of other "moves" have been facilitated by a very fertile lexicon of spatial metaphors: subject positionality, locality, mapping, grounding, travel, (de/re)centering, theoretical space, ideological space, symbolic space, conceptual space, space of signification . . .If such metaphors functioned initially in a very positive way . . . they may now have taken on a much more independent existence that discourages as much as allows fresh political insight. It may be too soon too suggest that these spatial metaphors are out of control, but they are headed that way . . . . for the most part they are employed unselfconsciously. (Smith, 1992, p. 97-98)

By decade's end, that control may have been lost. Echoing Smith's concern, Bondi notes (1993, p. 99), "the point is that if they are to retain their potency, the geographical metaphors of contemporary politics must be informed by conceptions of space that recognize place, position, location and so on as *created*, as *produced*" (original emphasis) – another key insight in understanding the relationship among place, power, and identity in continuing professional education.

Following on the theoretical perspective I introduce here, space has to be seen as a constituting and constituted dimension of human interaction as well as a significant factor in the politics of identity. Because the social construction of place is directly implicated in the production and reproduction of power differentials (Harvey, 1993), this leads to looking at how space/place shape adult education practice in continuing education: we must ask by what social processes is space/place constructed, in order to ask how does place shape/produce power and identity in continuing education for the professions. Thus the key question I take on here is how to understand the connections among place, power, and identity: How does place contribute to producing the power and identity of professionals? The practical problem I pose is the way in which space/place are implicated in and shaping of what many take to be the apolitical, routine technical work of developing and managing continuing education in the professions.

Analysis: Place, Community, and Discourse

The social construction of place can be analyzed in three ways: as the meaning attributed to specific physical places, as a community of social interactions, and as a discourse about place (Harvey, 1993), each of which contributes to producing power relations. I have used this analytical matrix to ask how place, power, and identity are implicated in and shaping of what many take to be the apolitical, routine technical work of producing and implementing adult education programs (Wilson, in press b). I analyzed a continuing professional education program produced on a college campus. First, I first looked at the role of physical place in continuing education: How did the participants' understanding of the physical location of the program contribute to constructing the professional identity and power of the participating professionals? Second, I showed how the academic location helped to construct social networks associated with the power and identity accorded academic places. Finally, I discussed the creation of professional discourse shaped by its location in an academic place. Thus I used place, community, and discourse to comment on their role in producing/reproducing the identity this group of professionals was trying to construct for itself as well as the professional power they were seeking to achieve through this process of locating their professional identity. I showed how place, community, and discourse came together to construct the identity and power of the participants and the profession and how power and identity are played out and through and in place.

Producing Professional Power and Identity

As frequently pointed out, adult educators for too long have attempted to define themselves professionally as technicians of educational process. If analysis is to be plausible, strategic, and morally grounded (Forester, 1989), then we must work to make clear the politics and ethics that illuminate our technical expertise. Building on previous work (Cervero & Wilson, 1994), I am using this paper to argue for a specific politicalness to our practice – which leads to the necessity of naming and standing our ethical ground. The practical relevance is to make suggestions for how we might as adult educators rethink our roles and practices in shaping adults' power relations and identity in society by highlighting the political and ethical demands of program planning. Elsewhere I have argued for adult educators, in the face of increasing power disparities among their constituencies, to take specific advocacy roles rather than present themselves as technical facilitators (Wilson, 2000). Here I seek to expand that set of responsibilities with a sense of adult education's part in producing place, power, and identity and how our work as adult educators directly produces relations of power. If we are to become responsible educators, we must take up these challenges – for if we do not, we become unwitting accomplices in the differentiated production of power through our educational efforts and all our philosophical and historical rhetoric about social change and democratic participation is for naught.

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Mapping Use of a Self-directed On-line Heart Disease Education Program onto Health Learning Outcomes: A Study of Post-Heart Attack Learners

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Abstract: *We correlated 25 heart patients' changes in four behaviors to usage of behavior themes and three on-line learning activities. Information correlated negatively; communications correlated positively; and interactive planning showed a positive trend with changing behaviors. These findings challenge on-line educators to transcend information provision and offer more opportunities that integrate social interaction and planning.*

Background

About one-half million people in the U.S. die from heart attack or subsequent complications of coronary artery disease, each year, making it the nation's leading killer of both men and women (American Heart Association, 1999). Thousands of research studies over several decades have found that a healthy lifestyle (diet, exercise, not smoking and reducing stress) reduces symptoms and extends survival time. Lifestyle changes are complex learning endeavors involving emotional, existential, cognitive and behavioral learning – as such most post-heart attack patients do not succeed with maintaining a heart healthy lifestyle (AHCPR, 1995; Ornish, 1998). Cardiac rehabilitation provides behavioral and cognitive education, and improves health and behavior outcomes for about half of participants. However, only 38% of post-heart attack patients participate, due to time, geographic, economic and cultural constraints. Many health care organizations provide access to on-line programs to compensate for these barriers. It is well known that access to computers is skewed toward people with higher incomes and educational levels. However, little is known about *how* individuals with advanced heart disease use and benefit from on-line lifestyle education programs, when computers and training are provided.

CHESS: Living With Heart Disease, a self-directed computerized heart disease education program, was developed and evaluated by a multidisciplinary team of university researchers and clinicians. CHESS (Comprehensive Health Enhancement Support System) provided three learning activities to facilitate lifestyle changes – information, interactive planning tools, and on-line communication with peers and experts (Johnson, et. al., 2000). Fifty-two post-heart attack or post-heart surgery patients completed a six-month randomized pilot test that evaluated a prototype version of CHESS' effects on behavior change learning outcomes. Computers and home training were provided to the CHESS group (N=25). CHESS had positive effects on learning processes and efforts to change diet, exercise and stress management. This finding raises several questions about how on-line systems might facilitate health behavior change. This paper addressed the question of *how individuals' use of CHESS' behavioral content themes and learning activities related to behavior change learning outcomes*. That is, how did users' engagement with diet content relate to their diet change? Smaglik (1996) addressed the relationship between on-line learning activities and quality of life, but there are no reports about how on-line thematic usage relates to behavioral outcomes (Eng & Gustafson, 1999, chapter 4).

Methodology

Sample

The sample included the 25 individuals who had been randomized to use CHESS in the pilot evaluation study. Characteristics included: 63% male, 93% Caucasian, mean age 57 (s.d. 10); 88% high school education or more; 60% were comfortable using a computer and 84% had participated in cardiac rehabilitation (Johnson, et. al., 2000).

Methods

We conducted Pearson correlation tests between individuals' use of CHESS content and learning activities for each of four behavioral categories (e.g., diet, exercise, stress reduction and smoking cessation), and their change in corresponding behaviors during the six-month study. This involved two prior steps. For each behavioral category, we calculated individuals' saturation of available CHESS information and interactive planning activities, and the level of communication about those behaviors. Then, we calculated the differences between individuals' six-month post-test and pre-test survey scores for self-reported changes in diet, exercise, stress management and smoking. The survey measured several behavior change learning processes – including commitment, planning, reflection-in-action, seeking resources and social support, building self confidence, and resilience in the face of relapse (Prochaska, 1994).

Saturation of CHESS content. Saturation is the proportion of available content used by individuals for each behavioral category. The continuous proportional variable allowed us to compare levels of a category's use across individuals. Calculating saturation levels involved, first, developing a thematic inventory of CHESS content, and then using CHESS' automatically collected usage data to identify individuals' thematic content choices.

The thematic inventory was developed by coding all content in CHESS' information and interactive problem solving tools. The 667 information documents were automatically coded by grouping their tagged keywords into nine categories, including the four studied here—diet, exercise, stress management and smoking cessation. For example, the keyword Recipes fit into the Diet category, and the keyword Relaxation Techniques fit into the Stress category. The four behavioral categories accounted for a total of 192 information items or about 29% of the total information content in CHESS. The diet code was manually assigned to the diet action plan, which also included food assessments (at the time there were no in-depth interactive planning tools for other behaviors). Although not technically part of the CHESS inventory, we also coded and calculated the number of times individuals addressed the behaviors in communicating with peers and the expert. Messages addressing more than one category were multiply coded.

Table 1 shows how the CHESS content inventory varied across categories, learning activities and keyword concepts. The diet and stress categories had much more content than did exercise and smoking. Thus saturating 100% of 24 exercise items may not be comparable to saturating 50% of 112 stress items. This variance, in part, reflects the different nature of the behavior changes, and in part, the level of CHESS development at the time of the study. For instance, adopting a regular exercise regimen may require less information than changing a diet, where recipes or tips on dealing with food cravings can be helpful. Stress was conceptualized as a theoretically comprehensive category, and included stress symptoms; common stressors; and several emotional, cognitive, physiological and behavioral stress management strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Seligman, 1990). Smoking cessation, an immensely complex activity, but content was not developed.

Table 1. Inventory of CHESS Information and Interactive tools by Behavioral Category

	Diet	**Exercise**	**Stress**	**Smoking**
Information	54	24	112	16
Interactive Tools	1	0	0	0
Communications (to peers and expert)	62	58	56	16

The second step in developing the behavioral saturation scores was comparing individuals' CHESS use data to the thematic inventory. For each user code name, CHESS automatically recorded information selections, responses in the interactive tools, and message texts to the peer chat-line and the CHESS Expert. Saturation of CHESS information was calculated by dividing the number of documents accessed for each behavior by its inventory number, as shown in Table 1 – thus yielding a continuous proportional score. Saturation levels for the interactive diet action plan were represented by a five point saturation score, using criteria based on the plan's systematic learning goals

(Wise, 2000b). Communications were not calculated as a saturation score, because they were generated by the learners, rather than by CHESS. Instead, we used individuals' number of messages that addressed each behavior.

Behavior change learning outcomes. Learning outcomes were represented as self-reported efforts to change, as the difference between six-month and pre-test survey scores. We used a previously validated scale of nineteen variables based on Prochaska's (1994) stages of change model. The scale measured several learning activities involved in the process of implementing and maintaining change for each of the four behaviors. These included knowledge about the benefits of changing and how to do it; attitudes toward changing, willingness to seek support and resources; self-efficacy (confidence in one's ability to change); specific actions toward changing; and resilience in the face of relapse.

Correlation tests. For each of the four behaviors, we conducted *Pearson r* correlation tests between individuals' survey scores for the 19 behavior change variables and their saturation of the corresponding information about the behavior. For the communication activity, we used the number of times individuals addressed each code, rather than a saturation score. We also ran the test between the diet survey change scores and the level of engagement with the interactive diet action plan.

Findings

In general, communication activities correlated positively with diet and smoking cessation change processes, while information gathering correlated negatively with change processes for diet, exercise, and stress reduction. An early prototype diet action plan showed a possible trend toward positive diet change. Table 2 shows, for each behavior and learning activity, the range of content usage and the total number of users; how many of the 19 learning variables with significant, marginally significant or trend *Pearson r* correlation score with CHESS usage; and the direction and range of the coefficient scores.

Although more individuals (84%) engaged in information seeking than other learning activities, the information saturation scores across all behaviors was low – with the highest individual saturation level being 40% of diet content. Fewer individuals engaged in communication (11) about lifestyle behaviors, or used the interactive diet action plan (7). Information seeking correlated with a greater number of behavioral learning variables and behaviors than did the communications or interactive problem solving activities. However, except for one diet variable, all correlations between information seeking and behavior change were negative – meaning that greater saturation of CHESS diet, exercise and stress information correlated negatively with diet, exercise and stress learning outcomes. No significant correlation was found between saturation of smoking information and smoking behavior. Although fewer individuals used the peer discussion groups, those who did had significant positive correlations with diet change and much more so for smoking cessation outcomes. There were no significant correlations between communication about exercise or stress and outcomes for those behaviors. At the time of the study, only diet had an interactive planning tool. The degree of usage had no significant correlation with behavioral outcomes, but there was a possible trend for improving self-confidence in maintaining diet changes—a specific goal of the prototype program.

Discussion

This exploratory study used simple bivariate correlation tests with a small sample size to address how using a prototype computerized learning system related to the enormously complex learning endeavor of transforming the way ones lives after a heart attack. As such, any significant findings must be seen as preliminary. Nonetheless, the data suggest several intriguing questions that challenge on-line educators to integrate transformative, experiential and contextual adult education principles into on-line learning environments. Furthermore, they suggest several possible research directions using more sophisticated multivariate analyses with larger and more varied samples, and in-depth interpretive research to discover how adults' prior life experience and their social environments influence post-heart event learning – on-line and otherwise. Given the limited space, we focus this discussion to the relative roles and underlying assumptions of the different learning activities in transformative learning, and conclude with suggestions for next-generation development of on-line learning systems and further research.

Table 2. CHESS Usage and Correlation Coefficient Scores for Each Behavior Change Category

	Diet	Exercise	Stress	Smoking
Information				
Saturation Range	1.85 – 40.74% (n = 22)	4.17 – 33.33% (n = 12)	.89% - 19.64% (n = 19)	6.25 – 31.25% (n = 9)
Variables with Significance	6	1	5	-
Pearson r Correlation Coefficient Direction (and range)	1 positive (r =.453) 5 negative (r = -.673 – -.480)	1 negative (r = -.760)	5 negative (r = -.705 – -.498)	
Communication				
Message Range	1 – 40 (n = 13)	1 - 27 (n = 11)	1 – 39 (n = 8)	1 – 9 (n = 7)
Variables with Significance	5	-	-	5
Pearson r Correlation Coefficient Direction (and range)	4 positive (r = .859 –.480) 1 negative (r = -.455)			4 positive (r = .992 – .684) 1 negative (r = -.795)
Interactive Action Plan				
Saturation Range (5-point)	1 - 5 (n = 8)	-	-	-
Variables with Trend	1			
Pearson r Correlation Coefficient Direction (and range)	1 positive * (r =.122)			

Total N = 25 Total variables = 19 * trend

Information and behavior change. All but one behavior change variable correlated negatively with saturation of CHESS' information. Notably, the one variable with a positive correlation showed marginal significance with increased knowledge about adopting a healthy diet – not with attitude, behavioral or contextual issues associated with behavior change. This supports prior research that generally shows a low correlation between knowledge and lifestyle behavior change. For example, repetitive information about how to change health behaviors is ubiquitous in the mass media. However, the vast public investment in diet books has not stemmed the tide of increasing obesity. In fact, those who *repeatedly* invest in such resources may be the least successful in dieting. Likewise, we wonder whether those who saturated greater amounts of CHESS information were those having the hardest time with diet, exercise and stress, while those who were doing well had no inclination to revisit the information. We ask this because patients with advanced heart disease are even more likely to know about lifestyle changes than the lay public, and have high rates of behavioral relapse after six months (AHCPR, 1995). In fact, 84% of the sample had participated in cardiac rehabilitation, which provides lifestyle information, counseling and monitoring; in-hospital education and information packets are standard care. Interviews with a selected sample said that CHESS' lifestyle information was accurate, but largely replicated what they already knew (Wise, 2000a). From an adult learning perspective, Jarvis (1987) and Mezirow (1991) contend that technical information or instrumental knowledge becomes salient *after* a perspective shift and commitment to go onto higher order or transformative learning. In summary, we suggest that to facilitate change, educators must continue to stretch the capacities of on-line learning environments by weaving salient information into application, meaningful self-reflection and social interaction activities.

Social interaction and behavior change. Fifteen of the total sample of 25 joined the peer discussion and only four posted more than 10 total messages over the six months. Peer communication was low, compared to that in CHESS Breast Cancer and HIV/AIDS. However, those who did write seemed to benefit across the different learning processes for diet, and even more so for smoking. As with all correlations, we cannot tell the direction of the relationship. Were those who chose to communicate more successful to begin with and thus more willing to talk about their experience? Were they more successful because they were generally more inclined to seek and get support in their other social relationships? Alternatively, did the CHESS communication activity provide direct help with lifestyle changes? Only multivariate analyses with larger samples, or in-depth interpretive research can begin to address these questions. However, the quality of the 16 smoking messages among seven individuals may shed light on the high positive correlation coefficients. Several messages addressed the intensity and the meaning of successfully quitting in the face of a heart attack. While supportive social interaction is beneficial to health outcomes (Spiegel, 1989), other research suggests that people with heart disease may be less likely to participate in and benefit from on-line support groups than those with other illnesses. A text analysis of on-line chat-lines across several illnesses found that heart disease attracted the least amount and thinnest interaction (Davison & Pennebaker, 1997). These findings suggest the need to explore other models for learning in social interaction.

Interactive planning. Use of the input-intensive prototype diet action plan showed a possible trend toward improving diet self-efficacy – precisely the goal of the action plan. The prototype action plan used cognitive and behavioral learning theories to provide a systematic planning process. This positive trend suggests the need to explore ways to streamline and tailor interactive feedback. Other research also suggests that behavior change programs should integrate activities that encourage learners to work through the emotional and existential issues associated with having a heart attack (Ornish, 1998; Wise, 2000a).

Summary. We described a methodology to discover basic relationships between thematic use of a self-directed on-line health education program and health behavior change learning outcomes. Our findings support previous research that social interaction is more effective than information in helping adults address the emotional, existential and technical aspects of lifestyle change; and that information increases knowledge but does necessarily not translate to behavior change. Finally, we emphasized the need to integrate the best of face-to-face and on-line learning, and to broaden our understanding of how use of on-line programs relates the whole learning experience.

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Analyzing Worker Education: An Integrated Approach to Studying Participation

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Abstract: *By focusing on enterprise ownership, workplace situation, and conventional demographic factors, important differences are found between the Swedish public and private sectors in the changing patterns of participation in employer-sponsored adult education and training. The study provides strong empirical evidence for further integrated approaches to studying participation that distinguishes social-demographic groups and educational sponsorships.*

Introduction

This paper presents the major findings of an analysis of data from the Swedish Living Conditions Surveys (ULF). The purpose of the study is to investigate changing patterns of Swedish workers' participation in adult education and training between 1975 to 1995. Unlike previous statistical analyses of national survey data, this study approaches data from the perspectives strongly recommended at both 1998 and 1999 AERC Conferences. First, distinctions are made between different social-demographic groups and their participation in adult education under different sponsorships, for example, popular adult education and employer-supported education and training (Courtney, McGivey, McIntyre & Rubenson, 1998). Second, by situating the phenomenon of participation in the workplace context, efforts are made in data exploration to link the individual and contextual perspectives, and to test which individual or contextual factors have stronger influence on participation (Caffarella & Merriam, 1999). Thus, to distinguish from typical HRD research that often lacks focus on issues of social justice in the workplace or larger social context (Bierema, 1999), the point of departure for this study is that it seeks to account for differences in changing patterns of Swedish workers' participation in employer-sponsored adult education and training by emphasizing such information as enterprise ownership, workplace situation, gender, and socio-economic status.

Background and Perspectives

Employer-sponsored education and training consists of learning activities during or outside working hours, whose costs are covered in full or in part by the employer. Employers supporting their staff in further education and training is not new. The early 1980s witnessed an "explosive" expansion of this kind of provision in OECD countries. It not only accounted for most of the growth in organized adult education (Bélanger & Tuijnman, 1997), but also, juxtaposed by the swift decline in government support for popular education, "silently" but radically altered the landscape of adult education. A recent OECD study shows that close to one half of the participants in adult education and training, in all OECD countries surveyed, attend an employer-supported activity (OECD & HRDC, 1997). Whilst from human resource and policy perspectives, employer-sponsored provision could contribute to the larger goal of improving the quality of the workforce and national competitiveness in a globalized economy, it is, and should be, of particular interest for the development of adult education. A heavy reliance on employers for adult education provision is a relatively new phenomenon with consequences for many of the long-standing concerns of adult educators, for example, social equity and equality, to be yet fathomed and comprehended. A foundation for thinking about such issues that relate employer-sponsored training to human resource development, policy decisions and adult education might start with an understanding of who is receiving this kind of training and what the social and economic consequences are. By exploring who does and who does not have access to employer-sponsored education and training and what the benefits are for those who do, issues for both potential policy leverages and adult education strategies can be identified.

The concept of employer-sponsored education and training can be approached from various theoretical perspectives. However, embedded in the word "sponsorship" lies the *power* it carries for sponsors in determining purposes, contents, forms and participants of education and training. The questions then become: What are the social-economic interests on which employers base their decisions? Do employers of public and private sectors share the same interests? To what extent would employers go beyond enterprises' interests and accept responsibility for employees' individual rights or benefits? Entwistle (1996) argues that the major ideological divide in the nature of educational provision is between those who believe that knowledge and skills should serve particular, extrinsic, utilitarian ends, and those committed to the view that knowledge should have relevance for the quality of life in all its various dimensions. In the context of employer-sponsored provision, it is logical to think that differing ideologies would lead to priority being given to the populations and purposes they specifically favor. Notably for the private sector, it would be the more educated and continuing vocational training. A direct result is that individual access to adult education and training increasingly depends on employment circumstances, financial positions, job status, and decisions at the workplace (Rubenson & Schuetze, 1997).

From this perspective research on participation should be critically re-examined, particularly with regard to the trend that continues with a concept of participation which combines distinct social-demographic and educational sponsorship groups together, which was a crucial question raised at the 1998 AERC conference (Courtney, McGivey, McIntyre & Rubenson, 1998). Until recently, the participation research, whether focusing on individual level factors or emphasizing on the role of establishments, has unfortunately suffered from either following simplistic perspectives, or operating under a concept of participation that does not distinguish different providers. Therefore, the claims they made beg further questioning. To what extent do the characteristics and patterns of participation identified by previous research perpetuate or change once the data analysis takes into account the educational sponsorship and institutional ownership? One way to find out is to conduct research that makes such differentiation.

Research Method

This study analyzes data from Swedish Living Conditions Surveys containing information on a variety of factors, which the literature suggests have influence on recruitment into differing forms of educational activities. Information on demographics, work and labor market situations is used to predict the likelihood of participation in organized adult educational activities – those supported by employers. The following research questions are investigated: 1). What are the net influences of age, gender, level of formal education, occupational status, length of employment, type of job, union membership, level of influence on decisions at workplace, industrial sector, on Swedish workers' participation in programs or courses supported by employers? 2). To what extent have the influences of these factors endured or changed over the period from 1975 to 1995? 3). Above all, do participation patterns differ between people working in the public and private sectors?

Cross-sectional samples of Swedish workers, aged from 16-65 years, and gainfully employed either full- or part-time, were drawn from the survey. Survey data for 1975, 1979, 1986/87, 1994/95 were used to provide four points in time. Each sample was further divided into two sub-samples based on whether the worker was employed by the public or private sector. This enables the running separate sequential multivariate analysis procedures (logistic regression) to model the probabilities of participation in employer-sponsored education and training. Sequential procedure refers to the variables of personal, job, and organizational levels being entered one level at each step so the relationship of individual independent variable with the dependent variable could be tested while holding all the other variables in the equation constant.

Findings, Discussion and Implications

Results of the study provide an understanding of how the topography of Swedish adult education has changed over the past decades and what individual or contextual factors exert stronger influence on participation in different forms of adult education. The following are the major findings of the data analysis comparing statistics from 1975 survey, the first year included in this study, with surveys undertaken in 1979, 1986/7 and 1994/5 as well as the developments between Swedish public and private sectors:

Participation Rate
By the late 1970s, employers in both public and private sectors became *the dominant providers of* adult education and training services for Swedish workers, with 41% of participants of adult education and training in the public sector, and 34% in the private sector, belonging to this category. By 1995, employer-organized education or training covered about 57 % of all the adult education and training undertaken by Swedish employees in both public and private sectors in a single year.

Content of Activities
The content of employer-sponsored education and training was evidently related to ownership of the organization. The courses most supported by private employers were in the areas of economics, information processing, management and administration, followed by "job-related" training and courses related to natural sciences, mathematics and technology. The least supported were academically focussed programs. Within the public sector, the focus of support was fairly evenly distributed among areas of economics, information processing, management, natural sciences, "job-related" as well as religion, philosophy, and psychology. However, there was an increasing amount of support was given to the same areas as in the private sector, although minimal support was maintained in other areas such as religion, philosophy, literature, and music.

Age Profile
In contrast to most theoretical models of human capital accumulation, which typically predict that training is most intensive at the beginning of an individual's work life, the findings of this study confirmed what Lynch (1992) called as an inverted-U shaped age-training profile, peaking for mid 30s to late 40-years olds, with both young workers and old workers at the lowest ends. The results show that those aged 40s have always been the group getting the most employer support in the private sector and received the biggest increase in employer supported training since 1979. By comparison, the improvement for both the youngest age group and the oldest group has been positive but small. In the public sector, the peak moves from aged late 30s- early 40s to mid-40s-early 50s over the period under study. The probability remained unchanged since 1979 for the youngest age group, which is the least likely to receive employer-supported education or training. By contrast, the oldest age group were 4 times more likely to get employer-supported training in 1994/5 than in 1975.

Gender
Although the general trend has been toward equality between sexes, the pace of development varies between public and private sectors. The data indicates that, by 1986/7, the big increase in the 1980s' provision in employer-sponsored educational activities benefited male workers to a larger extent than it did female workers in the public sector. Therefore, with age, acquired educational and occupational status controlled, male workers were still about 1.5 times more likely than females to get employer's support. However, this trend seemed reversed by mid-1990s: being male in the public sector reduces the logit by 0.10, indicating females became slightly more likely to receive support from employers for further education than males. On the other hand, women were still under-represented in the private sector as of 1995 in terms of receiving employer support to further their education or training.

Education and Occupational Class
An examination of trends in employer-supported education and training by level of initial education and occupational class between 1975-95 suggests consistent patterns with those for adult education in general. There is a movement towards greater equality but workers with more formal schooling and in higher positions still tend to have more employer support for their education and training. This is particularly true of the Swedish private sector, where the participation gaps between occupational groups are much wider than those in the public sector (See Figures 1 and 2). Another interesting finding is that, regardless of ownership, in the context of employer-sponsored education, occupational status is more powerful than initial education as a predictor of chance of receiving such support. This conforms with human capital theory and status at-

tainment theory, which often see early formal education as a means by which employees acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes of potential relevance to upward social mobility and can thus be used to predict occupational status and earned income (Altonji & Spletzer,1991; Tuijnman 1989).

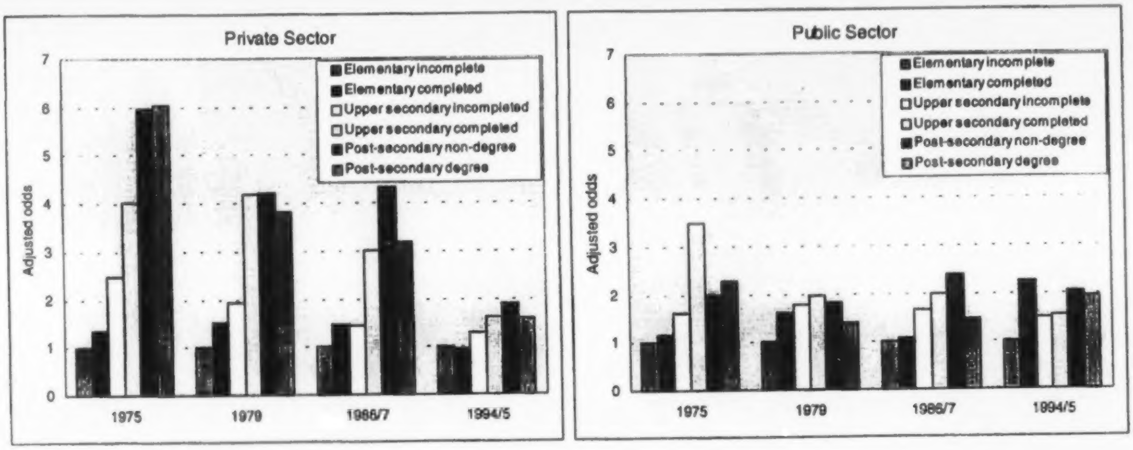

Figure 1. Difference between educational levels (odds adjusted for age and gender).

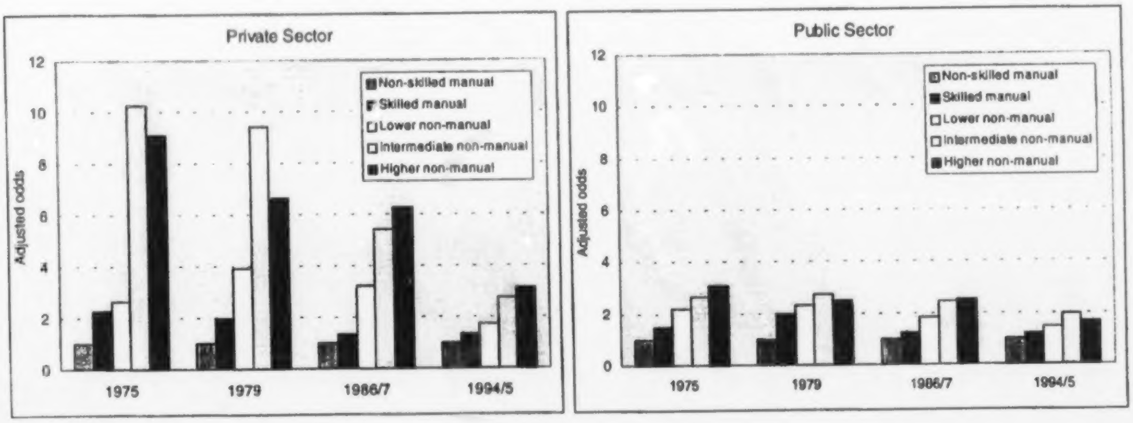

Figure 2. Difference between occupational classes (odds adjusted for age and gender).

Other Job Characteristics

Variables that denote job characteristics or positions in the workplace, such as wages, length of work experience, type of job, and supervisory role, are also important factors in investigating the relationship between work and education. In both sectors, length of work experience is positively correlated with participation in employer-sponsored education and training. Further, its importance appears to be increasing over the time. It is noteworthy though that, for the private sector, the unstandardized coefficients for work experience remain strongly statistically significant after controlling for age, gender, education and occupational status in the equations. Similar controls reduced the same coefficients in the public sector data to non-significant except for the 1994/5 data, indicating that only recently has the public sector begun to emphasize work experience as a major criteria for training considerations. Employees with supervisory responsibilities have a greater chance of receiving employer-sponsored education or training than non-supervisory employees. However, the effects of supervisory role for private sector workers proved to be "spurious" as they were diminished to non-significant or negative once the occupational status entered the equation. In contrast, with the public sector, the effects of supervisory role remained positive and statistically significant even after the effects of occupation were partialled out.

Workplace Situation

This study finds significantly positive relationships between likelihood of receiving employer support for further learning and union membership, opportunities of learning new things at the workplace, attitudes towards job, level of influence on decisions at work, and sector of the economy, which tell us much about the work environment for Swedish workers. It is, however, interesting to note that factors, such as union membership, and chances of learning new things at work, have "real" effects on education and training decisions with both sectors, whereas others turn out to be 'spurious' for the private sector .It is of no surprise, for example, with Swedish trade unions known for their collective bargaining power, to find union members across the board are more likely to acquire employer support for further learning than those not unionized. The interpretations of effects of decision-making power about one's work and of working for job satisfaction, however, vary with sectors. For the private sector, once the occupational status enters the equation, the effects of these two factors become non-significant. They appear more related to power and privilege in the private sector than with experiments with participative management at the workplace, which is likely the interpretation for the public sector.

To conclude, this study focused on whether an enterprise or institution belongs to public or private sector would lead to different philosophies and expected outcomes guiding the decision-making on provision of further education and training. The findings that employer support for further learning could relate to different factors indicate that it is as important and necessary to differentiate educational sponsorship as to identify whether a worker is employed in the public or private sector. The implications are that, both in framing participation research and in analyzing survey data, it is important to deploy an integrative approach that segregates groups belonging to different socio-economic-demographic status and employment situation on the one hand, and that focuses on the individual learner and context of the learning, on the other.

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Power and Influence Styles in Program Planning: Relationship with Organizational Political Contexts

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and
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Abstract: *This study explores the relationship between adult education practitioners using different styles of power and influence tactics in designing and planning programs and organizational political contexts.*

The purpose of this study is (1) to identify power and influence styles used by adult education practitioners in the practice of designing and planning education and training programs; and (2) to explore the relationship between power and influence styles and organizational political contexts in adult education program planning practice. Both popular writers about power and politics and theorists reasoned that individuals typically use a variety of influence styles in exercising power in their interactions with others. Several instruments have been developed to measure power and influence behaviors in organizations. They include Profile of Organizational Influence Strategies (POIS) by Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1980), Influence Behavior Questionnaire (IBO) by Yukl, Lepsinger and Lucia (1992), and Power and Influence Tactics Scale (POINTS) by Yang, Cervero, Valentine, and Benson (1998). Unfortunately, very few studies have been designed to identify empirically the mixes of power and influence tactics and their relation to organizational political contexts.

The process of designing and planning educational and training programs has been long conceptualized as a rational procedure, which normally starts from assessing training needs, setting learning objectives, to organizing learning contents and activities and ends with evaluating learning outcomes. Nevertheless, the practice of program planning rarely follows a linear progression as assumed by linear thinking (Brookfield, 1986; Cervero & Wilson, 1994; Pennington & Green, 1976). Cervero and Wilson (1994) conducted three case studies and found that power and interests are central to program planning. They maintain that "planning is essentially a social activity in which educators negotiate with others in answering questions about a program's form, including its purposes, content, audience, and format" (p. 28). They further proposed a negotiation theory of program planning. The underlying assumption of this theory is that educational program planning is a social activity, and the planner's action is contingent upon the social and organizational contexts in which the program is shaped. Consequently, any adequate theorizing of program planning practice should take into account the social setting, and it should be able to explain practitioners' planning behavior in the face of power. Unfortunately, little is known about how the adult education practitioners exercise their power and influence in their daily practice. In particular, there is a need to identify different styles of power and influence and their relationship with political contexts.

Theoretical Framework and Related Literature

A number of recent studies have shown the supporting evidence that adult education program planning is essentially a social process where politics matters (Cervero & Wilson, 1996; Yang et al., 1998). Yang et al. proposed a model of adult education program planning that specifies seven power and influence tactics in relationship with organizational political contexts. These seven tactics are: Reasoning, Networking, Appealing, Networking, Bargaining, Pressuring, and Counteracting. They further developed an instrument that measures power and influence tactics in adult education program planning practice.

Few studies have been conducted to examine power and influence styles in organizational political process. These studies typically use cluster analysis technique to identify groups of individuals who use their influence tactics similarly. In a pioneering study, Perreault and Miles (1978) identified five groups of influencers. The first group consisted of individuals who used multiple influence strategies. The second group consisted of individuals who used their expert knowledge as a basis for influencing others. The third group consisted of individuals who used friendly tactics. The fourth group consisted of individuals who used their positions in the organization. The fifth group consisted of those who did not use influence of any kind.

By using hierarchical cluster analysis of six organizational influence strategies, Kipnis and Schmidt (1983) identified three styles that characterized the way managers influence subordinates. "Shotgun" managers used the most influence and emphasized assertiveness and bargaining; "Tactician" managers used an average amount of influence and emphasized reason; and "Bystander" managers used little influence. In a subsequent study of upward influence styles, however, Kipnis and Schmidt (1988) classified four groups of individuals. "Shotgun" individuals scored high on all six influence strategies scales, particularly assertiveness; "Ingratiator" individuals used an average amount of influence and emphasized friendliness; "Tactician" individuals scored high on the reason strategy and had average scores on the other influence strategies; and "Bystander" individuals had low scores on all of the influence strategies.

Research Design

Participants

The study was originally designed to develop and validate an instrument measuring power and influence tactics in adult education program planning practice (Yang et al., 1998). A total of 226 adult educators responded to a survey in the validation study and served as the subjects for this study. Four clusters from a purposive sample were used to obtain the data. Members of four professional associations participated in the study: members of Georgia Adult Education Association, Academy of Human Resource Development, Georgia Association of Association Executives, and the Georgia Society for Healthcare Education and Training. For each of the four organizations, the membership list was sought and an adjusted response rate of 23% was achieved.

Measurement

The participants were asked to recall a recent adult education or training program they were involved in planning and to indicate the effectiveness of different power and influence behaviors. The power and influence behaviors were measured in seven constructs: *Reasoning* (with 5 items and reliability coefficient alpha of .81), *Consulting* (4 items and alpha = .82), *Appealing* (5 items and alpha = .73), *Networking* (4 items and alpha = .74), *Bargaining* (4 items and alpha = .78), *Pressuring* (5 items and alpha = .63), and *Counteracting* (4 items and alpha = .68). Two organizational contextual variables were also assessed: planner's *Conflicting Interests* (5 items and alpha = .76) and *Power Base* (3 items and alpha = .81). Here the *Power Base* was defined and measured according to French and Raven's (1959) conceptualization of five interpersonal bases of power: legitimate, reward, coercive, expert, and referent. The *Conflicting Interests* was measured as the planner's perception of the degree of conflict between the planner and one of the people they most interacted with during planning.

Several demographic variables were also included in the study, including age, gender, years working as an education or training professional, years working in the current organization and years working in the current position in the organization.

Data Analysis

The data analysis was performed in accordance with the research questions. First, to identify the power and influence styles the data were submitted to the SPSS cluster analysis procedure based on seven attribute variables (power and influence behaviors measured on seven dimensions in the POINTS). The seven attribute variables were standardized and the cluster analysis was implemented based on z-scores. Second, means of two political contextual variables (i.e., *Power Base* and *Conflicting*) were calculated for each type of program planner based on the cluster solution in the previous stage.

Findings and Conclusions

Numerous cluster solutions (different cluster methods provided by SPSS with 3, 4, 5 and 6 cluster solutions) were requested and examined. Considerations in selecting a final solution were given to statistical properties and the classifications revealed in the literature. Ultimately, a four-cluster solution was selected because it suggested the most interpretable results and similar to the pattern discovered by Kipnis and Shmidt (1988). These four clusters were named *Bystander* (N = 18), *Tactician* (N =

72), *Ingratiator* (N = 82), and *Shotgun* (N=54) respectively. Figure1 illustrates how planners in each of these four clusters scored in their use of seven power and influence tactics. Figure 1 is based on computations of planning behaviors' corresponding z-scores.

The patterns of power and influence styles were similar to those revealed in the previous study (Kipnis & Schmidt, 1988). Cluster one corresponded to the previously identified *Bystander* style. These program planners had very low scores compared with other groups on most power and influence tactics except *Counteracting*. Their scores on the tactics of *Counteracting* were about average. So the *Bystanders* were very passive in the organizational political process while they might occasionally counteract the actions of others. They had extremely low scores on some rational strategies such as *Reasoning*, *Consulting* and *Appealing* (two SDs below the means), suggesting that the rational strategies were really not the options for them. Cluster two was named as *Tactician*. This group of influencers scored high on two rational strategies (*Reasoning* and *Consulting*) and had average scores on the other power strategies. They had relatively low scores on Bargaining tactics. Consequently, the power and influence style of this group suggested that *Tacticians* might have clear objectives to achieve and therefore, viewed rational strategies as more effective. Cluster three corresponded to *Ingratiator*. This group of planners scored high on *Appealing* and *Bargaining* with average scores on the remaining influence tactics. The *Ingratiator* viewed friendly and interpersonal strategies as effective means in interactions with others. Cluster four planners scored high on four competitive tactics (*Networking*, *Bargaining*, *Pressuring*, and *Counteracting*). They scored particularly high on *Pressuring* and *Counteracting* with average scores on three accommodating tactics (*Reasoning*, *Consulting* and *Appealing*). The power and influence style of this cluster showed a nonjudicious use of offensive strategies. Thus, this cluster was named *Shotgun*.

Overall, the pattern of power and influence styles identified in this study was similar to that revealed by Kipnis et al. (1988). Consequently, the classification of power and influence styles identified by Kipnis et al. (1988) has been confirmed. It was then concluded that at least four power and influence styles could be recognized from the planners of educational and training programs.

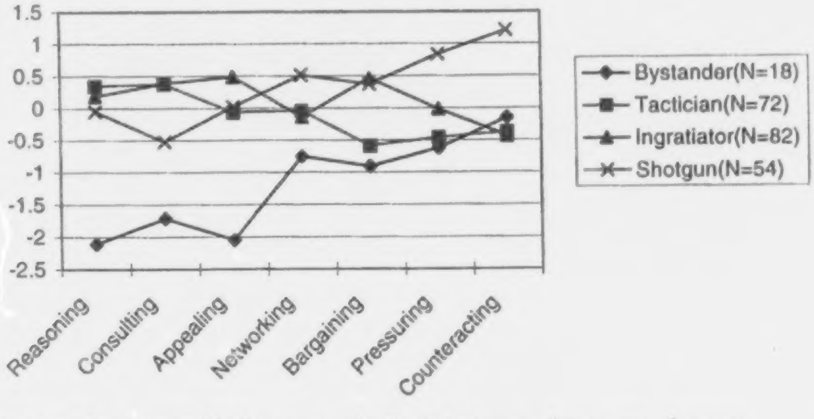

Figure 1. Use of power and influence tactics by four types of program planners.

The relationship between power and influence styles and the political contexts was examined by plotting the scores on *Power Base* and *Conflict* for each of the clusters revealed in the cluster analysis. Figure 2 presents this relationship by showing the standardized scores for each of the clusters. The means of power based and conflict for the four clusters of planners suggested they faced different political contexts. *Bystanders* had moderate scores on power base but scored highest on conflict. Their scores on seven power and influence tactics showed they did not want to be players in the organizational politics. Although this group of the planners had moderate scores on power base, they were escaping from the organizational politics probably due to the situation of high conflict. *Tacticians* had relatively lower power base scores and perceived moderately high conflict. This has confirmed Kipnis and Schmidt's (1980) findings that *Tactician's* power base resided in their performance of nonroutine work. The most viable strategy for them was to use rational tactics to justify their work and consequently to gain influence. *Ingratiators* possessed the highest power base but encountered lowest conflict. This explained why they did not view two combative tactics (i.e., *Pressuring* and *Counteracting*) as effective ones. This finding also confirmed Yukl et al.'s notion that today's leader has to use a variety of appealing strategies to get the job done. Yukle et al. (1992) maintain that "The leaders who obtain commitment by subordinates to implement major strategies or innovations typically present a clear and inspiring vision that appeals to the values, ideas, and emotions of subordinates" (p. 418-419). Finally, *Shotguns* had relatively low scores on power base and perceived quite high conflict in the planning situation. This group of planners was relatively aggressive probably due to the planning situation they faced. They had to be active political players in order to protect their perceived interests and gain certain power.

In order to examine the relationship between power and influence style and personal characteristics, demographic variables were examined across four clusters of planners and appropriate tests (χ^2 or F) were conducted. Power and influence style is not found to significantly relate to the program planners' gender, years of educational experience, years in the organization, and years in current position.

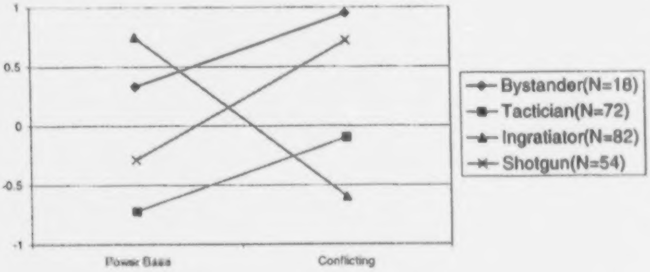

Figure 2. Relationship between power and influence styles and the political contexts

Implications

The process of designing and planning educational and training programs has long been conceptualized as a technical process while politics has been viewed as noise. This notion implies that program planners should avoid politics and focus on technical areas such as needs assessment and evaluation. Recent proposed theory of program planning challenges such notion and contends that educators should pay attention to organizational politics (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, 1996). This empirical study supports the recent theorization of program planning and confirms that planning behaviors have significant relationships with organizational contextual variables. Specifically, planners' power base and perceived conflict are the determinants of their interpersonal influence tactics in the program planning practice. Consequently, effective educators should be aware of the organizational politics. More research and theorizing are needed to investigate different impacts of politics and planners' strategies on program outcomes. This study makes a contribution to the literature by identifying meaningful classifications of program planners based on power and influence tactics.

The results of this study suggested there was no significant relationship between power and influence styles and personal characteristics such as gender. Literature has revealed mixed findings about this relationship. Drory and Beaty (1991) reported that males and females had different perceptions about power and influence tactics. It was discovered that males were more tolerant of political behavior than females and that both men and women view political manipulations of their own sex more favorably than those of the opposite sex. However Vecchio and Sussmann (1991) reported that there was no gender differences in their exercise of power except that female managers preferred to use coalition formation. More studies are needed to examine the impacts of personal characteristics on the exercise of power and influence.

This classification also provides a useful analytical tool for the practitioners to examine their own planning practice. For example, *Bystanders* had low scores on most of the influence behaviors. Although this group of planners had a moderate power base, they were escaping from the organizational politics probably due to the situation of high conflict. This group of planners might want to reflect on their practice and consider other effective influence behaviors to get the job done. They had very low scores on three rational strategies (*Reasoning*, *Consulting* and *Appealing*) and scored average on *Counteracting*. It therefore can be reasoned that their power and influence tactics were not effective. They should consider using these rational strategies and making their political actions more constructive and effective.

Shotgun individuals faced a similar political situation as the *Bystanders* as they had a moderate power base but encountered relatively high conflict. Instead of avoiding conflict and escaping from the politics, as *Bystanders* did, *Shotgun* planners favored hostile strategies such as *Pressuring* and *Counteracting*. It would be difficult to assess the effectiveness of these power and influence tactics, but it can be reasoned that these tactics were not constructive for the educational and training program itself. Maybe the *Shotgun* planners had been pushed to act in this way by organizational politics. *Shotgun* individuals should be aware of the destructive nature of their actions. This group of planners definitely needs to constantly evaluate their planning strategies and not rely on some of the destructive interpersonal influences.

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Increasing Basic Skills of Welfare Recipients: How Long Does It Take?

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Abstract: *This study focuses on providing adult basic education researchers and policy makers with information about the length of time it takes welfare recipients to increase their basic skills and to achieve a credential.*

Introduction

Welfare reform presented adult basic education programs in Tennessee with a unique set of challenges. Legislation enacted in 1996 created Families First, a program designed to assist welfare recipients with obtaining and retaining employment and moving toward career advancement. Tennessee's legislation outlined a variety of services to boost the employability skills of individuals receiving welfare in order to increase the likelihood that they would leave public system of support and remain off it. In addition to cash grants, Tennessee's Families First program included job training, child care, transportation, employment assistance, and transitional benefits for eligible adults who were preparing for work. These types of services were not uncommon for most states that embarked upon reforming their welfare system after Congress passed its version of federally mandated welfare reform. Tennessee's system is unique because of the value its legislators placed on education. They recognized that individuals who did not have the equivalent of an 8th grade education would have difficulty obtaining employment and advancing in the workplace. Those adults who scored below the 9th grade on standardized achievement tests could choose basic skills education and not be subject to the same time limitation for benefits as those with higher basic skills. According to the Tennessee Department of Human Services, approximately 10% of Families First participants (5,907 adults) are enrolled in adult basic education.

Because of its inclusion as a part of Tennessee's welfare reform legislation, adult basic education has been a foundational service for adults who receive public assistance. A dominant outcome measure has been the achievement of educational credentials (such as a General Educational Development or a Certificate of Advancement from one level to another). Consequently, a key question of policy makers, welfare recipients, and program administrators is: "Do participants in adult basic education make sufficient gains in their learning to achieve a credential, and if so, how long does it take?" Understanding the relationship of time to achieving learning gains is critical for policy makers who are planning for the resources necessary to support basic education services, for participants who wonder how long they have to pursue education before being required to obtain employment, and for program administrators who need this type of information to manage their programs effectively. Surprisingly, relatively little research-based information is available on the length of time adults use to advance from one level to another or to achieve a GED.

In examining why there were so few studies that looked at time as a critical factor in learning, we found that studies on the outcomes of literacy programs are difficult to conduct (Beder, 1999). In his review of 23 studies of outcomes and impacts of adult literacy education, Beder concluded that "as measured by tests, the evidence is insufficient to determine whether or not participants in adult literacy education gain in basic skills" (p. 113). No studies focused solely on welfare recipients. Tracy-Mumford (1995), however, in her review of studies of the programs funded by the Adult Education Act, found that "all twenty studies reported academic learning gains; the ten studies that relied on self-reported skill improvements cited higher perceived skills" (p. 6). According to Mickulecky (1986), large scale evaluation studies suggest 100 hours of instruction per grade level gain as typical. Solorzano (1989a,b) found reading and writing gains in students in California who were enrolled in California Literacy Campaign programs for 3, 4, and 5 months. Carnevale and Desrosches (1999) conclude that "moving the least skilled [learners] within the minimal skill level up to the basic skill level could require up to 900 hours of additional education or training" (p. 118). Because of the inconsistent and inconclusive findings from prior studies and the need to understand differences between traditional adult basic education participants and Families First participants, the Center for Literacy Studies at The University of Tennessee designed and conducted a study that begins to examine the link between time and achievement and compares adults in traditional adult basic education programs with adults in adult basic education programs who receive welfare assistance.

The Study of Student Records from Adult Education Programs

This study examined the data in individual records of 594 students (212 Families First and 382 traditional ABE) from sixteen adult basic education programs in Tennessee.

Research Questions

The major research question was, "How long does it take an adult in a basic education program to make progress that leads to a credential for achievement such as a GED or a Certificate of Advancement from one level to another?" At the time of this study, Tennessee adult basic education programs divided participants according to levels: *Level 1* = grade levels of 0-5.9 in either reading or math; *Level 2* = grade levels of 6-8.9; and *Level 3* = grade levels of 9-12.9. Grade levels are determined by the results of standardized achievement tests. A related second question was, "Both in terms of the baseline levels and in the time needed to advance, are there any differences between the adults in traditional basic education programs and adults in basic education sponsored by Families First?"

Sample and Data Collection

Data were located in the official participant records maintained by sixteen adult basic education programs. Over a thousand records were reviewed from which 594 were selected. The following data (without identifiers) were collected from the records: demographic information about the participant; program characteristics; the date of the first standardized test taken after enrollment in the program and the test score; dates when adults "tested into" the next level and the test score; and the date of receiving the GED (if applicable).

Where all the data were available, we examined every case of advancement of recent achievers rather taking a sample of the population. Local programs collect their data in varying ways. For the present study, we used only the data that were consistent across programs. The process highlighted the importance of maintaining complete records for purposes of research and comparison. There were notable differences between programs in terms of thoroughness and consistency of record keeping. Overall, it was observed that records were more easily accessible and usable in programs with computerized record keeping.

Data Analysis

Data were entered into a Microsoft Excel database configured to determine the number of calendar days between the dates of advancement from one level to the next (based on ABE tests) and of passing the GED. The data were analyzed using SPSS for Windows software (version 9.0). Since data were not normally distributed (a certain percentage of students took much longer than the rest to advance), the median was chosen as the appropriate way to report the results. The differences between Families First participants and traditional participants regarding the length of time needed to advance were analyzed using Mann-Whitney (nonparametric) statistical tests. Chi-square tests determined whether there was a significant difference:

1) between traditional ABE and Families First participants in terms of their entrance levels, and 2) in the rate of passing the GED between the three entrance level groups.

Findings

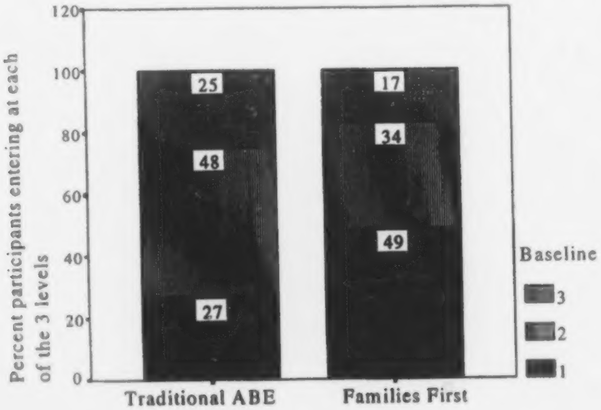
Findings from this study address the research question "How long does it take a participant in adult basic education to advance from level to level or to receive a GED?" The data suggest different ways to answer this question, therefore the following groups of findings are reported:

- Entrance levels of Families First and traditional ABE participants
- Days between levels
- Advancement according to participant group (Families First or traditional ABE)
- Rate of passing the GED tests
- Going the distance: Level 1 to GED.

Entrance levels of Families First and traditional ABE participants. Figure 1 illustrates the composition of traditional ABE and Families First sub samples based on the participants' entrance levels.

Families First participants were found to be more likely to enter ABE on Level 1 than traditional ABE participants. In fact, approximately half of all the Families First participants entered ABE at Level 1, while only 27% of traditional ABE students entered at Level 1. On the other hand, more traditional ABE students entered at Levels 2 and 3 than Families First students. Thus, the composition of the two groups of students is distinctly different.

Figure 1: Participants' entrance levels

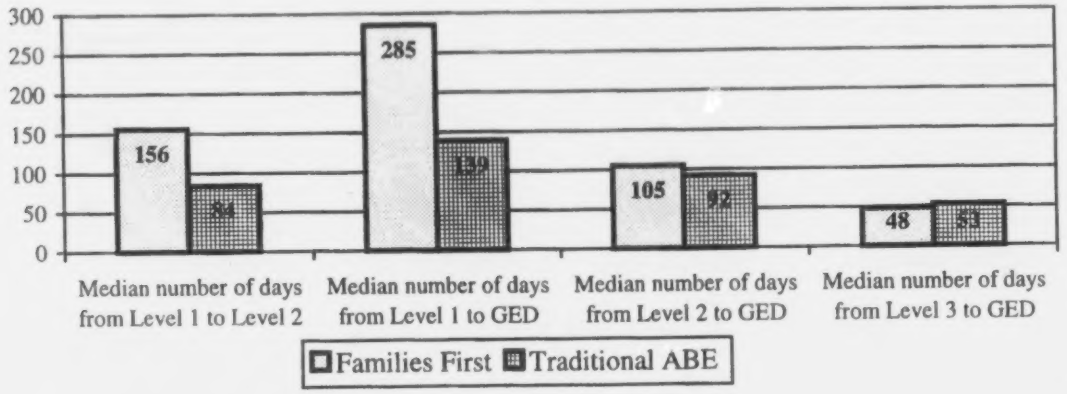


Days between levels. There were 153 participants who advanced from Level 1 to Level 2. The median number of calendar days needed to make this advancement was 105, and the maximum number of days was 709. Similarly, for the 134 participants who progressed from Level 2 to Level 3, the median was 77 days, and the maximum was 775 days. For the 78 Level 1 entrants the median number of days to passing the GED test was 202, and the maximum was 942 days. For the 241 people who had Level 2 data and passed the GED, the median value was 97, and the maximum was 902 days. And for the 202 participants who had Level Three data and passed the GED, the median number of days was 52, and the maximum was 722. The differences between traditional ABE and Families First participants are discussed below and illustrated by Figure 2.

Advancement according to participant group. It was found that Families First participants took significantly longer than traditional participants to progress from Level 1 to either Level 2, or GED. Figure 1 shows the median amount of time that each group takes to progress from Level 1 to Level 2, from Level 1 to GED, from Level 2 to GED, and from Level 3 to GED.

Figure 2 shows that, while 50% of traditional ABE students took no longer than 84 days to advance from Level 1 to Level 2, for Families First students this number was almost twice as high: 156 days. It took Families First participants who entered at Level 1 significantly longer to pass the GED test: 285 days, as compared with 139 days for traditional ABE students. Families First participants took significantly longer to progress from Level 1 to Level 2, which affected the length of time between Level 1 and passing the GED test. Once the participants achieved Level 2, the differences between the two groups disappeared. Both Families First and traditional ABE students needed a comparable amount of time for advancement past Level 2. For this report, we did not analyze actual test scores of participants. It would be interesting to investigate whether Families First participants who enter at Level 1 (below 6.0 grade level) have lower baseline test scores than traditional ABE participants. Lower entry level scores could have been responsible for the increase in length of time needed to advance past Level 1.

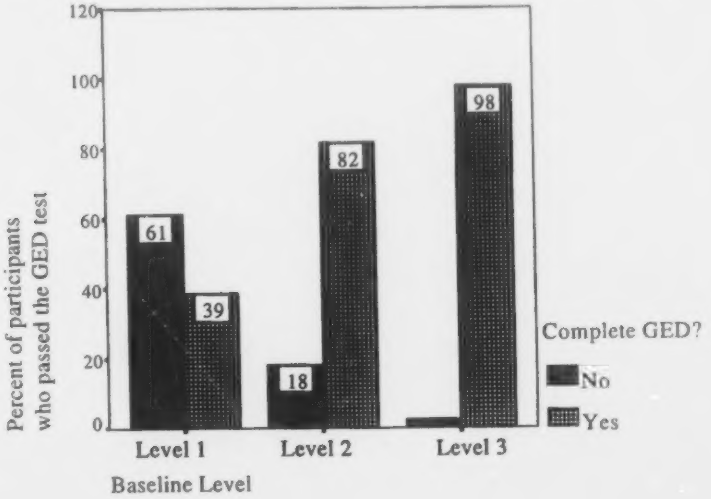
Figure 2. Advancement from level to level by participant group



Rate of passing the GED tests. This section examines whether overall, students who enter ABE at a lower level are as likely to pass the GED test as those who enter ABE at a higher level.

Participants who entered at Level 1 in 1996-1998 were less likely to achieve the GED in 1997-1999 than those who entered at Levels 2 and 3. Many of these participants might still be pursuing their GED study in ABE programs. Revisiting this sample at a later time might identify additional Level 1 students who had passed the GED test.

Figure 3: Rate of passing the GED for students entering at different levels



Going the distance - Level 1 to GED. To better understand what happens to Level 1 entrants who subsequently passed the GED test, a small subgroup of 22 GED recipients (six Families First and 16 traditional ABE) was identified, and their advancement through ABE Levels was investigated in detail. An average of 153 days was needed for these participants to complete Level 2; it took them 92 more days to advance to Level 3; and 67 more, to pass the GED test. On the average, 312 days were needed to advance from Level 1 to GED. The reader should bear in mind that this was not a random sub sample of participants, but all those who had all the scores available. When the data on the six Families First participants from this group were analyzed, they were found to take almost twice as long (594 days) to pass the GED tests. However, due to the small size of this group, these data were not statistically analyzed.

Summary of Findings

- Overall, Families First participants took longer time to advance from Level 1 to Level 2, and from Level 2 to GED, than traditional ABE participants.
- There were no significant differences between Families First and traditional ABE participants in terms of the median length of time needed to advance from Level 2 to Level 3; from Level 2 to GED; and from Level 3 to GED.
- More students entered ABE at Level 1 in Families First than in traditional ABE programs.
- More students who entered ABE in 1996-1998 at Level 2 and 3 passed the GED test in 1997-1999 than those who entered at Level 1.

Conclusions and Implications

This study has important implications for policy and practice in Tennessee because of its focus on investigating the amount of time it takes to achieve a basic skills credential. Findings from the study are not surprising in that they validate some commonly held assumptions. Adults who enter basic education at a lower level take longer to obtain a GED than adults who enter at a higher level. It is surprising that there are adults who enter at the lowest level, progress from level to level, and eventually receive a GED. This study begins to confirm that participation in adult basic education does result in measurable gains and that more time in programs results in greater gains in measured skills.

Because the study compared adults in traditional basic education programs with a basic education program specifically designed for adults who receive welfare, planners and decision-makers can use this information to improve the quality of services offered to the individuals who are learning to live without public assistance. The study points out two key factors: (1) adults who are welfare recipients enter basic education at a lower level than the adults who enter a traditional basic education program, and (2) adults who are welfare recipients take longer to achieve a Level 1 credential than the traditional population. This information may contribute to a better understanding of the length of time needed to make "reasonable" progress and move from level to level. Case managers and adult basic education instructors can use this information to help participants set reasonable learning goals.

These data raise questions about the relationship between the number of hours of instruction and achievement. Does a particular number of hours of instruction impact the length of time to achieve a credential? This study, that only examined the records of those who achieved a credential, raises interesting research questions about those who failed to achieve a credential. Further research is needed to understand why some individuals who have been receiving welfare persist with basic skills education and some do not persist.

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Roundtables

Adult Education for a Civil Society: Starting Over

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Abstract: *To "start over" adult educators need to reexamine the present practice of adult education and community development in Canada, as compared to our earlier ideals for the field that included the promotion of greater democracy, social equality and equitable economic opportunities for all Canadians. In this reassessment, we need to consider the broader potential of our community agencies, as sites for revitalizing our civil society.*

Community agencies are significant sites for the delivery of non-formal adult education, which they usually describe as a community service or community program. These activities often take the form of imparting information on basic needs: food, housing, education/training and the search for employment.

On occasion community agencies run programs that support people in their claim for basic legislated rights and entitlements. These programs may have a strong community development component and may provide a forum for the traditional goals of adult educators in Canada as those who "sought social change, greater democracy, social equality and equitable economic opportunities for all Canadians, particularly the most powerless and underprivileged" (Cassidy & Farris, 1987, p. 3).

These community development-related projects would seem to have immense potential for creating a process through which emancipatory adult education could take place. Such adult education projects would be helping to create a more democratic and egalitarian society, as was hoped for by the Canadian Association for Adult Education's 1986 Declaration of Citizenship and Adult Learning. Cassidy (1987) quotes from the Declaration,

> As members of communities and of broader social movements, adult educators must join with, and learn from, all those Canadians who seek full citizenship, personal growth, and social betterment. Canadian adult educators must strengthen their historic role of working within communities to create environmentally sound, sustainable local economic development. By fostering co-operative working and learning relationships, adult educators can assist Canadians to prepare more effectively for the future. (p. 5)

Such a stance implies a willingness to advocate with and for disenfranchised community members as they learn to see the potential of their communities. However, of the community agencies we consulted, all of which have a formal commitment to community development, advocacy by and for the "powerless and underprivileged" is not usually embedded in their community development projects. The result is the splitting off of the "political" from the "practical". Politicized advocacy tends to happen only when a crisis breaks over an agency's community and outside the flow of the agency's main funded activities.

This situation results in the "restructuring" of community development as another service – productive and useful but not critical of the power relations that contribute to poverty and exclusion. That in turn ensures that most program curricula are created with minimal participation from the adult constituency of participants.

The structure of funding and the fear of loss of funding are the main modes by which community development and adult education projects in community agencies are disciplined toward a practice of compliant pragmatism. Funding tends to be short-term and unstable in the sense that renewal is not to be counted on even in the case of project success. Continuity and community confidence are often impossible to sustain under such circumstances.

Reporting requirements are often lengthy and energy absorbing. More and more staff time is spent applying for funds and accounting for their use. Accountability itself is often demanded in terms of narrowly defined "product" measured in "quantifiable" terms that undermine and devalue participatory processes and the struggle for progressive social change. Private sector sponsorships and partnerships entail their own conservatizing limitations, both explicit and implicit.

A widespread fear of de-funding has produced a "chill" in support at the agency level for community development or advocacy projects that may be deemed politically inappropriate by very conservative institutional forces. Whether this is an exaggerated response to the current neo-liberal political climate in Ontario or a realistic assessment of the probable consequences of being seen to defy the political order is unclear. But there is considerable anecdotal evidence of reprisals for harbouring an active critique of the status quo. One large funding bureaucracy was extensively restructured from the top down apparently as a response to "excessive liberalism" manifested by a grant that indirectly benefited a militant youth group concerned about racism. The group to whom the grant was made was subsequently defunded and another sponsoring organization subjected to an openly hostile review. Such events reinforce the other circumstances leading agencies away from "greater democracy and social equality" as project goals and toward service-oriented, "quantifiable" compliant pragmatism.

To "start over" we need to realistically re-think the possibilities for adult education as part of the movement for social justice in Canada and, in particular, the situation of community agencies as front-line community educators.

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Creating Private Spaces to Learn Public Participation

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Abstract: *Conceptions of private and public inform educational research and planning for labour market transitions in a small resource-based town in British Columbia. Laid-off forestry workers, women on social-assistance and underemployed youth seek inclusion in a community dialogue on educational planning, yet require support to participate.*

Introduction

Conceptions of private and public space provide access to understanding problems related to educational planning for non-traditional learners. Resource industry workers, women on social assistance returning to the workplace, and youth entering the labour market are placing demands on post-secondary institutions to assist them with these transitions. Often frustrated by entry criteria, financial costs, time constraints, the expectations of a formal learning environment, and teaching and assessment approaches, these "non-traditional learners" may also be further hobbled by negative images of themselves as learners. Their quiet voices are not often heard or counted in the contours of policy debate and program planning decision-making. Recovering private spaces for these new learners to formulate their views increases opportunities for learning to participate in a public space.

The Research

Educational Needs and the Transitional Labour Market

As part of a community-based education and training needs assessment I interviewed many educational and business leaders, as well as non-traditional learners, in the town of Squamish, British Columbia. Unemployed forestry workers, women on social assistance and youth marginally involved in the labour market, were asked about their views on education and training priorities for the community. Their responses were insightful and often poignantly stated. They called for greater access to programs and greater relevance of programs to their labour market concerns. Finding 'the right person' to help them through the maze of services, programs, and courses was important.

One woman cautioned that "if the person in charge is not supportive, results can be devastating." They identified the need for a "bridge" to college and other sponsored programs, and a "bridge" from the courses back to the working world. How people were treated in the "system" was also of real concern; many expressed feelings of unworthiness as a result of a discussion with "experts" in the system. Newly unemployed forestry workers in a labour market transition program talked about feeling "forced to pick a course of study right away, but feeling too "upset and confused, [and not knowing] what to choose – or what we were qualified for". Another participant added: "Sometimes it takes a few months exploring options to change the mind set and see the possibilities. We need time – and support."

The participants welcomed the opportunity to share their views with me. Literacy limitations, English language, and shyness were among the reasons cited for not speaking up to the "experts" in the community. They believed that their voices were not strong enough nor informed enough to contribute to decisions being made about what programs to develop and offer in the community. Lack of a private space for formulating these views and learning to articulate them in a public setting further disadvantaged these learners, placing their interests in the margins.

Conceptions of Private and Public Space

Public Space

According to Arendt (1958), the public and the private are interdependent. Private space is a space that protects, nurtures, and makes the individual fit to appear in the public realm. The public sphere is a common space in which the members of society meet, through a variety of media, to discuss matters of common interest and to be able to form a common mind about those matters (Taylor, 1995). This space is, however, inequitable – for the participants, inequities resulted from their lack of communicative competence, and their lack of input into the formulation of the questions to be debated (Habermas, 1989). Public debate is also hindered by not only an inequity in participation, but also by the quality of discourse. Acting within the public sphere requires learning the procedures or norms of 'deliberative communication'. As well, access to the public sphere is often restricted, for not just the economically and socially disadvantaged, but also for those who feel "afraid and uninformed about forces they cannot identify" (Greene, 1978).

Private Space

The nest is an apt metaphor f or a discussion about private space. The nest has particular virtues: it is hidden and sheltered, "it is a good, warm home, it is even life giving...since it continues to shelter the bird that has come out of the egg. It also serves as a sort of downy coverlet for the baby bird until its quite naked skin grows it own down" (Bachelard, 1958/1964, p. 92). The nest is built with the body of the bird, who, through much effort, pressing and tightening the materials, fits its body into the nest perfectly. In the same way, a private space is created intentionally through its members' own discussion and work, shaping the space to fit their own needs and requirements. Private spaces where this work may be located include, for example, a community-based action research project, a labour market transition program, or a basic academic upgrading course. More than a location, the notion of private space is useful for conceptualizing how issues of privacy and personal integrity are explored and how doing so reduces the possibility of coercion in the public space (Moon, 1994).

Conclusion

The post-secondary policy debate on non-traditional learners is incomplete without the participation of non-traditional learners. But for these learners to participate as equals and to benefit reciprocally in such a debate, they not only need opportunities for "giving good reasons in public" (Benhabib, 1992), they need access to good information, the ability to share and analyze this information, and to communicate their understanding to others. A public sphere, where debate and deliberation can flourish, depends on private spaces where preparation for participation is fostered.

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Oral Tradition - A Literacy for Lifelong Learning: Native American Approaches to Justice and Wellness Education.

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Abstract: *Native American oral tradition provides a literacy for lifelong learning that promotes perspective transformations. This approach is particularly suited to justice and wellness education because participants engage multiple ways of being and knowing: sensory, philosophical, serious, humorous, etc. Oral traditions can be understood in the context of transformative learning that has implications for adult education.*

Raven and Coyote have educated indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest for lifelong learning since time immemorial. The "Trickster" from the Southeast, Rabbit, as "Brer Rabbit" or a celluloid "Bugs Bunny," still provides learning opportunities for children and adults. Internationally, characters from oral traditions are alive and well, slipping in and out of the modern psyche, engaging us often on video and movies screen to provide insights into living and learning. We see these "Tricksters," the living legacy of oral tradition, as a literacy that has been "over looked" in the field of adult education research and the practice of life long learning. Adult education can facilitate the repatriation of this literacy which has in recent history been "captured" and commodified as entertainment or therapy into a more accessible learning consciousness.

Multiple Literacies for Lifelong Learning in the Postmodern Moment

For Native Americans "discovery" marked the advent of creeping modernism and the denial of situated oral traditions in the development of the metanarrative of western history. With the accelerating pace of western history in this post modern moment, underlying oral traditions are "peeking" through as assumptions are increasingly examined. Such conditions require practices to become, as EU President Fontaine (2000) suggested to her ministers, more "audacious and transparent". Audacious in the acknowledgement of the "not's": there are no universal conditions of knowledge and criteria; observation is not value-neutral or atheoretical or "common" sense; data or language is not transparent without interpretation (Usher, et. al. 1997, p. 204). Thus transparency requires that there be interpretation and definitions situated at metapositions which permit the illumination and negotiation of the multiples. How such positioning (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) "works" becomes an important dimension of learning over time. Consequently, in this moment where knowledges are increasingly recognized as multiple, based on multiple experiences and realities, what is demanded from adult educational practice is a means to negotiate such multiples and facilitate such negotiation. This requires a metapractice in which a reflective, socioculturally positioned practitioner assists the individual in the positioning process. Oral tradition situates the learner/teacher in socially constructed action in which a "really good" personal narrative may be constructed to bridge the multiple narratives.

Oral Tradition as Metapractice – Metaliteracy

The many literacies that are required in our cross cultural, cross disciplinary practice as First Nations community educators from Canada and the United States, requires that we bring both the process and content of such oral traditions into our child welfare and health workshops to promote justice and wellness in the face of the massive injustice and disease in our communities. The strategies of oral tradition are more than storytelling, central is listening, without verbal or mental interruption (James, 1998), a skill that is deeply profound (Fiumara, 1990). Strategic positioning (James, 1998; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) is essential to facilitate the process. The principles of storywork, respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, wholism, interrelatedness, and synergy, feature the "Tricksters" who are seen as "doings" rather than "beings," "doings" that aid in reflection and understanding (Archibald, 1997).

Trickster Strategies in Justice and Wellness Education

Justice and wellness are important educational concerns for Native Americans and other disadvantaged populations in particular but also more generally. Our practice of using oral tradition as a metaliteracy permits us to reflect on this practice through the lens of the metamotivation (Apter, 1993) to negotiate and manage the vertical, multiple potential transformations (Cranton, 1994). Cross culturally Tricksters have provided powerful teachings about learning. The "Tricksters" of oral tradition provide cues for how this works, how "to do." We offer oral tradition as part of the "tool kit of literacies" relevant to adult educational practice for Native American justice and wellness education and more generally as a strategy for wholistic education in the new millenium.

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Experiential Subsistence Learning: Researching the Transformative Moments in Motherwork

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Abstract: *In this paper I explore the learning and knowledge creation that takes place within the lived experience of motherwork through artful inquiry that includes storytelling, narrative and poesis.*

Introduction

Women continue to do a disproportionate amount of mothering throughout the world. Yet women's lived experience often contradicts the mainstream notion of what mothering "is" and "should be" (Rich, 1986). This contradiction contributes to the subordination of women and is increasingly recognized in discourse regarding motherwork among the social sciences. However, motherwork as a site of learning remains largely overlooked by theories of adult learning (Hart, 1992).

Adult educators link learning to change and transformation for individuals as well as for society. Personal transformation often begins with a disorienting dilemma which subsequently evolves (Mezirow, 1991). In order to effect change in society, adult educators recognize that goals of transformation are embodied in the day to day lives of people who challenge the existing oppressive structures of society (Youngman, 1996). Therefore a pedagogy of change must link personal agency to public effectiveness (Tisdell, 1995).

Research Design

The focus of my research is on "significant turning point moments" in women's lives that involve motherwork. As this is the work of basic human care, it requires a life centered subsistence orientation (Hart, 1992). Through artful inquiry that includes self inquiry, storytelling and semi structured interviews, women are invited to explore the transformative moments during the intensive work of mothering. While both the process and the products of knowledge creation and learning are explored, women's experiences are examined in the context of their positions within society, taking into consideration interlocking issues of gender, race and class.

Representation includes poetry and poetic transcription (Glesne, 1999) and short story which are becoming a recognized part of qualitative research. My goals are to present women's lived experiences in artful ways that evoke authentic and emotional responses in readers. I wish to counter the dominant (masculinist) views of mothering within society and to shift the focus of mothering research to the standpoint of individual women (Denzin, 1997) who have all too often been overlooked and silenced.

Lived Experience through Artful Representation

This paper presents a research work in progress. At this point, I have noted that women's storytelling often centres around moral or ethical dilemmas that involve some level of challenge to oppressive social structures or to previously held notions of what mothering would be like. Here, as an example of my work, is a short excerpt of a much longer story. It is written in the form of poetic transcription (Glesne, 1999). This piece reflects a turning point moment in a woman's life, where she challenges her previously held assumptions about motherwork

This piece below represents one small story within my research project. I argue that the learning that takes place in the transformative moments such as the one presented here has significance among theories of adult learning and can influence the future of adult education by adding a life affirming focus which is grounded in the lived experience of motherwork.

Excerpt from Poetic Transcription: Mum's Homework

...my fear was
sexual abuse
of little girls...

I felt I was bad
confronting authority figures.

I had been thinking
teachers and schools
were there to benefit
children.

I felt bad
Like
God will get me.

There was this
moment
of conflict:

A good mother
protects her children
from harm...

A good woman
does not challenge
social structures...

Does she?

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Narrative Analysis: Uncovering the Truth of Stories

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Abstract: *The use of narratives as a data source has come under scrutiny (Phillips,1994, 1997). The purpose of this session will be to discuss "truth" as it relates to narratives and to demonstrate methods of narrative analysis using data from a study concerning identity formation in HIV-positive adults.*

The use of narratives as data has come under scrutiny (Phillips, 1994, 1997). Phillips' concern is that educational researchers who use narrative as a data source may be more interested in obtaining a *good* story (e.g. stories that seem plausible and have an "engaging plot" (Phillips, 1994, p. 13)), than a *true* story. Narratives are re-fashioned in light of present life experiences and are often judged on coherence and plausibility rather than "truth." Further, whether the teller believes the story is true does not prove its veracity (Phillips, 1997). Phillips (1997) asserts that in some cases "such as when policy or future weighty actions hang on acceptance of the narrative" it is important that the narrative be true (p. 102).

Phillips's (1994, 1997) articles raise questions worth discussing. What is "truth" in narrative research? How can we uncover the "truth?" Whose "truth" is it, anyway? The researcher's? The participant's? Both? What ethical issues does this raise? Why are stories as a data source under scrutiny?

A second issue for those using narratives as a data source is how to analyze them. The field of narrative analysis within qualitative research is broad-based. There is no definitive approach or methodology. The types of analysis most explored are: linguistic, psychological, and biographic.

An example of the linguistic approach is Labov and Waletzky's (1967) structuralist technique which slices stories into clauses. These clauses are identified by the functions they serve and together they form a core narrative. For example, a separate group of clauses orient the reader to the narrative, describe the action, and resolve the action. A second linguistic approach is Gee's (1990) sociolinguistic method. Gee's (1990) method moves from the part to the whole. First, he notices the "prosody of the text" which includes the "pitch, loudness, stress, and length assigned to various syllables as well as the way in which the speaker hesitates or pauses" (pp. 104-105). He also examines the cohesion of each sentence. how these sentences form larger units and recognizes how the themes of the text are organized.

The psychological methods of analysis concentrate less on the particulars of language and more on the meaning people create through words. Alexander's (1988) psychobiographical approach uses nine "principle indicators of salience" which help reduce the data to manageable portions (p. 269). *Primacy* looks at the first idea mentioned in the narrative. *Frequency* is indicated by the number of times an identity is mentioned. The *uniqueness* of a statement is indicated by phrases such as, " 'Nothing like this has happened to me before or since'" (p. 272). *Emphasis* is brought to one's attention by phrases such as, " 'I want you to know that…'" (p. 273). The salience indicator of *omission* generally is seen when people tell a story and neglect to mention their feelings or reactions to an event. When a phrase or series of phrases does not fit with the rest of the story, it indicates *isolation*. *Incompletion* is demonstrated by a story that does not have closure.

Denzin's (1989) biographical method of analysis takes into account the influence of society on the individuals' narratives. Denzin (1989) notes the importance of turning points in people's stories. He values the importance of "family beginnings" saying that all narratives are grounded in the family (p. 18). Denzin considers the impact of gender and class on the narrative and recognizes that the audience influences how the story is told.

These approaches to narrative analysis place different lenses on the data. Denzin's (1989) and Alexander's techniques will be applied to narratives concerning the incorporation of HIV/AIDS into a person's identity over time.

In sum, with the burgeoning of qualitative research in general, and the use of narrative analysis in particular, it is important to address the "truth" of narratives as well as the methods of narrative analysis. The approaches to narrative analysis are linguistic, psychological, biographical or a combination of these types. This roundtable discussion will benefit those wanting to explore narrative analysis as a methodology and to discuss the "truth" of narratives.

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Assessing Student Progress toward the "Equipped for the Future" Standards: Issues and Lessons to Date

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Abstract: *Equipped for the Future (EFF), the national standards-based system reform initiative for adult education, has developed sixteen content standards that define the core knowledge and skills adults need to effectively carry out their primary roles. The current stage of EFF research is focused on development of performance standards for these content standards. This roundtable will discuss issues and findings from this field-based research.*

Equipped for the Future (EFF) is developing a framework for assessing performance of the EFF Content Standards. Research and development tasks include defining the key dimensions of a continuum of performance; developing a continuum of performance for each standard; identifying appropriate tools to assess performance of each standard; and developing a broad qualifications framework that focuses on integrated performance across standards (Stein, 2000).

Identifying Key Dimensions of Performance

EFF standards were developed for all adults, from those with very few years of formal education and low English literacy skills to adults with many years of formal education and advanced degrees. A continuum of performance, then, for the EFF standards is one that does not isolate adult literacy students on a special, developmental continuum separated from movement along the mainstream path to mastery. To identify a theory-based set of dimensions of performance that meets this criteria, the EFF development team reviewed other frameworks that have attempted to define a broad continuum of performance, including the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) and the qualifications frameworks from Australia, England, Scotland, South Africa and New Zealand; data from EFF field development sites, 1997-99; and cognitive science on expertise and transfer. Four dimensions of performance were identified as useful in describing and discriminating between performances at points along a continuum from beginner to expert: depth and breadth of the knowledge base; fluency and ease of performance; independence of performance; range of conditions for performance.

Developing a Continuum of Performance for each EFF Standard

Currently, practitioners in fifteen adult basic education programs in five states are engaged in detailed observation of student performance toward the EFF standards, using the Performance Framework for EFF Standards (Figure 1) and an accompanying template. In the Performance Framework, the four dimensions are embedded in categories reflecting how teachers think about planning and instruction: Task, Context, Knowledge Base, and Performance. These categories are framed as questions similar to those found in an observation rubric so that they are more immediately useful for planning instruction, teaching and evaluating as well as for detailed documentation of these activities.

Using a template with generic descriptors for five ranges of performance, descriptions of skill development and application are placed at points along the continuum for each standard. Preliminary results will be shared during the roundtable. Final results will be level descriptors and benchmarks for each of the 16 standards.

The issues already identified in this step of developing a national assessment framework are complex, in both practical and theoretical ways.

- What kinds and combinations of tools will be useful to practitioners in documenting and assessing adult performance?
- How can in-class assessments be linked to external measures of competence?
- How do we define levels of performance that are not based solely on academic conceptions of beginning, proficient, and expert (or on K-12 grade levels) but that are anchored in

Figure 1

Performance Framework for EFF Standards

In order to insure that adult learners can use the EFF skills to act flexibly, with a range of options and choices, to meet the goals in their lives, teachers and learners need to pay attention to the following aspects of learner performance:

What kinds of tasks can learners carry out?	**In what contexts can learners perform?**	**What do learners know?**	**How well can learners perform?**
1. How complex is the task for the learner? 2. How familiar are learners with the task?	1. How familiar are learners with the context? 2. In how many different situations can learners perform? 3. How much risk is involved in the situation? How high are the stakes?	1. Do learners have vocabulary related to the skill? Related to the subject area? 2. Do learners have content knowledge related to the skill? Related to the subject area? 3. Do learners have strategies for organizing content knowledge?	1. How fluently can learners perform? *How much effort is required?* *How consistently do learners start and finish, getting to the desired outcome?* *How well are barriers controlled or overcome?* 2. How independently can learners perform? *How much help is needed from others?* *How much initiative is shown in getting started?* *How often do learners generate their own strategies to complete tasks?*

external benchmarks related to what an adult needs to know and be able to do to accomplish real life goals?

By addressing these questions, Equipped for the Future seeks to assist the field in expanding what can be measured, so that adult literacy and basic education programs can demonstrate how they systematically contribute to achieving the results that matter to adults as family members, workers, and community members.

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Is it Time to Move On? Reflections on a Research Agenda for Self-Directed Learning in the 21st Century

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Abstract: *Self-directed learning has been one of the most studied areas of adult education over the past three decades. Instead of abandoning this line of inquiry, more research is needed that explores the topic from new perspectives.*

Few topics dominated the research agenda of the last three decades of the 20th century more than self-directed learning (SDL). These studies have followed several approaches, including learning projects research, the measurement of self-directedness and related constructs through the use of standardized instruments, and a wide range of qualitative approaches. In addition, a number of books have examined SDL from very different perspectives and the annual International Symposium on Self-Directed Learning has published a set of proceedings for the past 13 years.

In recent years, however, the level of interest in SDL across the field as a whole seems to have diminished. A recent content analysis of 14 periodicals in adult education and training between 1980 and 1998 revealed that 122 articles on SDL were published in these periodicals (Brockett, Stockdale, Fogerson, Cox, Canipe, Chuprina, Donaghy, & Chadwell, 2000). Among the periodicals with the largest number of articles on self-direction were *Adult Education Quarterly, Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing*, and the annual proceedings of the Adult Education Research Conference. The "heyday" for articles on SDL in these publications was in the mid-late 1980s and the first two years of the 1990s. In the past 2-3 years, however, the number of articles on self-direction in these publications has dropped to as few as zero in some years.

It is possible to take the view that SDL "had its day" and that it is time to move on to new areas of inquiry. At a time when the emphasis of much research is shifting away from understanding the individual adult learner toward looking at the sociopolitical context of adult education drawing largely from constructivist, critical, and postmodern perspectives, it is not difficult to think that SDL is somewhat out of touch. Yet, one of the historic problems with adult education research has been the tendency of researchers to respond to shifting trends while abandoning lines of inquiry that have not been adequately mined. While it might be argued that after 30 years, we know as much about self-direction as we need to know, another view is that the real challenge facing those working in this area is how to take the study of self-direction to a new level.

How might this be accomplished? In this discussion, I would like to briefly highlight four directions for a future research agenda. First, there is a need to take stock of what we already know about SDL. While there have been various efforts to synthesize and categorize this literature, an update is needed. The SDL research group at the University of Tennessee recently reported the preliminary findings of the content analysis mentioned above (Brockett, et al., 2000). Other studies in progress (1) examine the 14 volumes of the International Self-Directed Learning Symposium proceedings and (2) glean recommendations for future research from the 122 articles identified in the content analysis. Similar studies involving literature from specific professional fields and, especially, from periodicals outside of North America, could expand our understanding of the total body of literature that already exists.

Second, we need to consider developing new ways to measure self-directedness. The Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (Guglielmino, cited in Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991) is now over 20 years old. While the SDLRS has sometimes been controversial, it has nonetheless made an invaluable contribution to our understanding of self-directed readiness. In the future, however, I would suggest that we need to consider the development of new measures that more clearly reflect developments in theory and research on SDL that have occurred since the development of the SDLRS.

Third, there is a need for further research that explores SDL from a naturalistic perspective. As the content analysis revealed (Brockett, et al., 2000), a fairly substantial percentage of research articles on self-direction utilized qualitative designs; yet, I believe that if we are truly to go to the "next level" of understanding self-direction, it will be necessary to raise questions about the limits of self-direction, and how self-direction interfaces with issues of power and conflict in various practice settings. Qualitative designs are probably best suited for this type of inquiry.

Finally, I believe it is crucial to keep the dialogue alive across the field. While there is a core of scholars working in self-direction and sharing their work in a specifically-designated forum for doing so, the exchange of ideas with the larger field is limited. Similarly, many scholars in adult education seem to be inclined to dismiss what we have learned from SDL research. There is a need to work toward building a climate where (1) those who study SDL are open to challenges and questions about the limits of this area, and (2) those who have been inclined to dismiss SDL research remain open to the potential of what can be learned from three decades of scholarship.

In closing, many of the recent criticisms leveled at SDL research are based on misconceptions and misunderstandings. At the same time, those who study SDL need to be open to critical examination of the limits of self-direction. For me, the answer to the question "Is it time to move on?" is a resounding "Yes!". But rather than move *away* from this line of inquiry, it is important to go even further. The future of research on self-direction holds much promise, if researchers who work in this area are willing to identify new ways to examine the phenomenon, from a broader range of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Therefore, I believe that "moving on" means that, as a field, we need to move beyond the limits of current research in order to more fully expand the map of SDL.

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Linking Theory to Practice in the Workplace

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Introduction

In recent years, there has been increased attention devoted to conducting professional education and vocational training in the workplace (Burns, Boud and Garrick). Decades ago, vocational education and training was primarily based on the apprenticeship model whereby the novitiate learned "on the job" under the tutelage of the master or craftsman. More recently, almost all professional education and vocational training is located in tertiary institutions, often incorporating a practicum or field experience component in which students learn to relate theory to practice, and learn from the experience gained in the practicum.

The authors have been involved in the practical training of police constables and law graduates respectively, in New South Wales. Preparatory training of new entrants into both professions has undergone restructuring in recent years, with greater emphasis on the role of the practicum. The approach to that role in each of these professions is considerably different, yet in the authors' experience, both raise similar issues of concern in their implementation.

Police Constable Training in New South Wales

The New South Wales Police Service is comprised of over 17,000 personnel. A recent (1997) reappraisal of police training has restructured recruit training. Recruits now study to become police officers for six trimesters (2 years) to obtain a Diploma of Policing Practice awarded by Charles Sturt University for the NSW Police Service. Practicum experiences are offered in Trimesters 2 (when recruits spend 160 hours in both a police station and in a community service agency) and 4, 5 and 6 (each in a police station) with a particularly heavy phase during Trimester 6 when the emphasis is on students finalizing their development of the knowledge, skills and attitudes to become a competent "One-Stop-Officer."

Preparation for Admission to Legal Practice in New South Wales

In New South Wales, prospective lawyers must first complete an accredited academic tertiary qualification (most usually, the LLB degree) followed by pre-admission preparation for legal practice – generally referred to as "practical legal training" or PLT. "Articles of clerkship" (a form of apprenticeship) were abolished in New South Wales 25 years ago, and replaced initially by a six month period of institutional training, after which the graduate was admitted to practice as a solicitor under supervision. In the process, whatever the merits or otherwise of articling, the master/clerk relationship of mutual obligations of teaching and learning in the workplace was also abolished. In 1994, this regime was replaced by a six-month period of training of which 15 weeks were undertaken by intensive on-campus training and the balance by 15 weeks of "professional experience."

Thus, in both professions, a pre-entry component of professional experience or practicum is now complementary to the theoretical knowledge acquired for practice. But the approach of each profession is significantly different: the field experience of police recruits occurs in a bureaucratic, rank-structured operation, as an integrated process of theoretical and practical training, whereas the field experience of law graduates occurs in a "loosely coupled" (Weick) and detached organization.

Implementation Issues

The essence of effective field placement or workplace experience is to contribute to the learning of the new recruit or embryo practitioner. Billett notes the following implications of workplace learning settings: firstly, that the process in the workplace setting must be conceptualized as a learning process, not a teaching process; secondly, that the learning process must be embedded into the sociocultural context in which the learning takes place; thirdly, that the kinds of activities that individuals engage in determine what they learn, and that the kind of guidance they access in that learning will determine the quality of the learning.

There are two factors in the combination of institutional training and field experience which are not entirely within the control of course designers and administrators. Firstly, while the structured training can be evaluated and adjusted for quality training, the quality of field experience obtained will depend upon the quality of experience actually offered to the student in the workplace. Secondly, although objectives and guidelines can be set for field experience by the training institution, the acknowledgment and assumption of the purpose of the experience or of the role of principals or supervisors as set out in those guidelines can be of variable standard. Consequently, the inclusion of field experience in courses for the preparation of professionals raises another issue of concern, that of supporting those who provide the guidance for students involved in workplace learning activities.

"Supervision" and "Mentoring"

The authors are interested to explore the learning outcomes in the workplace in terms of the differences between "supervision" and "mentorship" of the trainee. The concept of "mentoring," a regular part of vocational training in such professions as teaching and nursing, has recently re-surfaced as an important issue in workplace learning generally. Is "supervision" the same thing as "mentoring?" The difference is reflected in the separate objectives of the workplace host in assuming a role in the provision of the trainee's practical experience, and its own concern with learning outcomes as an organizational objective vis-a-vis the student's personal learning objectives.

Burns points out that mentoring usually includes not only the imparting of knowledge and skills, but also of the norms and mores of the workplace. In both legal practice and policing, at least two critical aspects of norms and mores of the workplace are client service and ethical integrity. The role of a supervisor or mentor can be critical in acculturating a new entrant into the profession in these aspects of practice.

The authors observe that in both policing and in lawyer training, the bureaucratic or hierarchical nature of the organization can impede the learning process. Supervisors of police recruits are concerned to maintain rank structure and discipline. Supervisors of trainee lawyers tend to focus on the firm's organizational goals rather than on the learning needs of individual employees.

Research Issues

Both authors are currently examining ways of developing a learning culture in organizations involved in offering the practicum program in their respective areas. Some of the exploratory questions, which are the focus of their research, are set out below:

1. In developing a model of training and workplace learning, should training and field experience be sequential (that is regarded as separate stages of professional training) or integrated (i.e., interrelated in some way)? Is it different for different professions?
2. How do we ensure that workplace learning/experience is a learning process and not just a teaching process or simply the acquisition of "experience?"
3. What needs to be done to enhance the relationship between the training institution and the operatives in the field responsible for delivery of the workplace experience?
4. Should, and if so, how do we distinguish between supervision and mentorship, and what training and guidance should be made available to supervisors and mentors in the workplace?
5. If, in a large bureaucratic or hierarchical organization, it is not possible for mentors and mentees to select each other, what professional training opportunities should be available to each to ensure the preservation of the learning process for the mentee? What are the ideal characteristics of mentors, and how can we ensure that persons chosen as mentors/supervisors possess these characteristics? Further, what professional training and development opportunities should be available to mentors/supervisors to carry out their role effectively?
6. More generically, how can the practicum be used to improve the learning culture of the host organization, e.g. in respect to establishing a positive climate for focussed learning.

A Bourdieuian Perspective on Differences in Adult Learning Styles: Deconstructing Asian Learners

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In Western educational settings, it is fairly common to hear Asian adult learners characterized by teachers as passive, shy, unwilling to give their opinions in class, group-oriented and reluctant to challenge the authority of the teacher. More negative characteristics also attributed to Asian learners include adjectives like obedient, uncritical, uncreative and even duplicitous. Following from these traits, the preferred learning style of Asians is often seen as rote memorization, attention to detail, and precise, linear and logical analysis without much creative depth (partly for these reasons Asians are thought to be good at science and engineering). Research on Asian adult learners is still quite sparse. In its absence, popular beliefs about Asian learners continue to hold sway without much critical reflection as to their accuracy or epistemological roots. Powerful exceptions to prevailing views of Asian adult learners are Pratt's (1990, 1991, 1992, 1999) and Littlewood's (1999) work on Chinese adult learners.

Our interest in the topic of Asian learning styles emerged as a result of our work first, in teacher development workshops we conducted for Khmer, Vietnamese, Thai and Lao teachers in their respective countries and, second, in our involvement in a graduate Adult Education program we recently established at the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT) for adults working in development contexts in the Asia-Pacific Region. In teaching Asian learners and in designing our Adult Education program, we (a French woman and an American man) have continuously grappled with the issue of Western versus Eastern educational philosophies, learning styles, appropriate roles for teachers and learners, and appropriate teaching-learning approaches and activities. Although AIT (an international postgraduate institution of engineering, applied science and management) is intended to be modeled after an American graduate institution, many of our faculty are from North America and Europe, and our medium of instruction is English, in fact most AIT students and a majority of faculty are from Asian rather than Western countries. This contradiction has led us to question our own assumptions and practices regarding appropriate adult education: How can we best design and implement educational programs and teach classes for Asian adults? Our approach to teaching adults has been to promote the (Western?) practice of learner autonomy in identifying course objectives, content and activities, and to act as educational resources, non-directive (Western?) facilitators of learning rather than traditional (Asian?) teachers, building on our students' life, professional and academic experience rather than our own professional knowledge as the base for what we do.

As a result of our work with Asian learners, we have begun to explore and critique Western concepts and stereotypes of Asian learners, learning styles and teaching styles together with our (Western and Asian) colleagues and the Asian adult learners in the courses we teach. We have done this most formally in an adult education course the two of us co-teach on Teaching and Learning Practices, where we have posed the open-ended question of what characterizes Asian versus Western teaching and learning styles. Among the Nepali, Lao, Thai, Japanese, Cambodian, Tibetan, Sri Lankan and Mongolian adult learners who have thus far taken the course, we have found a wide range of conceptions of what comprises "Asian" and "Western," and have begun to appreciate the vast diversity and differences among Asian learners and perspectives, to the extent that we no longer find "Asian" to be a particularly useful concept. Instead, we have begun to talk about different nationalities as a unit of differentiation, but again, given the great diversity we encounter *within* nationalities – although we find national conceptions (e.g. Japanese learners, Thai learners, Sri Lankan Learners) to be quite valuable – nationality appears to be still too general a concept to completely describe the diversity of beliefs and experiences narrated by our students. As a result, we have now settled on trying to use the analytical and conceptual tools offered by Pierre Bourdieu in his notion of "habitus" to explain learning styles. Habitus disallows dichotomies such as Western versus Asian, and instead posits the individual as located within many interlocking and overlapping social, economic, political and cultural systems (including nationality) which would explain differences in learning styles.

In brief, habitus describes the system of durable and transportable dispositions of individuals acting within and being acted upon by particular "fields" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Calhoun, 1993; Carrington & Luke, 1997). Family and school socialization, class, culture, gendered ways of seeing and being; the connection of the biological being with the social world form and reform habitus, as do the fields through which an individual moves. Fields are "semi-autonomous, structured social spaces characterized by discourse and social activity" such as school institutions, family structures, community structures, and academic disciplines (Carrington & Luke, 1997, p. 100).

Borrowing Bourdieu's theoretical orientation, we conceived of a research project beginning with the assumption that learning style and Asian culture are social constructions that can be explained in terms of individual habitus. Initially, we had intended to undertake a study of Asian learners involving: (a) administering Kolb's (1984) learning style inventory, first to test our hypothesis that Asian learners do not have a single "Asian" learning style, but a wide range of different styles, and second, to identify learning styles that could then be explained in terms of different habitus; and (b) a follow-up survey, interviews, case studies and focus groups to determine habitus. However, after reconsidering the concept of learning style, with help from a roundtable of our colleagues here and the comments and work of one of the sources of inspiration for the study, Dan Pratt, we have now decided not only to set aside Kolb's inventory as a North American instrument which would not likely capture the diversity of learning styles among our students, but also to change the focus of our research from learning styles to conceptions of teacher roles, student roles and the teaching-learning transaction. With this reorientation in mind, we are at this writing designing a survey, and interview and focus group guides to be used with Asian graduate students in their 1st term at AIT. The survey asks for perceptions of (a) teacher roles, student roles and the teaching-learning transaction and (b) information related to individual habitus, including family, educational, professional and institutional background, class, nationality, religion, gender, field of study and international experience. Current plans are to limit, for various theoretical and practical reasons, the nationality of students to Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese, Lao, Thai, Vietnamese and Sri Lankan. As the group completes their studies (1 year and 6 months from now), we will again administer the survey, and conduct interviews and focus groups to determine how learners' perceptions may have changed over the time spent in the Western-style learning environment of AIT.

Towards an Holistic Approach to Professional Learning and Development

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Abstract: *This paper outlines research conducted by the authors between 1994 and 1999 into the nature of professional competence and how it is acquired. It discusses some of the key results which appear to suggest partiality both in existing models of professional competence and approaches to professional development.*

Introduction

Professional competence is a complex affair which is not easily analysed, articulated or modelled. Previous attempts to do so have often been partial or overly reductionist. These have led to approaches to professional development which tend to ignore important aspects of effective professional performance. Our research examined earlier attempts to understand the nature of professional practice and competence, and the approaches to professional development these had spawned. Alternative perspectives were tested out through extensive empirical work across 20 professions. This included interviews with 80 professionals and survey returns from almost 400 others. The results throw light on the actual requirements for effective practice and provide insights into the mechanisms through which the respondents had acquired the different aspects of their professional competence, whether through formal development programmes or otherwise.

Some Differing Views of Competence and Approaches to Professional Development

Apprenticeship Model

Until well into the nineteenth century professional skills were seen as analogous to those of a master craftsman, and professional training therefore adopted a similar approach. New entrants to a profession typically learned their art through a system of apprenticeship or pupillage. It was often assumed that pupils would also find time to study suitable books in order to absorb the relevant theory, but this was rarely tested. The training was largely unplanned and unstructured.

Technocratic Approach

By the end of the nineteenth century most professions required candidates to pass written qualifying examinations and began to identify a discrete body of specialist knowledge which entrants were expected to master. Professional practice came to be seen as primarily the application of specialist knowledge, a view characterised by Schön (1983) as "technical-rationality." This led to a switch in development paradigm from one that focused on the casual acquisition of practical skills to the systematic teaching of underpinning principles and theory.

Reflective Practice Approach

In the mid-1980s, Schön (1983) challenged the foundations on which the technical-rational approach had been based. He questioned the view that professional practice relies solely on the logical application of a body of rational or scientific knowledge and that professionals solve day-to-day problems by making use of the principles and theories they have learned through their formal professional education. He was sceptical also of the belief that practical know-how could be elicited and codified into teachable principles. In its place Schön offered a new epistemology of professional practice which involved 'knowing-in-action' (a form of tacit knowledge), the use of 'repertoires' of solutions to solve problems and, most importantly, reflection. This led to a new approach to professional development, often referred to as the 'reflective practitioner' approach.

Functional Competence Approach

The systems of occupational standards, adopted by the UK, Canada, Australia and others from the late 1980s, adopt a strongly functional approach. They provide detailed descriptions of the tasks that need to be mastered within particular job roles and emphasise the importance of achieving desired outcomes, maintaining that these should be the principal basis for assessing competence.

Personal Competence Approach

Other contemporary competence models adopt a personal competence approach (e.g., Boyatzis, 1982). These focus on the individual, rather than the function, identifying particular attributes, personal characteristics and behaviours which contribute to effective performance.

Need for a New Model of Professional Competence

The literature indicated that each of the above approaches had its own strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, we developed, and empirically tested, what we believe is a more holistic model of professional competence (Cheetham & Chivers, 1996 and 1998). This incorporates functional, personal, cognitive, ethical and meta-competence, and affords a key role to reflection.

Empirical Findings

In addition to offering support for our model of professional competence, our research results support Schön's view of the importance of reflection to professional growth, but challenge some of his other assertions (e.g., the extent to which professionals use tacit knowledge and repertoires of solutions). We found that, in practice, professionals often refer back to the basic theory they have been taught, especially in novel situations, though they also extemporise extensively. These findings have led us to a modified epistemology of practice, which we have named *technically-grounded extemporisation*, along with a new paradigm of professional development. Other findings highlight some of the shortcomings of formal professional development programmes and emphasise the critical role played by a range of informal learning mechanisms. We have organised these mechanisms into a "taxonomy of informal professional learning methods."

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The Use of Oral History Methodology as a Means of Researching the Shifting Meanings of Worker Education in South Africa

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This paper is grounded in a research project which has as its aim to trace changes and continuities in workers' education in the South African labour movement from the 1970s to the 1990s. The research takes place in a context which has seen a significant shift in the dominant discourse from one which sees education primarily as a support for a collective process of social transformation, to one which sees education and training as a means of gaining the 'competitive edge' in the global economy, and in the race for individual upward mobility.

The history of education is written predominantly from the perspective of educators, systems builders and policy makers. This research adopts a different perspective: it aims to document how ordinary workers – who acted as both learners and educators – experienced and contributed meaning to the concepts of learning, knowledge and education. I focus here on the methodological dimensions of this research, and in particular, on the usefulness of oral history as a means of tracking shifting meanings in relation to "learning" and "education."

The significance of oral sources cannot be underestimated in a country where a large proportion of the population is regarded as "illiterate," and where rich oral traditions still thrive. However, there are other reasons for turning to oral history in educational research. My work has been enriched by the work of the Italian oral historian, Portelli, who argues for the value of oral history in the 'construction of suppressed memories' of non-hegemonic groups. Oral history tells us less about events than about *meaning:* "…the unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speaker's subjectivity…

Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did." (Portelli, 1991, p. 50) Oral history methods, I hope, will help me to capture not only the "actuality" of workers' experiences of learning, but also the "possibilities" of what they believed education could mean.

Thus far, I have worked with two main sources of data: tape-recorded interviews documenting the life histories, and the history of union activism of individual worker leaders, and a series of worker autobiographies (transcribed, and often translated) produced during the 1980s. Some common themes have immediately sprung to the fore. One is the deep tradition of collective learning, and the value placed on education for the "collective good" –particularly trade union education. There are also some notable contradictions in the meanings attributed to learning and knowledge: these worker leaders are acutely aware of "knowledge stratification" amongst workers, and of the importance of formal qualifications in a competitive and racially-divided labour market. In the same moment however, they are also dismissive of the value of formal education, and see learning from experience as "knowledge that you can really depend on," and as far more important in shaping leadership than formal schooling.

I am grappling with a number of issues relating to how to infer meaning from the narratives, and how to deal with the complexities of "memory." For example, "incorrect" memories of events can have important value in themselves: they can enable us to "recognise the interests of the tellers, and the dreams and desires beneath them" (Portelli, 1991, p. 26). But identifying meaningful discrepancies between "fact" and "memory" is complicated, more so because of the impact of the current context on memory. Grossman (1994, p. 2) has argued that: "… it is not the passage of time which is central in determining what will be remembered and what will be forgotten. It is the context of remembering which dims–or illuminates–memories of particular parts of history". He concludes that the current context is one which is essentially hostile to collective traditions, and which makes not only those traditions, but also the *memories* of those traditions, difficult to express.

The interpretation of the data also has to take account of the dynamics of power that are implicit in any interview, and that are augmented by issues of class, race and language–particularly in the South African context. Differences in language and culture also make it extremely difficult for a white, English-speaking researcher to fully appreciate the complex meanings embedded in oral versions rather than written transcripts (and often translations) of oral history. Tone, volume, and rhythm in oral rendition carry implicit meanings which cannot be captured in written transcripts. Furthermore a full appreciation of narrators' perceptions and attitudes can only be made within an understanding of the rich oral traditions which have played a crucial role in the cultural history of resistance in South Africa.

One of the most challenging questions is how to use oral history to capture the *collective* processes of learning and knowledge production that take place within vibrant social movements such as that which characterised our recent history in South Africa. Much biographical research in adult education focuses on the individual – albeit with an emphasis on the individual in social context. Collective experience is not merely the sum of many individual experiences, and there is important knowledge that has been produced within the workers' movement – for example, the importance of unity and solidarity – that can only be learnt and known collectively. Is it possible to create a "collective learning biography" of a social movement?

A final issue – and one which I grapple with intensely – is how to make the process of research useful for the workers who are the subject and object of the research. Portelli (1991, p. 32) has argued that it is possible to make a field interview an "experiment in equality", and he adds: "Only equality makes the interview credible, but only difference makes it relevant" (p.43). I come into this research with a dual role: not only as an interviewer but also as a worker educator. As researcher, I am interested in my subjects' "difference"; and it is *my* difference (the expectation of what I – in my educator role – can help them do with their knowledge) that will be most significant for my respondents. If we accept that the presence of the observer always "interferes" with observed reality, how can we turn this possibility into an "opportunity to stimulate others, as well as ourselves, to a higher degree of self-scrutiny and self –awareness; to help them grow more aware of the relevance and meaning of their culture and knowledge….."? (Portelli, 1991, p.44)

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Are We Walking the Talk? Questions of Structure and Agency in the Research on Teaching in Adult Education

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Abstract: *Despite current prevalence of constructivist epistemologies, the practice of teaching adults continues to reflect representational approaches to meaning. In this roundtable discussion, we explore the use of Giddens' theory of structuration as a framework for deepening our understanding of the lack of change in teaching.*

Constructivist epistemologies have had a significant influence on how we think about teaching and learning, as evident from numerous faculty development programs for teachers working with adult learners in postsecondary education settings. Teachers are encouraged to place more emphasis on *constructing* rather than *representing meaning* (Mezirow, 1991), to involve their learners actively in this meaning-making process (Bonwell & Sutherland, 1996), to integrate content across disciplines and within learners' life contexts (Dirkx & Prenger, 1997), and to foster transformative learning among their students (Cranton, 1994, 1997). Despite this prominent turn in research and theory, however, toward constructivist, contextual, and transformative learning, change in the actual practice of teaching adults has been painfully slow (Nesbitt, 1996). Techniques associated with constructivist and transformative approaches to teaching are often appropriated by practitioners within traditional conceptions of teaching (Quigley & Holsinger, 1993). Hence, "active" and "collaborative" learning strategies often become, in effect, little more than instrumentally-oriented techniques to more effectively transmit pre-determined forms of knowledge to unwitting learners. Activities grounded in constructivist theories of meaning reflect, instead, representational approaches to meaning (Mahoney, 1991). Fundamental change in the practice of teaching adults proceeds at a glacial pace, if at all.

Problem and Focus

This roundtable discussion focuses on developing a better understanding of this apparent lack of change in teaching environments for adult learners. We elaborate this problem from three different contexts: graduate adult education, developmental education, and university faculty development. These settings represent different ways in which this problem expresses itself. In this summary, we briefly elaborate this problem and how we might use structuration theory to help better understand these issues.

The structures in which educators work profoundly shape their choices. A teacher may be committed to an emancipatory agenda but she may be working within organizational contexts shaped by fundamentally different values. These contexts are often significantly influenced by economic matters, derived from their federal funding. New initiatives, such as fostering self-directed learning, might appeal to a teacher who is on a path of exploration about teacher-learner relationships, or who is questioning aspects of traditional or dominant models of education. But the underlying values shaping this aim are largely economic. Transformative or emancipatory aims are often at odds with the larger economic context in which these practices are embedded.

At an individual level, fundamental change in teaching practice also elicits a number of challenges. The thought of entertaining fundamental change can be frightening and scary. Not many educators are willing to engage the hard and confusing work that is needed to challenge traditional epistemologies and approaches. Many also lack the support, space, and safety needed to change their practices. Learners also present teachers with potential challenges to implementing change. While some may be open to active, reflective approaches, others are much less willing to stray from familiar paths. When teaching is framed from this individual perspective, change is often difficult to fully engage and sustain.

Structure and Agency in Changing Teaching Practice

Building on the work of Nesbitt (1996, 1998), we use Giddens' (1991) theory of structuration to help deepen our understanding of this change process among teachers of adults. Giddens suggests that *social structures*, in which teaching practice is embedded, can be both constraining and enabling, sources we use for both producing and reproducing actions within social settings. Similarly, *agency* reflects our capacity to act and be acted upon by social forces. We explore each of these "sources" of resistance, in terms of how they represent expression of teachers' meanings and intentions, and the broader social structures in which these practices are embedded. Using structuration theory, we might ask how student behaviors reflect aspects of the broader social context of which they are a part. Similarly, if we approach the relationship of individual teacher thought processes and values and the organizational context as recursively interconnected (Nesbit, 1998), we might better understand faculty members' fear of colleague and student reactions to their use of transformative pedagogy. Reluctance of developmental education teachers to let go of disciplinary boundaries which define their work might also be approached by attempting to understand more deeply how their beliefs about curriculum reflect and are bound up with the broad social structures in which they teach this content (Dirkx, Amey, & Haston, 1999). We focus on both insight into and critique of structuration theory, as it reflects a conceptual framework for fostering greater understanding of the problem of change in the practice of teaching adult learners.

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Learning Under Fire: Adult Education in the Heat of Conflict

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Abstract: *A critical review of the discourses on "conflict" in conflict management education literature revealed an ideological bias and "hidden curriculum" of propaganda, which is heavily influencing social conflict conceptualizations and practices. Workers with adults have an emerging "conflict" pedagogy to develop and draw upon as counterhegemonic. Conflict is re-examined as a critical site of learning.*

"The problem of human conflict is perhaps the most fundamental problem of all time"
(Bondurant, 1965, p. xv)

It seems impossible to imagine any form of oppression, and resistance to its violence, that is not intimately linked to social conflict. Arguably, from a conflict, culturalist, or postmodernist view, human relations and the human body/mind are a battleground of contested and competing discourses for domination. Bondurant's Gandhian "peace" discourse conceptualizes *conflict* as the problem of violence. What if conflict itself is habitually being misunderstood, and may better yield fruits for educators/learners when it is distinguished completely from violence? An alternative conceptualization, called the Dominance-Fear-Conflict-Violence (DFCV) cycle is presented at this roundtable as a form for critical re-evaluation of the relationships of these concepts and the phenomena they supposedly describe. Implications of how social conflict is theorized and dealt with in educative sites, from the formal classroom to WTO "teach-ins," are critical to workers with adults today.

Is it a useful or accurate assumption to believe that the "best" learning takes place in stable, predictable, safe, quiet and peaceful environments – which presumes, that such environments actually exist or can be created? Who benefits from what many schooling advocates label a "peaceable classroom," "cooperative learning model," or "safe haven" for pupils (and staff)? Who doesn't? Are these terms an attempt to manage social conflict or elicit it? Does such managing turn to a superficial volcanic managerialism – where the depths (below) are suppressed, where the friction becomes heat and the lava builds for an opportunity to explode? Why do we have "peace education" and "conflict education" as two competing fields trying to capture the market on how to best know and deal with social conflict? Does our globalizing world with constant change, border-crossing of peoples, ideologies, cultural and religious values demand a major revision of the "best" learning environment, and the "best" learning required for such a world? Is there a 'learning under fire' (in conflict) that is unique, underestimated or avoided by pedagogues? What "conflict" pedagogy exists in adult education roots, that we can draw upon, to assist teaching and learning in the heat of sites of conflict? Is violence, a necessary part of a critical conflict education (CCE), and new conflictwork praxis?

Cross-cultural research has shown that most people have a very negative association with conflict (Duryea, 1992), and would rather avoid it than pursue it as part of healthy community-building and a strong democracy. However, a select few, and often those who hold high-power positions, seem comfortable to "use" conflicts for the management and social control of human relations and the hegemonic "regimes of truth" that construct the body/mind. A growing body of conflict management education (CME)[1] has been entering the northwestern (and Australian) world in the past few decades. With its powerful applications of a social technology of control, CME can be classified as a new social movement, with a ubiquitous "liberal" agenda to change people's attitude from being "negative" to "conflict-positive." Is this CME agenda really a progressive "positive" view of social conflict, or a "positive" view of greater management (suppressing) of social conflict?

The CME texts for both youth and adults, make grandiose claims about creating equitable safe schools and workplaces. They often claim that conflict resolution or management skills are "The Fourth R," "The Second Coming" and an essential success skill for the 90s. CME teaches how to best conceptualize conflict, best learn about conflict, and how best to train people to handle conflict. The critiques of this new social movement are minimal and unsystematic, with no critical investigation of how "conflict" itself may need to be deconstructed in relation to the DFCV cycle. Virtually no CME theorist or practitioner has engaged in a critical examination of the actual pedagogy and assumptions that are foundational to its CME pedagogy – nor, have they engaged in a discussion of conflict as a critical site of learning. Critical pedagogies, a sociological conflict perspective and poststructuralist discourses have been left out of CME pedagogy investigated in the teaching manuals (Fisher, 2000). The purpose of this session is to encourage a lively questioning and critical challenge of the hegemonic discourses (text and images) that are portrayed in a sample of 22 contemporary conflict resolution/management handbooks and training manuals. CCE is offered as a counterhegemonic to CME discourses on social conflict and pedagogy.

Some questions posed in this session include: 1) What involvement do adult educators and educators in continuing/higher education have in CME? 2) What are the realities and possibilities of complicity in reproducing violence in that involvement? 3) What theory and guidance do adult educators have to draw upon to conceptualize and deal with learning under the fire of social conflict (e.g., racism, sexism, classism), for teaching in conflict zones, and for critically reflecting on their own (and others') conflict practices?

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[1] Fisher (2000) defined conflict management education (CME) as "all forms of schooling/training or education, where the aim is to improve understanding conflict and develop skills to handle conflict so as to avoid or minimize violence. Commonly included in this conceptualization of CME here are: conflict (dispute) resolution, alternative dispute resolution (ADR), conflict resolution education, conflict management, negotiation training, conflict studies/science (polemology), peace studies/science, conflict education, peace education, cooperative education, collaborative education, or other variants on these general types." (p. 16).

Measuring Outcomes of Continuing Professional Education

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Abstract: *Continuing professional education (CPE) should improve performance, yet ways of establishing evidence of improvement are hard to identify. We propose a systematic review of the outcomes of various CPE strategies. To do this we need to establish how the effectiveness of CPE can be measured and explore this in the health-care professions.*

Introduction

Participants in the roundtable will be expected to have some experience in designing and delivering CPE. The session will explore the following questions:

- In CPE does assessment have a role?
- In what circumstances is assessment neither appropriate nor relevant?
- What assessment measures are not appropriate?
- How can the assessment of CPE be improved?

Assessment of learning, and measurement of desired outcomes, is important. We want to inquire into the evidence for the efficacy of certain sorts of learning interventions. That is, what research basis exists for certain sorts of intervention rather than others? How can educators or providers of education know they have provided an "adequate dose" of education / learning opportunity? Since there is a substantial literature about CPE for health care professionals we chose this to explore CPE activities.

What Sorts of Outcomes is CPE Meant to Generate?

When pilots emerge from flight simulators, having "crashed" their "plane," more often than not, they return to their real cockpit the following day and continue moving passengers and freight around the world safely and efficiently. Clearly "crash" outcomes in a CPE exercise do not curtail pilots' professional activities. In the health professions (and also in the legal professions), CPE is often designed to approximate real work conditions through simulations, case studies, "critical incident"/problem-based scenarios and the like. These CPE methods represent practical knowledge in active ways. But then paper-based assessment (tests, examinations) are also designed to reveal (i.e. measure) what a medico, nurse or lawyer has learned. Increasingly, registration ("licensing") is a mandatory feature of professional life. Competence structures are also intended to advance the assessment of professionals' learning, and there is a complex and extensive literature on the 1990s incarnation of these.

The difficulty is that not everything can be measured. Furthermore, what can be measured is often difficult to measure – attitudes, for example, present very complex problems to the assessor. So, like the pilots, evidence of learning must be selective. Moreover, the generation of knowledge (information?) itself is expanding exponentially, and the range and diversity of professionals' expertise is increasingly challenged by rising expectations within the community. Clearly there are substantial grounds for locating CPE in terms of "learning about learning," which some call meta-cognition, others call "double loop learning," and yet others refer to as "reflective practice". One aspect of successful learning is identifying a learning need – to proud professionals this may amount to admitting ignorance or lack of competence.

We are interested in exploring the extent to which CPE can be specified in these ways because these concepts raise problems of measurement of outcomes. If certain sorts of learning intervention are available, targeting a professional's ability to "learn how to learn," it is important that the most appropriate intervention is actually used to produce the desired outcome. Why use flight simulators if crashing the simulated plane does not prohibit continued practice? More pointedly: at what stage does failure (or lack of success, perspicacity, insight...) in various learning activities count against, rather than in favour, of continuing practice? Our focus in asking this is not to legislate against any practitioners as such, but to scrutinise the selection of the learning activities themselves.

What do we Know about the Measurement of these Outcomes?

In the roundtable, we want to discuss our plan of conducting a rigorous systematic review of the literature that describes health care professionals' education. In the review we will identify and characterise the outcome measures used to evaluate the education. After that we intend to present the findings of the review in an accessible manner so that educators can use the findings to guide the selection of appropriate outcome measures for CPE programs. This is significant in Australia, where health care professionals are exposed to a vast range of educational interventions. Many question the value of much that passes under the banner of CPE. This is probably similar to educational practices in other disciplines where CPE is mostly ad hoc and is rarely based on valid studies that show benefit of the education strategies used. While there are many apparently good reports of the value of particular educational interventions there are many quasi evaluations of dubious value. The test characteristics of the outcome measures used in these evaluations are rarely described; aspects of the outcome measures such as their reliability, sensitivity to change and validity are remarkable by their absence. A strict methodology will be applied to searching the literature, selecting the articles, reading the articles (two readers), identifying and categorising the outcome measures, mediating reader selection and categorisation decisions, synthesising the results and writing up the study. We will limit the search to English language, international peer-reviewed professional journals that are listed on data bases ERIC, CINAHL, MEDLINE. A preliminary search for key writers in CPE (e.g. Cervero, Norman, Jarvis, Eraut) indicates that the studies will be found in the following journals: *International Journal of Lifelong Education, New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, Journal of Continuing Education in the Health Professions, Journal of Instructional Development, Journal of Medical Education.*

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Collaboration Anxiety: What Do We Do About It?

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Abstract: *The growing momentum of collaborative and participatory research initiatives is raising new issues in social science research. Collaborative research projects differ dramatically in their theoretical and methodological approaches, but they all involve personal risk-taking by the researchers as well as the researched. We believe that the most critical topic in collaboration is the commitment to changing the power dynamics in a research relationship.*

There is much talk in the academy and among funding agencies in support of cooperative work, but aside from a few exceptions, there has been little change in the institutional structures and everyday practices that constrain it. As collaborative researchers, we are struggling to develop strategies for working within or around institutional values and responsibilities.

Depending on the collaboration, there can be increasing forces influencing and constraining research relationships. There may be one or many organizations influencing decisions about who will participate in the research and how and some of these rules might collide. Researchers are caught within a web of rules and responsibilities beyond their control that affect the direction of their relationships and the course of the research project. Within the university alone, we must negotiate our way through a raft of policies and procedures including ethical reviews, confidentiality requirements, and competitive pressure to "publish or perish."

Working outside the certainty of a traditional institution/researcher/subject relationship can be a source of anxiety for all potential participants. No matter how experienced we are in our academic disciplines or fields of practice, creating a new collaboration is a venture into the unknown. Most North Americans are used to thinking of research as a relationship where the researcher is in charge and other people are passive subjects. To work collaboratively, however, researchers and community members must seek ways to learn new roles, and to talk about roles, expectations, and power relationships. Our own experiences echo the literature of collaboration. We have learned that all parties must be willing and able to devote a great deal of energy to communicating with each other about their expectations and the ways the relationship can develop. A great deal of time is usually spent in building a team, exploring the collaborative process and laying foundations for positive working relationships. Omitting this step can lead to alienation and may imperil an entire project.

Research is more likely to be a high priority for researchers than for other participants. Too often we arrogantly assume that participants will share our enthusiasm for reflecting on and writing about their lives. Collaborative research demands more time from all of its participants than conventional research. Active involvement means more than passively supplying information. Researchers are required to invest in negotiating research questions and analyses with other participants.

As collaborative researchers, we have found ourselves in new and uneasy situations. We have felt uncomfortable and exposed to have other people describe our work, and we have become far more aware of how studying others can be used to control, judge or criticize them. We have shared research responsibilities with people with very different values, life experiences, social, cultural and educational backgrounds as well as economic status.

We are still trying to deal with the dilemmas that arise from acknowledging and addressing changing the power dynamics in our research relationships. With each new project, we ask ourselves how we can address the dilemmas of working across differences – in economic status, in language, literacy and cultural assumptions. How can we work across the divides of privilege without patronizing or inflicting pain?

"Collaboration anxiety" may never appear in a counseling textbook, but it certainly can be found in university hallways. It often appears when researchers are preparing to step into the uncertainty of sharing power and control of a research project. It is known to manifest as a form of "hypochondria," oversensitivity to power relations. So far there are no prescription drugs available – and no prescribed standards for measuring what we gain, and what we lose.

East Meets West: Transformational Learning and Buddhist Meditation

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Abstract: *This roundtable will discuss a recent study of the transformational learning process within Insight Meditation and compare this process with Mezirow's and Boyd's views.*

Transformational learning is a growing field of inquiry that is contributing to our understanding of adult learning. Several scholars in the adult education field suggest that a major goal of adult education is transformation.

Mezirow's (1991) view of transformational learning is generally considered the leading theory; however, it has been criticized for being too cognitive, lacking a spiritual dimension. The strand of transformational learning theory represented by Boyd and several other adult education scholars call for additional research of the spiritual dimensions of the transformational learning process (Boucouvalas, 1993; Boyd & Fales, 1983; Boyd & Myers, 1988; Dirkx, 1997; 1998; MacPherson, 1996; McDonald, 1998; Miller, 1990; Scott, 1997; Taylor, 1998; Tremmel, 1993; Wacks, 1987). A spiritual approach toward understanding this process considers inner as well as outer influences; it is a holistic approach. Spiritual dimensions such as the unconscious, and the collective consciousness play vital roles in the transformational learning process. Boyd and Myers (1988) argue for greater consideration of the spiritual dimensions of transformation. Another response to reviews of Mezirow's (1991) predominately rational theory is to view transformational learning from an Eastern viewpoint.

The perennial philosophies of the East, more specifically Buddhism and its practice through Insight Meditation, are approaches to transformative learning allowing us to step outside of our Western linear constructs regarding the nature of reality and that may be useful in gaining a deeper understanding of the spiritual dimensions of the transformation process and in developing ways to foster transformation. A review of the literature suggests several points of connection between the Western view of the transformational learning process and Insight Meditation: the spiritual dimensions, the unconscious, and collective unconscious; the importance of context, one's personal biography and history; the "reflection" process, similar yet significantly different; and the aim of fostering maturity of thought, insights, and wisdom.

This phenomenological study is in progress at the time of this writing. Participants or co-researchers are accomplished meditators who teach Insight Meditation in adult education and health care settings. The researcher has practiced Insight Meditation for more than 10 years.

Preliminary findings suggest that Insight Meditation is a transformational learning process that is holistic in nature. It generally supports Mezirow's description of the transformational learning process; however, it goes beyond his largely cognitive description of the elements of the process and how perspective transformations come about.

Findings suggest that the Insight Meditation process includes the following elements: readiness factors, withdrawal from external stimuli, observing mind and body, social interaction, and developing a new relationship with self. The first element in this process is *readiness factors,* what leads co-researchers to their Insight Meditation practice. Several external factors and internal factors are identified.

Withdrawal from external stimuli is the second element in this transformational learning process. This element includes multi-day retreats away from daily activities and preparation for formal sitting meditation practice - a sitting posture, and an intention to quiet the mind and body.

Observing mind and body, the heart of this process, is the third element. It parallels Mezirow's critical self-reflection process, however differs significantly in that the process looks much deeper into the inner workings of the meditator's mind and body. Attention is focused at the most fundamental of levels. This process has two aspects operating simultaneously: focused awareness (concentration) and expanded awareness (mindfulness). Focused awareness is sitting and observing mind and body phenomena such as the physical sensation of the breath without judgment or expectations. Expanded awareness of observing mind and body is observing whatever arises in consciousness, thoughts and emotions, with the added intention of inquiry.

As concentrated awareness strengthens and expanded awareness deepens, insights and wisdom arise. These insights have to do with knowing one□s self on a deeper level, being more mindful or present in the moment, and open to other ways of knowing.

There are two aspects to *social interaction*, the fourth element of the Insight Meditation transformational learning process. First, dialoguing with others and interest groups helps to solidify and further clarify insights from formal sitting practice. Secondly, social interaction was viewed as an outgrowth and natural component of conscious living, that is, living a life of service to others. This is reflected in co-researchers' outlooks and career paths.

The fifth element of this transformational learning process is *developing a new relationship with self*, and hence with others and the environment (community, world, universe). This is the major transformation of the Insight Meditation process and is comprised of four aspects: knowing self, acceleration of normal development, other ways of knowing, and a sense of connectedness.

The primary mechanism for change is a deliberate, focused awareness on the inner workings of one's own mind and body. A new relationship to self emerges as one learns more about one's self; as normal development is accelerated, as one becomes responsive rather than reactive to people and situations, as other ways of knowing and wisdom develops, and as a sense of connectedness emerges or is strengthened.

Understanding this process, its insights, and the new relationship to self, intellectually is often difficult because the process is subtle and personal. Understanding deepens as one does the practice. It's a matter of being, of experiencing; it's a different way of knowing that is experiential. However, this transformational learning manifests itself in daily living in many ways. Usually taking years, the process is gradual, iterative, and non-linear.

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Learning Theory and Adult Education

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Abstract: *Today a majority of the participants in adult education are unskilled or unemployed adults who must combine acquiring a professional qualification with a change of identity and way of life. As a foundation of such education, staff and planners need a comprehensive learning theory that includes the cognitive, psychodynamic and social-societal dimensions of learning.*

Adult Education as Mass Education

In Denmark over the last few years, adult education has expanded into mass education, and the majority of the participants are no longer skilled and well educated adults updating or extending their qualifications and personal areas of interest. They are, rather, unskilled or unemployed adults who have been forced to adjust, professionally, personally and socially, to a new labour market situation requiring new types of qualifications and general skills.

Actually, what society is demanding of these adults is that they develop a new identity and way of life, and our recent research indicates that their typical reaction is one of profound ambivalence. On one hand they will not accept that they are not good enough as they are. On the other hand the threat of societal and economic marginalisation forces them to take their situation seriously. So, what they do is to develop a set of strategies and defence mechanisms that can protect their self confidence by creating a psychological distance to the educational activities at the same time as allowing them to take in some of the new skills and forms of behaviour.

If adult education is to be of any value under these very problematic conditions, the teachers and administration have to be very respectful and accepting and at the same time firm in their attitudes towards the participants. The challenge is to help them through a hard mental process of change and rehabilitation and simultaneously get them to learn the skills required. The solution seems somehow to be providing firm and competent teaching and encouragement towards self direction with respect to the professional content of the courses as a starting point for open discussions concerning the psychological and societal situation of the participants.

The Need for a Comprehensive Learning Theory

In dealing with such issues we (members of the Adult Education Research Group of Roskilde University) have often felt that our theoretical foundation regarding learning was insufficient, and this has been the incentive for me to take up my old interest in learning theory in a new perspective. At first I saw the challenge as being the combination of cognitive learning theory with personal developmental issues, but gradually I came to see it as a need for a broad, comprehensive theory covering the whole area of learning, personal development, socialisation and qualification. In this perspective I then examined a wide range of existing non-behaviourist American, British, Continental, Russian and Scandinavian theories in the area, and gradually two partly overlapping fundamental assumptions emerged.

The first assumption is that all learning comprises two independent but closely connected processes: namely an external interaction process between the learner and the surrounding material and social world, and an internal acquisition and elaboration process in the learner. The second is that all learning comprises an interplay between a cognitive, a psychodynamic and a social-societal dimension.

However banal and self-evident these assumptions may seem, it appears that no existing learning or development theory has fully realized these basic features. On the contrary, most theories are firmly rooted in one of the three dimensions or in the combination of two of them, and very often their followers have been engaged in little fruitful competition or even conflicts with other standpoints.

Thus my theoretical work has broadly speaking been to scrutinise existing relevant theories to see what important ideas and conceptions each of them could contribute to filling in the overall framework that I had set up, and to attempt to fill the gaps by my own contributions or by bridging points from two or more of the theories. In this way I found it possible to establish a reasonably appropriate structure, which is described in detail in my book: *The Three Dimensions of Learning*.

Learning Theory and Educational Practice

Now, how can such theoretical insights be of any use in the troublesome daily practice of adult education, and especially in adult education that involves a reconstruction of the participants' identity and way of behaviour in the light of their societal and labour market situation?

Fundamentally we have taken it up as a reminder of the complexity of the challenges we are dealing with, and a sort of map which points out the main components of the complexity. It has provided us with an understanding of three main features that we must always consider when planning, practising and evaluating educational activities, and of how these three features are mutually connected.

In relation to our practice and our consciousness about it, the theory has made it possible for us to see how many educational strategies tend to focus on limited parts of a larger complexity. It has also taught us that when we try to work with or in relation to one of the dimensions, we must simultaneously take into consideration what happens to the other dimensions. For instance, it is very important to take motivational and emotional features into account, but in doing so we must not forget the professional content matter and the societal conditions.

Of course, educational problems – and especially problems of such scope and existential depth that we are here dealing with – cannot be solved by learning theory. Political and economic measures are of crucial importance. But we can imply such theory to help us support adults whom society has placed in a position where they have to work intensely with their own identities in order to find a new basis for their lives. We are not therapists, and we think that the problems we are dealing with should not be and cannot be solved by therapy on a massive scale, but by appropriate education and learning.

Learning theory can be a valuable tool for doing so in the efforts of both the teachers and researchers. When our work is carried out in a solid and comprehensive way it also becomes easier for us to help to point out and argue for relevant measures on the political and economic levels.

Problems of Mapping the Field of Education for Adults through the Literature

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Abstract: *The education of adults is a modernity project and as we come to the end of the era, adult education, as we knew it, has been transformed into lifelong learning. We are producing a 5 volume set of books reflecting significant contributions to the field in the English language throughout the era. In this discussion paper we highlight and illustrate some of the problems of this on-going project.*

Using the Expertise of Scholars in the Field

The project began with a grounded theory approach about the nature of the field. Over 200 hundred scholars were approached with a brief request, asking them to tell us what they thought were the most influential works in the field of adult education: non-vocational and vocational, works about the processes of teaching and learning and works from the perspectives of the academic disciplines. While there were 70 responses, the spread of suggestions seemed skewed. It was clear that some areas of adult education were not being recorded at all. Consequently, a grounded theory approach both to the demarcation of the field and to its influential publications was abandoned. It was recognised that the nature of the field is contestable.

The Nature of the Field of Education for Adults

Questions about mapping the field began to be raised in the United States very early, e.g. by Knowles, as editor of the *1960 Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* and has continued to Apps (1989). The problem is also implicit in the large encyclopaedias, such as Titmus (1989) and Tuijnman, (1996). Houle's (1992) bibliographic essay is perhaps the most far ranging attempt in which he examined 1,241 books, but no other forms of publication.

Edwards (1997) explored this question under the heading "Boundaries, field and moorland," using the concept of de-differentiation, illustrating that even the emerging boundaries were being blurred. This is a process about which Bucher and Strauss (1966, p.187) also wrote: "While specialities organize around unique missions, as time goes on segmental missions may develop within the fold." However, it is debatable whether education for adults actually began with a single original mission. Indeed, it is increasingly being recognised that in late modern society there is both a growth and fragmentation of the original field and, at the same time, new modes of teaching and learning are occurring. Consequently, any construction of the field is a representation of a rapidly changing reality that, even if it is accurate, will not reflect the field at a time other than the one when it was constructed.

We have attempted to demarcate some of the segments within each of these broad categories and then attempted to trace back the literature in that segment until we reach the time that it was part of the original mission(s) of education for adults. Having undertaken this process, we are seeking to include within the publication representations from each of the segments at different stages of their development. The segments, however, can be categorized for the purposes of publication within a broader framework of general and liberal education for adults/lifelong education; vocational education; processes in education and learning; perspectives upon the fields from the academic disciplines.

Problems in the Project

Even accepting that the map that we have drawn is our own representation of the field, there are a multitude of other problems in mapping it through the literature; here we note a few of those which have confronted us.

- It is not always self-evident where to locate a piece of writing. For example, in some instances a piece about workers' education can be classified as either vocational or non-vocational education or even as a piece of academic research.
- As we trace the literature backwards, there is a convergence in the segments so that we may actually give it a different interpretation to the author and therefore locate it within a field that the author would not recognize.

- We do not know all the literature and, consequently, if we select one piece as representative of what we are seeking to record, there may be others that we do not know that is even more representative.
- The literature in our field is not only academic, there may be more influential pieces in policy statements or legislation, and while we have included some of these, it is not possible to have a comprehensive coverage.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that we can find references to the education of adults that go back many hundreds of years, it is a relatively young field of academic study; the first PhD only being awarded in 1925 (Yeaxlee,1925). Because the field has fragmented so rapidly in recent years, many of the areas are not studied widely and do not constitute subjects taught to students, and those which are tend to be for pragmatic reasons rather than academic ones. Consequently, this project seeks to explore uncharted territory and highlight some of the major developments that have occurred during the period known as Modernity - but it remains a very subjective representation of the development, fragmentation and metamorphosis of adult education into lifelong learning.

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Creating a Centre for University Faculty Learning and Teaching: Adult Education in the Academy of the Second Millennium

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Abstract: *Although numerous attempts have been made to establish a centre for excellence in teaching and learning at the University of Toronto, none have been sustained. The author suggests that a more systemically-focused approach which uses wide consultation and collaborative planning with key stakeholders may help achieve the goal.*

The field of organization development has long emphasized the need for a "systems perspective" in organizational change. Over the last decade, these notions have echoed in the research on organizational learning, with "systems thinking" ranking foremost among the disciplines described by Senge (1990, 1999) and others. With this perspective as our framework, my colleagues and I began, a year ago, to explore the potential for establishing a centralized unit to support excellence in teaching and learning at the University of Toronto (U. of T.).

Context is Critical

One of the first questions we asked ourselves was, "Why does this centre not yet exist?" There appeared to be many systemic supports in place for such an initiative. In all of its public documents, the University claims to value the quality of teaching and learning. For instance, in a publicly issued planning paper by the office of the Vice-president and Provost, dated January 6, 1999, a large section is dedicated to priorities regarding teaching and learning. Formal structures in place include: policy guidelines regarding the evaluation of teaching effectiveness for tenure and promotion; policies regarding hiring partially on the basis of teaching skill; a recent Associate Dean hired for the Faculty of Education, whose mandate includes faculty development; an adviser on faculty development appointed to the Provost; and a university-wide merit system which allocates an equal weighting to teaching, research and community service.

Based on current research, one might assume that such systemically embedded supports for teaching would include systematic help in the development of teaching skills (Aitken & Sorcinelli, 1994; Wright, 1996). However, at U.of T. this has not been the case. Although teaching excellence initiatives have been encouraged centrally through the Provost's office as well as locally through divisions and departments, these efforts have experienced mixed success, there is no centralized coordinating body, and overall support for faculty development has been fragmented and uneven.

This contextual reality has raised for us both an approach and a research question. The approach is based on the notion that developing a centre such as the one we envision is, in fact, a "systems change intervention," in organization development terms. This implies that the process of developing the centre is as important as the eventual outcome. The obvious question we needed to ask as part of our research was, "Why has this not worked here in the past, and what would ensure its success in the future?" As Wright (1996) notes, it is the combination of organization development and change principles with principles of instructional and professional development that will generate the broadest possible impact. With this in mind, we engaged in the following, briefly-outlined process.

The Intervention: Early Phases

1. Seeding the idea and testing the waters informally was the intention of our initial effort to create a fertile climate for the initiative. This involved several informal conversations with key decision-makers such as the Dean of the Faculty of Education and the Vice-President and Provost of the university; key actors such as faculty members who had initiated similar projects in the past, as well as those currently involved in faculty development activities and research; graduate and undergraduate students in the university. An initial discussion paper written in a very exploratory fashion facilitated these conversations, which within a month of distribution, resulted in a general buzz of excitement and

curiosity. One response, on the part of the Faculty of Education Dean, was to include "faculty development initiatives" in the job description for his new Associate Dean who was in the process of being hired.

2. Formalizing support was the next important step since, up to this point, the concept had been rich in creativity but resource-poor. I began by enlisting the collaboration of a key supporter, the new Associate Dean, and together we made a proposal to the Provost's office for funding to hire a research consultant who could do some of the preparatory legwork. An important part of this conversation included a question about the Provost's expectations for the initiative. A preliminary plan resulted in a $35,500 grant to support the intervention to the point where we could propose an actual model for faculty development at U. of T. It also resulted in a request from the Provost for the Faculty of Education (OISE/UT) to formally provide leadership for the project. This was a critically important yet daunting challenge, as faculties of education typically lack credibility in large universities. However, we recognized the credibility-building potential of this opportunity as well as a chance to make an important contribution to the community, and readily accepted the offer.

3. Enrolling key stakeholders across the University in our efforts to create a model was our first response to the challenge of credibility. We approached this task in two ways. First, we emphasized in a public letter our intention to support and expand the work already in progress, and asked for help in compiling documentation on all existing local initiatives. We supplemented this data by conducting an "external environmental scan" of programs and services offered in thirteen other Canadian and several American universities, and prepared a document summarizing their purpose, direction and infrastructure. Secondly, we established a "design team" of key players from across the University, including: graduate and undergraduate professors from various disciplines; two co-directors associated with the educational technology centre (Education Commons); the Associate Dean of Research; and several deans and directors from key faculties such as Arts and Science, Medicine and Continuing Education, all of whom had expressed a particular interest in the issue of excellence in teaching and learning.

This team, co-chaired by myself and the Associate Dean, Carol Rolheiser, and supported by an administrative assistant and a research consultant (funded through the grant), has met four times to discuss the current environment, including opportunities, challenges and possible approaches to establishing a model for the centre. A resulting 10-page discussion paper will be circulated widely across the university and used as a basis for four focus group discussions and approximately 30 individual interviews, and to solicit reactions by phone and e-mail. We expect the themes from these responses to contribute stakeholder input into a concrete proposal for action, supplemented by the previously outlined research data, all of which will have been collected and analyzed by the Design Team members. Finally, the resulting proposal, now influenced by a large-cross section of the university community, will be submitted to the Provost's Office for funding consideration. It is our hope that this kind of "action research" process will circumvent earlier obstacles to implementation, as well as exemplify the adult education/organization development approach to which the centre might aspire in its ongoing interactions with the university community.

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New Research Directions in Popular Education: Towards a Reconceptualization of the Field

Elizabeth Lange, Peter Mayo, Angela Miles and Daniel Schugurensky
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Abstract: *In this roundtable, departing from traditional popular education theory and practice, four panelists share findings of their research in progress, and pose questions to stimulate the current debates on popular education.*

Traditionally, popular education has focused on engaging oppressed groups in a political-pedagogical process whereby new understandings of social reality (conscientization) precipitate political organization and transformative action. The raison d'etre of popular education is to catalyze structural change towards a just society. At the end of the century, popular education theory and practice has been challenged by several developments that emerged in the 1980s and consolidated in the nineties. Among them are the demise of formal socialism and the intensification of neoliberal hegemony, globalization dynamics, structural adjustment policies and the erosion of the welfare state, identity politics, information technologies, de-unionization, critical race theory, postmodernism, poststructuralism, ecofeminism, etc. In many parts of the world, popular educators are responding to this new climate, and to the theoretical and political challenges that come with it, by developing new strategies and by adapting and refining their frameworks. In this roundtable, departing from traditional popular education theory and practice, four panelists will share findings of their research in progress around these issues, and will pose questions to stimulate the current debates on the theory and practice of popular education.

In the first presentation, Elizabeth Lange examines the role of the middle class as potential agents for social transformation. Based on a popular education process, this research concludes that the apparent political passivity among the middle class can be moderated through pedagogical processes that stimulate cultural critique and pursue strategies for linking people with local social movements that actively anticipate new social forms. Most participants experienced increasing conflict between their professional and citizen responsibilities that appear as political passivity. They considered their work as the primary vehicle for "making a difference" but their responsibilities wed them to confidentiality and suppressed their opposition. While they consider citizen involvement outside of work as an important responsibility, the increasing fragmentation, feverish pace, heavier workloads and longer hours in their workplaces inhibited such public involvement. Further, they understand the complexity of social change and therefore see any citizen action taken as symbolic only, not substantive.

Popular education was utilized to engage these participants by experimenting with different forms of social analysis that could utilize this professional/citizen conflict as a transformative opportunity. A collective critique of neo-liberalism and globalism to build resistance was paralyzing and demobilizing, not emancipatory. The most vital aspect for transcending this paralysis was building hope by providing living examples of people who have transformed their living and working and thereby exemplify an implicit critique. A second aspect was collectively assessing and transforming the connections between one's time, money, consumption, and their job. This resulted in reconstituting a citizen capacity and the opportunity to understand these connections within their ecological and global impact. The third aspect was restoring the pedagogical vocation of social movements. Most participants reported their impressions of social movements as closed, confrontational, judgmental and dogmatic. They were skeptical of conflicting, politicized claims and critical of single-issue movements. This study suggests that popular educators can position themselves as bridges between educational sites and social movements by working dialectically to expose participants to new social norms and societal forms as well as reveal gaps in movement practice that block the proliferation of transformative sites. It also suggests that no one single form of pedagogical engagement will revitalize citizen action, but a multiplicity of entry points, analyses and social possibilities will enrich democracy and enhance civil society.

In the second presentation, Peter Mayo links the current debates on popular education with an analysis of the latest works of Paulo Freire, particularly books and other pieces published from 1996 onwards. Using the issue of 'Learning, Identity and Difference' as a guiding thread, it will focus on the discussions concerning 'multiple and layered subjectivities.' The central theme here is Freire's contention that part of the task of becoming fully human (one's "ontological vocation") involves a never ending struggle to attain greater coherence as human beings. The role which popular education can play in rendering its participants 'coherent beings' is a central question in this regard. Further questions asked are how do popular educators struggle to become coherent beings and how they are confronting their own contradictions that are often expressed in the 'oppressor within'. This, in turn, raises issues regarding what constitutes a plausible approach to popular education in these neo-liberal times characterised by the prominence given to the ideological negation of ideologies.

This work also deals with Freire's preoccupation with rigour and with the delicate interplay between authority and freedom. For Freire, there could be nothing more pedagogically treacherous than indulging in laissez faire pedagogy that confuses authority – necessary in any meaningful education (including popular education) – with authoritarianism. Hence his rejection of the term 'facilitator' and preference for the term 'teacher' throughout. This raises three questions: What are the implications of this for a popular education scenario where people who have barely acquired a basic education feel compelled to teach the little that they know to others? Does coherence imply in this popular education context the need for exploring new avenues for ongoing formation to ensure that one's approach to teaching is characterised by rigour? Who will provide such opportunities for ongoing popular education formation that ensures competence as well a democratic pedagogical spirit?

In the third presentation, Angela Miles reports on a longitudinal study of feminist theory and practice which examines the ways that emerging global feminisms in many parts of the world are challenging and offering resources for redefining core concepts of popular education such as development, identity, equality, diversity, universality, difference, wealth and work. The research focuses on the dialectical relationship between these conceptual redefinitions and the material creation of new possibilities for popular education theory and practice. Specific examples from the research will be presented to illustrate these concepts.

Finally, in the last intervention, Daniel Schugurensky reports on an ongoing empirical research on the connections between popular education, citizenship learning and participatory democracy. This presentation focuses on one of the case studies of this project, namely the participatory budget of Porto Alegre, Brazil, where the Workers' Party has been elected and re-elected since 1989. In Brazil, as in many parts of Latin America, popular education's theoretical insights emanated mainly from different combinations of Marxism and liberation theology, a synthesis that owes a great deal to Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. In the 1960s and 1970s, during the era of military dictatorships, popular education played a key role in liberation struggles, and was part and parcel of larger social processes such as guerrilla warfare, mass mobilizations, class consciousness and open confrontations with the state. In that repressive environment, the emphasis was placed on social transformation and political mobilization, which in many cases meant to emphasize the 'popular' dimension of the popular education movement and to disregard its 'education' component.

In the post-military era, political democratization is prompting popular education to reconceptualize its traditional approach towards pedagogical processes, the capitalist state and formal schooling. Freire himself, accepting a position as Sao Paulo's Secretary of Education upon his return to Brazil, is one example of this new approach. In the current Latin American context, some of the new challenges for popular education are how to strengthen and radicalize formal democracies, to enable people to assert their rights as citizens and participate effectively in political decision-making, to help people hold governments accountable, and to build partnerships between social movements and progressive municipalities. This study examines the new role that popular education takes when a popular coalition is elected into municipal governance.

Unleashing the Artist Within: New Directions for Research in Adult Education

Randee Lipson Lawrence and Craig A. Mealman
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Abstract: *The potential for using various art forms (drama, poetry, music, literature, visual art) in the collection and analysis of data, and in the expression of research findings is explored in this roundtable discussion.*

The purpose of this session is to give voice to alternative ways of knowing through artistic expressions of research thus extending the boundaries of what we have come to know as reality. While there has been a shift in adult education research in recent years from traditional positivistic methodologies to varied qualitative approaches, the primary method of disseminating findings is still textual. Forms of expression that represent other ways of knowing remain on the margins of what is considered legitimate knowledge. Popular theatre, or more specifically theatre of the oppressed (Boal, 1979) is one noted exception; however it is rarely seen in adult education research conferences. Qualitative data is typically collected by means of interviews, surveys and observation. Researchers need to consider ways of knowing that transcend cultures and expand worldviews. When knowledge is expressed through photography, artwork, music, poetry, drama, or stories, both the researcher and reader open themselves up to a rich potential for epistemological and ontological insights.

When one views a work of art, he or she is drawn to make an interpretation of the work beyond what is presented at the surface level. Emotional, experiential and visceral responses are commonly evoked. The researcher, like the artist, can be a 'provocateur of understanding" (Stake and Kerr, 1995) compelling the reader to access and consider deeper levels of meaning. Artistic forms of collecting data assist the research participants in accessing knowledge that cannot be expressed in mere words. Artistic forms of disseminating findings engage the audience beyond the cognitive level. Knowledge is constructed through the interpretation of the "reader" as well as the researcher (Van Manen, 1990). Through artistic expression of research, opportunities are made available to enter into the lifeworld of the researcher and the research participants by tapping into affective and spiritual domains.

The annual Qualitative Research Conference in Athens Georgia (QUIG) promotes development of new methodologies by selecting methodological and theoretical papers and presentations which examine new paradigm research, some of which involves use of artistic forms of expression. Our colleagues in K-12 education are beginning to incorporate art into research through the work of Eisner (1995) and others. The AERA has a special interest group focusing on arts based research. What implications does this movement have for adult education?

Examples of Art in Data Collection, Analysis and Dissemination

Poetry

Sullivan and Commeyras (1999) created poems out of empirical and textual data both as a process of meaning making and as a means for representing their findings. Similarly, Reissman (1993) used poetic structures in communicating the results of narrative analysis in a study of how people make meaning out of marriage and divorce.

Literature

Ebron and Tsing (1995) read and discussed fictional narratives of African American and Chinese American identity. They explored issues of marginalization by race, gender, ethnicity and class through their collaborative inquiry and analysis.

Storytelling

Mealman and Lawrence (1999) developed a collaborative research methodology, which frequently employs storytelling and metaphor. Stories are shared and metaphors are created in the data collection process, which are then analyzed and interpreted collaboratively by the co-researchers. These forms of expression are also used in the reporting of findings. Concentric storying, "telling stories about research experiences and collaboratively reflecting on these stories through discussions" has been used extensively by Drake, Elliott and Castle (1993, p. 291) as a collaborative inquiry process. They employed this research process to deepen their understanding of themselves as women researchers.

Drama

Plazas-Lane (1999) wrote and directed a play titled Esperanza, to give voice to her research findings about the obstacles and struggles experienced by Hispanics in higher education. Esperanza, a moving drama, inspired Hispanic learners, and educators of all cultures, to consider the issues and realities of these learners. Presenting research findings on stage allows the audience to interact with the data in ways that are not possible with text only. Donmoyer and Donmoyer (1995), when confronted with a way to accurately represent the voices of 8th grade students, found creating and staging a readers theatre production an authentic way to tell their stories. "We feared these voices would lose their resonance if they were transported to the discourse structures of social science" (p. 409)

Photography

Lawrence and Mealman (1996) used photographic imagery to access knowledge, and as a dialectical process to interpret experience. Their research findings were expressed through a photographic slide presentation, which allowed members of the audience to enter into the interpretive process. Armstrong's (1997) data collection included asking research participants to view photographic images as a way to stimulate self-reflection. They then wrote autobiographical narratives about oppression, which were shared and discussed as a group.

Film

The anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff (Frank, 1995) drew on her own experiences and conducted field research in various Jewish communities. She created and produced films as an expression of her fieldwork involving Jewish culture, stories, symbols and rituals that brought the experiences of her research participants to life.

Questions for Consideration

In this session, we will share how art has played roles in both our own research, and in encouraging graduate students to extend the limits of what is possible in theses and dissertations. Our goal is to engage the conference participants in a discussion exploring the potential for using the arts in research as well as ways to move these modes of expression from the margins to the center.

- In what ways have you utilized art forms for conceptualizing, collecting, analyzing and expressing research and research processes?
- Art is intended to provoke or stimulate thinking by appealing to all of our senses. What implications does this have for research?
- Can doctoral dissertations using artistic modes of expression be legitimized in the academy? What can we do to encourage and support such research?
- What implications does artistic expression have for conducting and disseminating research across cultural boundaries?
- In what ways can arts-based research open dialogues across the borders of east and west, north and south and among diverse cultural groups in shared communities?
- What are the ethical concerns related to probing the affective and spiritual domains of research participants through artistic modes of expression?

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Available from the authors or from the AERC Web site: http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/

Collaborative Learning in Three British Adult Education Schemes

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Abstract: *This qualitative case study research is located in three British adult education schemes. The focus of the research is on the values of collaborative learning and the roles of facilitators and participants in collaborative learning communities.*

At the genesis of this research my review of the literature noted that previous research concentrated on assessing the impact of collaborative learning and its practices in a range of disciplines without the benefit of a coherent account of the values and roles entwined in this adult learning approach. This research has focused on two questions: "What are the values of collaborative learning for adult learners?" and "How does collaborative learning affect the roles of the learning community, both participants and facilitators?" This research has identified from the three schemes studied a set of nine values of collaborative learning organised under two overarching values.

Cultivating critical openness encompasses five other values: Stimulating Thinking through Dialogue; Re-evaluating Belief Systems; Appreciating Diverse Perspectives; Dwelling with Questions; and Rethinking Power Issues. ***Engaging the whole person in learning*** encompasses four other values: Touching the Affective; Working with Experiences; Strengthening the Cognitive; and Enhancing the Social.

This research has illuminated that values and roles are integrally interrelated. Facilitators and participants in the three schemes enact the values of collaborative learning through their roles, sometimes embodying differentiated roles, sometimes merged ones. This research identified a range of fifteen roles. There are ***differentiated roles*** for facilitators and participants. **Facilitators** engage with seven roles: Functioning as Change Agents; Orienting Participants into Collaborative Learning; Modelling Collaboration in Co-Facilitation; Integrating Content into the Collaborative Learning Process; Inhabiting the Content; Inviting the Group to Explore Further; and Reading Group Process. **Participants** engage with five roles: Fully Engaging with Collaborative Learning; Listening to Others in Collaborative Learning; Opening Heart and Mind to New Learning; Widening the Content Pool; and Offering Tentative Understanding.

Shared roles among facilitators and participants span three dimensions: Creating A Conducive Climate; Designing the Learning Task; and Raising and Responding to Questions.

Reshaping Collaborative Learning

Through the process of distilling the research analysis, I noticed that what I call a "reshaping of collaborative learning" involves three interrelated contours: (1) The Core Value of Recreating Relationships; (2) The Core Process of Dialogue Across Difference; and (3) The Shifting Roles of Facilitators and Participants.

The Core Value of Recreating Relationships

"Recreating relationships" is the core value that subtends all the other values. Recreating relationships is also the core role that subtends all other roles of participants and facilitators in collaborative learning communities. The three schemes showed that facilitators and participants are motivated to engage more fully with their various roles when they appreciate the relational dynamics within their respective learning communities. In the words of a facilitator: "Each relational encounter builds upon what was previously there but moves beyond and recreates a life of its own."

The Core Process of Dialogue across Difference

Evidence from the three schemes show that the core process in "recreating relationships" is dialogue. Dialogue creates degrees of understanding across difference. A participant remarked: "In collaborative learning there emerges a quality of relationship that creates a safe middle space to talk through issues, risk making mistakes, recognise differences, and sometimes fail and falter." A "middle ground" develops in relationships built with others over time. It appreciates diversity and recognises that "differences stimulate us to work towards new meaning ... because each person brings a fragment of meaning and each bit is a little different it ends up producing a new meaning which is more than where the individuals are at." In collaborative learning the value of each individual voice is upheld. Hearing each others' voices, appreciating differing perspectives and interconnecting these voices with personal experience creates a relational acoustic.

Shifting Roles of Facilitators and Participants

Through the process of collaborative learning, and as the quality of relationships develops, role shifts may occur. A participant pointed out that "roles will change depending on where individuals are at and the relational tone of the group." The spectrum of roles for facilitators and participants may be situated along a continuum. Differentiated roles are typically manifested at the opening phases of the continuum. During this initiation phase the source of power for action and ideas resides largely with facilitators. During the early phases of collaborative learning, facilitators tend to function as change agents and intentionally orientate participants towards collaborative dynamics. However, over time there emerges a gradual movement along the continuum. There is a constant vacillation from differentiated roles to shared roles.

> "As partners-in-learning we are on a pilgrimage.
> We need one another; we relate to each other;
> we look after each other; we learn from each
> other."

Cultural Mentors: Using Transformative Learning Theory to Examine Adaptation and Supporting Relationships of Women Educators in Cross-cultural Settings

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Abstract: *The purpose of the roundtable is to discuss a qualitative study-in-progress, which examines how women educators who have worked abroad for six months or more view the role of supporting relationships in facilitating transformative learning.*

Content of the Roundtable

The following questions will be addressed to promote discussion of the study-in-progress during the roundtable: What are the disorienting experiences women have in cross-cultural settings? What kind of supporting relationships does the person form to negotiate and maintain a transformative process? In what ways does the individual stay the same transformed person when she returns to the home culture? How does repatriation of a transformed individual relate to culture shock? What special patterns are there for women to learn in cross-cultural settings? How can this research project enable those, especially women, going to work in cross-cultural settings in the future? Participants of roundtable may be individuals who have interests in transformative learning theory and its application to cross-cultural adaptation, autobiographical learning, how women make meaning of their experiences in a host country and qualitative research methodology. Individuals who have worked in a host culture or plan on doing so in the future may find this roundtable especially beneficial.

Reason for Research

The deep-down purpose of the research lies far beyond the words in the title. This study is a result of autobiographical learning. I am a woman who has taught overseas at the university level for three years: two years in Jordan and one year in Malaysia. It has been suggested that studies need to be done about women educators overseas, but none have materialized other than narratives (Elfenbein, Lucas, Ewell, Cirkensa & McFadden, 1997). Studies about professionals working overseas in the 1990's were mostly done in regard to the business world. There is no body of literature that explains the whole transformative learning process of a woman educator in a cross-cultural setting. Additional need for research is shown by the positive response to the research topic by the participants and those with similar experiences.

Framework of Study:

This qualitative study is grounded in transformative learning theory developed by Mezirow (1978). Moreover, it is a study of women being analyzed by a woman. Supporting relationships have not been addressed much in the literature and are of special interest, as women tend to emphasize the importance of connection and relationships in learning (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1997). The research is part of the burgeoning body of literature, which combines transformative learning theory and cross-cultural learning (Harper, 1994, Holt, 1994, Kennedy, 1994, Lee, 1999, Taylor, 1993, Temple, 1999; Whalley, 1995). The study has also drawn from the literature about cross-cultural learning and working abroad.

Methodology

This is an in-depth semi-structured qualitative study. Nine to twelve participants meet the following criteria (1) American or Canadian women with college degrees or professional training who lived in a host culture (2) stayed six months or more in the host culture (3) sought out supporting relationships in the host culture (4) participated in an academic experience (5) returned home after the experience and (6) knew a dominant language used in the host culture for instructional purposes.

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Whose Questions Count?
Fostering Pedagogies of Action Research in Adult Education

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Abstract: *Prevailing modes of instruction and inquiry privilege knowledge generated by academic elites. How might curriculum based on critical pedagogy and participatory research transform conventional educational institutions? Ongoing research challenges the relationship of educational institutions to social action.*

Whose questions count? If we consider published research in adult education, we might observe that most "questions that count" are those of scholars in the field. However, if our goal is movement toward a better world, then the locus of questioning shifts from scholars to normal people – people and communities with troubles, hopes, and dreams. In post-modern thought, the search for *the* right questions is outmoded. Perhaps our search for questions to drive research in the new century will lead us to explore the realities of most people on our planet. Outside of North America, Europe, and Australia, globalization increases disparity as it pushes the majority to expanding margins and the prosperous center shrinks. The WTO debacle in Seattle has catalyzed a shift in the rhetoric. Rhetorical shifts are not enough.

Who really benefits from research questions in adult education? Does not the person asking the question often benefit the most from finding the answer? Asking and answering questions *with* instead of *for* people is a difficult proposition for professors and graduate students in adult education. There is little respect, understanding, or reward for doing this in academe. So, do not tell your colleagues your intentions until you are hired, tenured, and promoted. And, do be careful about your teaching – if students control your classroom it may be misconstrued as chaos, abandonment, or worse. Is such cynicism warranted? We say we believe in the potential of learners to transform, but we often act as if university faculty and administrators are somehow exempt from this promise. Shame on us.

We can do better. But, who am I to speak? Just another privileged white male with an academic pedigree. Making countless mistakes, I have surely acted as *oppressor* more than I have identified with *the oppressed*. Despite inherent contradictions, things can and must be said and things should be done. I am not qualified to judge your work or motives. But, I am glad to provoke you into a dialogue to consider these matters. From such dialogue, perhaps we can learn from each other's journeys and struggles towards more just and critically reflective practice.

Critical pedagogy overturns dominant conceptions of what learning is. However, there is a significant gap in the research – the nature of critical pedagogy is not elucidated, and we have not developed models that tie that pedagogy to critical practice, linking research to action. This research seeks to develop a better-understood model of critical pedagogy of adult education, integrating critical pedagogy and participatory research practice. Freire's pedagogy was about tying reflection to action – problem-posing helps adults learn in such a way that they are challenged to intervene together (Shugurensky, 1998). Subsequently, their actions uncover power dynamics while yielding intense personal transformation. Cunningham defines *critical pedagogy* as "the educational action which develops the ability of a group to critically reflect on their environment and to develop strategies to bring about democratic social change in that environment" (1993). We lack research on the effects of a *pedagogy of action* on adult learners, educational institutions, and communities. Few efforts have been studied in which a systematic curriculum has been developed at an educational institution for the express purpose of engaging the "non-poor" in critical reflection and action toward democratic social change.

I am working with learners to develop a curriculum for democratic social change at a seminary in the Philippines that wants to help churches address poverty. Learners are becoming participatory researchers with local people to address concrete problems (Park, Brydon-Miller, Hall, & Jackson, 1993; Tandon, 1988). Critical pedagogy infuses group reflection into this learning process, helping seminarians question both their privilege in society and the larger political economy. The research seeks to build a critical pedagogy within the classroom and evaluate the impact on the seminary. The first step is creating a democratic classroom (Shor, 1996). Allow me to make some preliminary comments about my experience so far.

Growing critical pedagogy in a Philippine classroom can be challenging (Ortigas, 1990). Educational institutions are largely conservative. Out of respect, deferential students rarely question their professors. Respecting cultural values, while collapsing the social distance that blocks critique, is a difficult balancing act. I asked participants in one course to construct the syllabus. Four working groups generated goals, classroom processes, learning activities (assignments), and evaluation procedures. Groups facilitate class sessions and select readings. As a co-learner, I try to assume the role of catalyst, resource person, and networker – as needed, I become facilitator, advisor, and guide. I try to create a safe space for open discourse, individual and group reflection. So far, participants are slowly becoming more astute observers of oppression in their society but have yet to own much of it themselves. Social class differences still make doing *for* easier than doing *with*. I also facilitated a faculty development workshop on philosophy of education. The workshop and some conversations have led some professors to experiment with democracy in their classrooms. Others are simply trying to increase the extent and quality of participation in their courses. Evaluating institutional effects will be difficult.

Could critical reflection and action toward democratic social change really become currency of higher education? Could critical pedagogy influence curricular reform and educational policy in institutions? This study explores the relationship between academic institutions and social action. If social change were part of the curriculum, would it threaten existing power structures and perceptions of authority maintained by the faculty and administration? Can critical pedagogy be sustained in adult education practice within a mainstream academic institution? How can adult educators overcome obstacles to critical pedagogy? We need more research, more models, and more compelling stories about what this pedagogy looks like. This research aims to generate and tell such a story.

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Issues of Action Research and Adult Basic Education

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Abstract: *A three-state action research (AR) project with adult basic education (ABE) instructors led to the development of new approaches for documenting outcomes and new insights about the process of conducting AR.*

Project Framework

Through collaborative inquiry, reflection, and change-seeking activities, action research (AR) offers a wide range of research possibilities; as a method of inquiry, among other uses, it may be used to address and solve practical problems and improve operations. The method "consists of a family of methodologies that pursue outcomes of both action (change) and research (understanding). It uses a process which alternates between action and systematic reflection, or achieves theory-practice integration by some other means" (Action Research International, 1999, <http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/sawd/ari/ari-auth.html>).

Particularly within the last decade, AR has emerged as a potential source for improving education in many ways, and has been used in exploring issues surrounding adult basic education (ABE). An instance when AR proved to be useful was in addressing performance accountability issues in ABE. From federal and state directives, program activities at the local level, and within the individual classroom, there is current mandated emphasis in the U.S. for ABE programs to document outcomes. ABE learner accomplishments have traditionally been measured with external academic validations, and this is still prevalent. However, some changes that learners undergo are more internal, and it is these changes – the "invisibles" – that often have no existing processes for measurement and documentation to suggest life changes.

In an attempt to increase understanding of how ABE programs might better document the outcomes of changes in ABE program participants' lives, an AR project was developed to address this concern. The purpose of this project, entitled *Documenting Outcomes for Learners and Their Communities: Developing Performance Accountability at the Local Level*, included performance measurement activities to document indicators and measures of impacts of ABE program participation. The total project consisted of three to six ABE program teachers and administrators for each team (one each located in the states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee), facilitated by the staff of a university-based adult literacy research center.

Issues and Considerations

Several unanticipated challenges were encountered during the action research process. These mainly dealt with time constraints, divergent decisions about what was to be documented and how, and with standardization. Briefly, several major issues we confronted included:

Accountability

Clarification of the concept of accountability and responsibilities among team members and with students, regulatory agencies, and systems of state ABE program bureaucracy took more time than anticipated. A lack of clarity about the data collection forms used for program accountability (and why used) led to development of definition tools used to identify work focus (student or program inputs, instruction, student or program outputs, or student outcomes, etc.). As facilitators, the amount of documentation required for three different programs in as many different states, beyond the coordination this entailed, was a consistent task we faced in our own accountability efforts.

Buy-in

There were essentially two levels of "persuasion" at work. As facilitators, it was our task to convince the practitioner researchers that the extra work required of them for the project (and the adaptations required within their schedules) would be beneficial both professionally and programmatically. The practitioners, in turn, had to "sell" the project activities to the learners, which was not a simple process. Some learners were at first reluctant to record their learning activities outside of class, as extra forms to fill out appeared to be more "homework."

Time Management

Each team member had to consider the limited in-class time resources of their work, and adjust their schedules for collecting evidence and documentation required for a research project of this nature. Intra-program coordination was not easy for the teams, as the instructors often taught different skill levels and had widely varying schedules (morning and evening classes). While the Kentucky and Tennessee teams serve one county in one facility each, the Virginia program is regional, serving a seven-county area in facilities ranging from public housing developments to correctional facilities, providing both logistics and time management considerations.

Different Needs/Different Results

Because each programs' needs were different, the responses to address these needs differed as well. The Virginia team aligned their documentation process with state requirements, and developed a checklist of possible outcomes, called "Do/Set/Met," that indicates learner activities (e.g., a job promotion, opening a checking account, being more involved in children's schooling, etc.). The Kentucky program chose to focus on documenting outcomes in one life domain shared by its learner community: being a better parent. The Tennessee program selected the concept of "Taking Responsibility for Learning," or TRL, as their program emphasis, developed documentation of how this occurs within the program, and collected information from learners about their TRL activities outside of class.

The AR process provided the practitioner researchers with several new tasks. These included actively becoming more aware about program documentation, creating spaces for increased student feedback and involvement, and designing measurement tools, customizing these to be more specific to their own programs and local communities instead of only compiling the more "generic" information required for state and federal agencies. As facilitators, we felt firsthand the divergence between theorizing about AR and actually "doing" it. AR is not a static process, but is indeed one of reflection and action; at some point, although never disappearing completely, the theoretical gives way to the practical, and this project has created some useful solutions for documenting local program outcomes. Practitioner participants agreed learning about other aspects of learners' lives outside the confines of the classroom had provided them with an opportunity to "get to know students better." The enhanced perspectives and understandings gained by all project participants underscore the importance of AR as a means of inquiry and change within personal, professional, and community-building endeavors.

Immigrant Women and Labour Flexibility: Resisting Training through Learning

Shahrzad Mojab, Roxana Ng and Kiran Mirchandani
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Abstract: *This research roundtable focuses on the lives and experiences of immigrant women in the context of the casualisation of labour and job deskilling. The presenters document the failure of training programs to challenge the ghettoisation of immigrant women in contingent and peripheral jobs and focus on the ways in which women learn to resist racialized and gendered exclusion in state approaches to training.*

In the past two decades, much has been said about the change from the production-based, capitalist economy to an information- or knowledge-based system. It is argued, for instance, that the labour force is also changing from one engaged in physical or manual work to one involved in the production of knowledge and information. Intellectual property, it is claimed, is replacing physical property as a source of profit. This economy cannot thrive on a worker with a fixed skill working in a stable lifetime job. It rather demands a situation of shifting skills, that is, flexibility in an ever-changing job market. The notions of "flexibility" underlying the knowledge economy include just-in-time work processes, the fragmentation of jobs, and continuously shifting employer-employee relationships.

The knowledge economy calls for a radical overhaul of adult education. It requires an educational system that can provide "lifelong" learning for workers in an uncertain and unstable job market. These demands have created considerable debate among educators about the relationship between the educational system, workers, the market, and the state. Many educators view lifelong learning as a right of citizens, and as a life-sustaining undertaking. By contrast, many Western states have, since the 1980s, increasingly tried to gear adult education to the interests of the market. The market, in turn, continues to depend on profits in an environment which encourages globalization, concentration of ownership, and labour "flexibility." These interests constitute a political struggle between citizens and the state/market power bloc.

This roundtable focuses on three studies which explore training provided to immigrant women. The presenters argue for a need to situate discussions of training within the broader context of globalization, economic restructuring and labour market flexibility. The following is a summary of these studies.

Shahrzad Mojab – Immigrant Women in the "Knowledge Economy": The Dynamics of Skilling and De-skilling

This study provides a critique of the theory of "flexible" labour force by examining the case of a number of immigrant women who were undergoing training aimed at introducing them to the job market in a major Canadian city. Most of the immigrant women who participated in this study were highly skilled "knowledge workers" with considerable professional experience in their countries of origin. They failed, however, to benefit from the knowledge economy. How can we account for the failure of immigrant knowledge workers in the "information economy" of Canada? Many researchers look at racism, sexism, language barriers, and high unemployment rates as factors that constrain the access of immigrant women to the job market. While such obstacles are certainly present, Shahrzad Mojab argues that a major source of exclusion is the "new economy" as well as state policies on re-training immigrant women for the job market. The new economy tends to both skill and de-skill the labour force. The problem is by no means an educational one, and cannot be addressed without a major restructuring of the economy.

Roxana Ng – Training or Learning? Reflections from the Perspectives of Garment Workers

Roxana Ng notes that training has been advanced as the solution to work restructuring and the redeployment of workers in the new millennium. In the case of the garment industry in Toronto, where the majority of sewers are immigrant women from Asia, training has been firstly inaccessible and secondly ineffectual in improving the work security, wage level, or working conditions of sewing machine operators. Why? Roxana Ng offers some answers to this question, and examines initiatives undertaken by the Homeworkers' Association to involve workers in non-formal education experiences. She explores what and how workers learn in these settings, and discusses the pedagogical and political implications of her findings. The discussion is based on a four-year project on the informal learning activities of garment workers in Toronto, Canada.

Kiran Mirchandani – Self-employment Training Programs in Gendered and Racialized Labour Markets

Kiran Mirchandani challenges recent reports on women's self-employment in Canada which paint an optimistic picture of the gains made to challenge labour force exclusion and discrimination. Underlying many of these media reports and public policy documents is a celebratory tone through which self-employment is seen to be 'immune' from the discriminatory practices which are present in the labour market. Training programs often reproduce this optimism. Accordingly, self-employment is presented as an emancipatory vehicle allowing for the upward mobility of groups which are discriminated against in traditional labour market jobs. Based on interviews with self-employed women, Kiran Mirchandani explores the multiple ways in which race and gender processes impact self-employment. She documents the need for training programs first, to address the ways in which women who are self-employed are affected by racialized and gendered exclusions in the labour market and second, to explore the forms of exclusion implicit in policies aimed at facilitating business start-up.

Literacy for Work: Exploring Dominant Discourses about Work and Literacy in the Everyday Practice of Adult Literacy Education

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Abstract: *This paper first discusses the move in adult literacy policy to link literacy education to workforce development. It then argues that literacy researchers need to examine how dominant discourses about education and work are enacted in the everyday practices of adult literacy classrooms.*

The New Literacy Myth: Linking Education and Work

Researchers have argued that adult literacy education in the United States operates as a form of social control to maintain social and economic inequalities. This occurs despite popular rhetoric that states that literacy education offers adults a "second chance" at educational, social, and economic success. A number of adult literacy educators who believe that literacy education is inherently political (Gowen, 1992; Lankshear, 1993; Quigley, 1997) decry the move in literacy policy over the last few decades to link literacy education with workforce development because it perpetuates a new literacy myth. In the context of the economy, this myth argues that the inadequate literacy skills of America's workforce will cause the demise of the national economy. This myth focuses on the idea that there is a skills gap between the current workforce and the demands of the workplace. The causes of this skills gap typically include: 1) workers' lack of basic skills, 2) technological changes, 3) workforce demographic changes, and 4) workforce organizational changes. The consequences anticipated for this literacy skills gap are that 1) business is losing its competitive edge in the global marketplace, 2) the American standard of living is decreasing, and 3) Americans cannot get jobs because they lack skills. Finally, part of public rhetoric surrounding this new literacy myth concerns the perceived solution or response to this skills gap. In order to solve these economic problems, it is claimed, workers and future workers need to be educated in the "new basics," which include basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills, as well as communication and problem-solving skills (Grubb, 1997).

Some critical educators have argued that focusing on literacy as the panacea to economic problems obscures "other social and economic problems that literacy alone cannot solve" and provides a "smokescreen, covering up certain key societal problems by drawing our attention to other issues that, while important, are only symptomatic of larger ills" (Hull, 1997, p. 11). It is this alarmist discourse that has pushed literacy policy makers to create programs to remedy this "skills gap" problem. Little research has explored how adult literacy learners – who are ultimately supposed to benefit from the literacy education in which they engage – are being affected by this discourse as it plays out in literacy classrooms.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to determine how "the new literacy myth" plays out in the everyday practices that occur in adult literacy education. Given the 1998 *Workforce Investment Act* that consolidates all literacy and basic skills training under the umbrella of workforce development, it is imperative that literacy educators investigate how these dominant discourses about work and literacy are enacted in classroom practices. Research from the sociology of education has shown us that education is always a political enterprise. This research also reveals that classrooms are sites of ideological struggle and that classroom practices embody unequal power relationships (Apple, 1995; Gore, 1993). While adult literacy educators have critically examined policy surrounding the connection between literacy and work in the United States, focusing on how it has been used for social control, how it has functioned to reproduce social inequalities, and how it has contributed to the perpetuation of the "literacy myth" (Gowen, 1992; Hull, 1997; Schultz, 1997; Quigley, 1997), much less critical debate has focused on how classroom practices are implicated in social control and in perpetuating or challenging dominant discourses about literacy (Schultz, 1997). If this new literacy myth – which promotes simplistic educational solutions to complex economic problems and takes a deficit perspective with regard to adult literacy students – is fostered in adult literacy classrooms, literacy becomes not an instrument for emancipation, but rather a tool for domestication (Lankshear, 1987).

The idea for this roundtable is grounded in ethnographic research that I am currently conducting exploring the ways in which the curriculum-in-use, or the day-to-day classroom practices, in adult literacy classrooms contribute to or challenge dominant discourses about work and literacy in the United States. The research questions guiding this study are: 1) How does the curriculum-in-use in adult literacy classrooms depict the world of work? (2) How does the curriculum-in-use position learners as workers or future workers? and (3) How does the curriculum-in-use portray the connection between literacy and work?

Discussion

At the time of this writing, I am still engaged in data collection in two classrooms. Although I have not begun analyzing my data, it is clear that the dominant discourses about work and literacy are promoted in both of these classrooms. In both classrooms, great import is placed on students following rules and exhibiting other "good worker" behaviors. In addition, the teachers in these classrooms embrace and promote the GED as the students' "ticket to success." While many students also embrace this dominant discourse, there have been incidents of student resistance. More detailed findings will be presented at the roundtable.

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Two Worlds of Distance Education: The Function of Access and Technology

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Abstract: *In order to further our understanding of distance education as a social practice, this roundtable session suggests two disparate semantic and geographic worlds of distance education: The world that sees distance education as the means to eliminate the barriers to learning opportunities imposed by societal structure, and the world that views distance education as a technology driven form of education.*

Introduction

Despite the fact that distance education is increasingly adopted and integrated into mainstream adult educational systems, research reflecting what actually drives distance education in each society is limited. To be critically aware of the assumptions underlying distance education is important because it impacts the practice of teaching and learning. When distance education means "education through technology" – as is prevalent especially in the U.S. context – it loses the traditional link with adult education that has valued democratization of societies through expanding educational opportunities. It is also important to understand the forces driving distance education because educational systems are subject to economic and political processes that impact the needs of those who teach and learn. The purpose of the session is to provide participants with an opportunity to exchange their views on and experience of distance education along with the role of technology, based on the discussion and questions raised in this paper.

Historical Sense of Distance Education: Opening Access

Historically, distance education has been an endeavor to widen learning opportunities of those who otherwise have no access to formal education systems. This historical sense of distance education has been closely associated with adult education tradition in that both distance and adult education aim to democratize societies by means of equalizing educational opportunities. More than twenty-two open universities established worldwide prove how convincingly the idea of distance education has been adopted as an alternative system of education in providing mostly adults with higher education or "second chance" studies (Brown & Brown, 1994; Eastmond, 1995, p. 53). At the center of this movement is the belief that society should make an effort to provide its citizens with a decent level of education regardless of their geographical location, gender, previous education experience, financial circumstances, disabilities, etc. In Saudi Arabian culture, for example, it is through distance education that women came to be able to attend universities that were initially set up for educating men (Rawaf and Simmons, 1992).

In the historical sense of distance education, technology has been a secondary concern. The choice of educational media has been subject to the principle of opening access. A worldwide survey shows that 96 percent of respondents engaged in distance learning use printed course units and that 68 percent of them count it as the most important components of their course (Pittman, 1987). While this may have changed somewhat during the past decade, print remains the dominant medium of distance education. Unfortunately, this view of distance education came to be overwhelmed by a technology driven approach which was hardly compatible with an open learning philosophy.

Technology Driven Distance Education

As the use of technology emerged as a main feature of distance education, distance education came to be equated to education through technology. This narrowly defined sense of distance education shifted the focus of the field from democratization of educational opportunities to effective incorporation of state-of-the-art technology into education. Everyday language, in the U.S. context at least, eliminates correspondence or independent study from distance education because the former is not sophisticated enough when viewed from a technological standpoint. In driving this tendency, vendors of network hardware and software, corporate training advocates, and university administrators are playing the role of promoters mainly due to economic reasons (Noble, 1998). Within the academic field of education, this technology driven approach is easily allied to groups interested in producing instructional tools and strategies, overlooking distance education as a social practice. The criticisms directed towards this transformed meaning of distance education (e.g., undermining academic ownership, commercializing academic discourses, testing technology with students, etc.) make it hard to tell whether the criticism is about the mindless use of technology in academia or about the practice of distance education itself; because the two are intricately interwoven. As much as the image of technology determines the practice of distance education, the field of distance education tends to be oblivious to the mission that has driven it throughout its history.

Questions to be Addressed

The focus of this roundtable will not be on whether we are "for" or "against" technology, but on how to mindfully position the issue of technology in the current practice of distance education. The following questions may lead the discussion among participants: (1) What does distance education mean in the context of differing societies? (2) What drives distance education in each society? (3) How has technology been dealt with in the diverse contexts of distance education? (4) What tensions may exist between high-technology driven distance education and the open access philosophy? and (5) What type of education is envisioned by technology driven distance education and what influence does it have on learners and teachers?

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Life Sentence: The Real Syntax of Lifelong Learning

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This paper discusses the proposition that Lifelong Learning (LLL) is not necessarily the new dawn for mature students from disadvantaged backgrounds but on the contrary, a new form of social disciplining. It then inquires whether there is still a role for independent radical adult education in the era of mass and universal higher education or whether adult education, conventionally understood, is merely a hangover from the nineteenth century imperialism of knowledge exercised by liberal academics in pursuit of organic/national identities for the potentially disruptive lower orders.

In particular it tries to identify to the conflicting ideological tensions working through the notion of lifelong learning from its origins in the European/UNESCO discourse of *Education Permanente* to the Blairite New Work Ethic. In the latter version, LLL might be characterised as new "technology of the self" in Foucault's terms. Here the members of the underclass/underrepresented /deprived/dispossessed are encouraged to see their failure to secure adequate work and social inclusion as due to personal inadequacy rather than social inequity. LLL is rhetorically but not really available. Nevertheless, the failure to "upgrade skills," gain new qualifications, develop portfolios, appropriate new capabilities and flexibly adapt to the global workplace is increasingly presented as personal failures to take the opportunity to learn. LLL becomes a cover for a new form of coercion, of self-reconstruction, which makes the self that fails to find a job or become a model citizen due to failing to take the appropriate course, or obtain the correct qualification. On the other hand global shifts of capital, low tax regimes, inadequate housing, health-care and a still rigidly stratified education system, which enables a well entrenched elite replete with cultural capital and social networks to reproduce itself, do not enter the picture.

How far are adult educators complicit in this new regime of truth? How far, because the demand for the LLL originated in adult educational circles, have we accepted the rhetoric but neglected to see the serpent lurking beneath? Adult education is losing its marginality. The good aspect of this is that universities have to adopt the flexibility, student centredness, multi-layered approaches we have been advocating for more than two decades. The distaff side is that adult education has become mainstreamed and tied to internal recruitment protocols rather than civic/outreach missions. Where they still exist, adult education departments are forced increasingly to respond not to new educational needs expressed by social movements and individual cultural identities but the need of the university to recruit this or that kind of consumer (determined by governmental weighting strategies). The mechanisms of accountability, while offering the mirage of transparent operation, actually only mask practices and provision in obfuscating language, so that nobody is actually clear why what is done is done except that it satisfies a QA protocol or qualifies for a new batch of short term funding from a quasi-governmental agency.

The paper does not intend to be pre-lapsarian about this – no harking back to a golden age of footloose radical educators conducting a stately passage through unfailingly grateful working class communities, bringing enlightenment, class-consciousness and the desire for revolution. On the contrary, the history of institutional adult education is largely one of containment of transgressive desire, absorption of class-conflict and integration of subaltern groups into a manifestly unequal social settlement. In one mode adult education is merely part of the process of the symbolic reproduction of inequality, the part that secures adult consent to limited version of a meritocracy achieved through graduated qualifications while the elite layers continue to occupy the commanding heights. The rhetoric of LLL presents the diverse and contradictory elements of the education "system" as if it were a seamless robe but, as the resistance to a universal form of credit on the part of the more prestigious British universities and their self-labelling as "research" universities indicates, this sector continues with an ancient agenda that will change only so far as to enable things to remain the same.

The function of adult educators, community developers, facilitators and animateurs will in some respects always be proscribed by the funding but the genius of adult education – perhaps to do with its very marginality – has in the past always to be able to break out of the mould and work in creative and ultimately transgressive ways with the emergent, alternative and often oppositional voices that see in this form of education a way of crystallising new social needs and programmes for change. This paper makes a proposal for a new Popular CE/HE curriculum, which offers the opportunity for renewing this other vocation.

C02

From the Bottom Up:
Developing a Literacy Practitioner Research Network in British Columbia

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Abstract: *This roundtable will address the developments and challenges involved in building research capacity among literacy practitioners in the province of British Columbia through collaborative partnerships between various agencies. Case examples of different approaches will be presented with opportunities for questions and discussion.*

Introduction

Until recent years, much of adult literacy practice in Canada has relied on research from other jurisdictions – mainly the UK and the USA. There have been only a few adult literacy researchers in Canada. Most literacy practitioners are busy people dealing with their programs and learners on a daily basis. There is little time, and resources are limited for reflection on practice, documentation of activity and distribution of results. Collaborative partnerships are a key component in the development of an emergent literacy practitioner research network in British Columbia (BC). Practitioner is defined broadly to include those variously working in the literacy field and includes literacy learners.

Canadian literacy research events in 1996 and 1997 led, in 1998, to two separate research days hosted by the BC government in cooperation with the Centre for Curriculum, Transfer and Technology (C2T2) and to a project that provides ongoing training support for adult literacy practitioners. In addition, a literacy action research course was part of a 1998 literacy summer institute organized by Literacy BC, the provincial literacy coalition.

The partnerships that have developed between government, two provincial non-profit educational organizations and local universities provide awareness about research questions and opportunities for training. Presenters will each address their roles in this initiative and focus on case examples drawn from their experience.

Learners Educational Action Research Network (LEARN)

One such case example is the LEARN project. The main goal of this research project is to explore and learn how to build and sustain connections among literacy learners in BC by developing a "learner network." The project is managed by Literacy BC, through a project coordinator. The research team is composed of six adult learners who have a wealth of experience as literacy advocates but are new to research. The principal objectives of this one-year project are to: a) design and implement a collaborative action research project that builds on existing connections and relationships among literacy learners in BC, b) contribute to the learning and skill development of the research team through training and practice in research and project planning, and c) document and report on the process and the results of the research.

In a unique partnership, the University of British Columbia supports and mentors the project through the services of a research "friend" who: offers consultation to the project coordinator around a variety of research and team issues; provides training in research skills to the research team through face-to-face meetings, as well as electronically; and guides the direction of the project to ensure it meets the standards of credible research. The roundtable will offer observations and perceptions about the challenges and rewards this distinctive project presents.

Electronic Research Conference

A unique aspect of the emergent literacy research network in BC is the use of electronic conferencing to build research links, share knowledge, and offer literacy practitioners professional development and training. The research conference on the BC literacy electronic network offers these opportunities in a supportive, collaborative environment to literacy practitioners around the province. Electronic conferencing activities include on-line consultation from a university-based research "friend" about the development of new and ongoing research projects, and a bulletin board of information about research materials, resources, and events. The roundtable will offer some insights into the strengths and limitations of electronic conferencing in facilitating community and building knowledge within a research-in-practice network.

Literacy Research Circles

Simon Fraser University and Literacy BC are partners in an innovative two-year project helping literacy practitioners learn how to research family, workplace, and adult literacy education in BC. The project is organised through "research circles," a practitioner based design specifically intended to foster co-operative "learning by doing" (Holmstrand, 1993). The circle begins with a collective review of the whole idea of research, emphasising the practical aspects of the process and the concrete benefits for researchers and others. During this time, circle participants identify particular topics they would like to explore, and are then able to develop, conduct, and disseminate the results of small-scale research projects addressing the identified concerns. These projects can be individual or conducted by several circle participants working together. Research circles offer a more open environment than conventional research, with each participant able to develop their own knowledge, skills, and confidence with the support of their peers and experienced researchers. The resulting projects will vary in their intention and design, adding to the diversity of research on literacy in BC and helping to build a network of inquiry among the province's literacy practitioners. Included among the benefits of the process are the new knowledge created by the participants' projects, leading to better informed literacy practice, and the increased awareness of, and support for, literacy programming and research in Canada.

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C04

Latinas and Adult Development Theories

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Abstract: *This qualitative study examined the acculturation path of two groups of Latinas, highly educated professional Hispanic women and female migrant workers, in order to illuminate their human development process.*

The notion that life changes serve as a major trigger to adult learning has given adult development theories an important place in the adult education curriculum. Until very recently, traditional *phase of life cycle* and *developmental stage* theories dominated the discourse. A recent effort to look at the psychosocial development of women has opened the doors to other voices and has also created awareness of those missing. This study explored one those missing: Latinas.

The traditional paradigm of developmental change describes human development as a process of maturational unfolding. It treats the individual as a self-contained entity failing to recognize the complexity and variability of the cultural environment. The new voices in adult development acknowledge socio-cultural knowledge and human intentionality as factors mediating development. It is my belief that, within adult education, critical perspectives better explain the interaction between socio-cultural environment and human intentionality. Critical theory focuses on the structured nature of power relations in society providing the tools to analyze appropriately the developmental patterns of marginalized groups.

I used qualitative methods of data collection and critical theory for analysis. My conversations with Latinas followed a semi-structured interview format. I kept my questions to a minimum allowing for the participants to share and make sense of their experiences from their own perspectives. By comparing two different groups of Latinas: highly educated professional Hispanic women and female migrant workers, my research aimed to illuminate similarities and differences in their acculturation process into the dominant culture.

The Study: Questions of Culture and Belonging

Latinas, as the term is used in the United States, are women who share a historical tradition of Spanish colonization and communicate among themselves primarily in Spanish. Yet, most come from very distinctive cultural groups and had very different experiences upon arrival in the United States. As a distinct population, they have gained national minority group status. According to Robinson (1992), characterization as a national minority group combines the notion of an ethnic or racial group with that of a minority group. An ethnic or racial group is distinguishable from the dominant society because it shares common characteristics; a minority group plays a subordinate role in a class society as a result of race or ethnicity. Betances (1993) defined ethnicity as "the ability of people from a similar region of the world, who find themselves in a hostile environment, to see the urgency of harnessing their numbers under a common identity so as to operate as an interest group for the purpose of removing barriers to social progress" (p. 1).

Ethnicity, in this sense, is a human invention by people who share a common experience of rejection and who agree to define themselves as positive agents of social change. Until very recently, Latinas in the Southern states were geographically scattered and too small in numbers to exert any impact at the local level. This is changing very rapidly, yet their ethnic identification is still in formation.

I had purposely selected two very different groups of Latinas to be able to compare and contrast their experiences. Yet, while listening to their voices I found marked differences but also striking similarities. Whether their experiences were expressed in the sophisticated terms used by the professional women or in the rather simple and colloquial terms used by the female migrant workers, both groups told me of their daily quest to clarify a self-image, improve interpersonal relations, and find a voice and a place in society.

Zavella (1994) suggested that researchers pay close attention to what she calls "social location" when trying to understand differences among various groups of Latinas. To Zavella, social location is the social space created by the intersection of class, race, gender, and culture. Another important consideration is generation. Whether Latinas are first generation (born in the United States), part of a subsequent generation born in the United States, or recent immigrants has implications for language used, cultural knowledge, and self-identification. A Latina's generation affects whether she feels a sense of identification and solidarity with other Latinas, whether she feels marginalized or whether she feels more "American" than Latina. While analyzing the data, I looked for social location and generational differences as guiding points.

The Findings: Ambivalent Acculturation

This study revealed that Latinas in the South, like Latinas everywhere in the nation, are at different locations in the process of acculturation and struggling to create a self-image yet at the same time preserve a healthy image of their culture of origin. Recently arrived migrant women's social location seems to be the most marginalized and therefore the most affected by issues of class, race, gender, and culture. Despite the stress produced by conflicting cultural traits for professional Latinas, the Hispanic culture provides them with a sense of identity that they value and that is constantly reinforced by regular contact with the Latino community. Latinas who were born in the United States have constructed an ethnic identity stemming from shared historical experiences. They are the most acculturated and least ambivalent group and have been able to transcend most barriers.

Since ethnicity is a human strategy for survival by which people shape a collective identity, Latinas in the South are beginning to shape their identity based on cultural traits shared and as a response to experiences of isolation and rejection. But culture also places constraints on experiences and Latinas are working through those constraints. Many are engaged in fostering issues of diversity and improving interpersonal relations by building bridges between the Hispanic and local communities. They have found a voice and constructed a place for themselves in the South.

Human development researchers interested in learning more about this segment of the population should pay close attention to Latinas personal histories, to the path of their migration, to how their local communities were formed, and to the key and structurally based differences among them. It is also important to consider how each woman's generation, age, and level of acculturation affect her construction of a social identity.

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Balancing Instrumental, Biographic and Social Competencies: Enhancing the Participation of Young Adults in Economic and Social Processes

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The research has been commissioned by the European Commission (fourth framework - targeted socio-economic research) to a collaborative of six universities/research centres. It is a two year project which will end in September 2000. The objective of the project is to generate a more comprehensive understanding of the potentialities and limitations of current approaches to post school education and training for unemployed young adults in six European countries. It juxtaposes the espoused theories aims and assumptions about "education and training effectiveness" of those who are responsible for educational programmes with the different ways in which their choices, practices and messages are being understood and negotiated in the life-world of the learners. Its methodology is situated within a framework of assumptions about research quality, ethics and rigour that combines features of collaborative action inquiry and participatory research, with narrative and case study research.

By the time of the conference presentation, two case studies will be finished in each participating country. In these case studies, significant themes have been identified and explored, using the second case to deepen and widen insights that were gained in the first. The first case study related to so-called mainstream projects where the researchers expected to find an emphasis on the training of instrumental competencies. The second case study was executed in so-called alternative projects where a more balanced integration of instrumental, social and biographical competencies was assumed. The results we present here, in this paper, relate mainly to the first case study. At the occasion of the conference, we will be able to say more about the findings of the second case study. The findings will be presented with reference to six themes which will eventually also organise the report to the European Commission at the end of the research project.

Balancing Competencies: Revising the Assumptions

With respect to the triangle of instrumental, biographical, and social competencies, we distinguished between mainstream and alternative cases. Mainstream was supposed to be guided by an "instrumental view", whereas alternative was expected to be guided by a "holistic view" on competence building. Yet, the data of the mainstream case showed that the three competencies distinguished were all present in the education and training programmes across countries. Even mainstream education appeared to be permeated by a "humanistic" approach incorporating client-centeredness, individual counselling and guidance, and attention paid to social and in some cases even biographical competencies. These observations in their turn led to attempts to reconceptualise what guidance, education and training for the unemployed nowadays is about. A promising distinction which has to be elaborated further is the distinction between strategies of adaptation, insertion, and connection.

Experience of Agency: The Undercurrent of Motivation

Those young adults who succeeded in continuing a programme in a meaningful way could, in broad terms, be characterised as expressing feelings of agency– the belief in control over one's own life as an autonomous individual. Feelings of agency seem, even among the 18 to 25 year old, related to family support and a relatively satisfactory relationship with the parents. Hence, the family plays a crucial role in the participant's self-esteem and emotional support. Training programmes can influence feelings of agency through the quality of support provided, through an approach that recognises people's integrity as social actors, and through a degree of flexibility available in the system to allow creative "*connections*" in case of tensions between the system and the participants. Also of great importance is the availability of a supportive, empathic and committed advisor or teacher who functions as a "significant other".

Creating a Space for Encounter and Dialogue

In order to empower unemployed young adults, an authentic encounter should be created in which one genuinely attempts to meet the young adults. The capability of professionals to get involved with young adults is one of the competencies that both young adults and professionals emphasise as being very important in the encounter. To respect the young adult's autonomy seems to be a key issue to build up a relationship of trust that enables the interventions. In general, an authentic encounter can only be realised when guidance, counselling and training increasingly take into consideration the biography and social situation of the client. Attention should be paid not only to the "*life course*" of an individual in a standardised way, as related to curriculum, qualifications, work experience and so on, but also the "*life story*" of a client, including experiences of competence development outside standard institutions and situations. A competency approach rather than a deficiency approach seems to be more desirable here.

Conflict between Inner and Outer Logics

Young people today are confronted with conditions of increasing instability and insecurity creating identities which are less and less stable. Against this backdrop, transitions towards employment may function as an extra burden for those who are already in a vulnerable position. We found that for many young people, navigating out of unemployment is often compromised by the reality of choices and opportunities open to them. Facing this multiplicity of choices, creates difficulty in organising one's life. Especially those young adults who lack clear personal goals determined by labour or education seem to be overwhelmed by the continuous necessity of decision making about even minor issues such as what to do the next hour and the next minute. Furthermore, we have found, among these young adults, a fairly traditional view of work. In their eyes, work is there to secure income, to create independence from the social security benefits, to enable them to establish a traditional family life. This traditionalism definitely contradicts the demands of flexibility and employability which currently govern the labour market.

The Interpretive Professional

Guidance, counselling and training have turned out to be very complex practices lacking traditional standardised routines. The professionals are constantly under threat of disempowerment related to the contradictions they experience on the institutional level. A person centered policy and emerging questions about ethical and social responsibility vis-a-vis the clients contradict the urge to direct them towards lowly paid and unskilled work and the threat with sanctions related to that. The professional has to find a delicate balance and has to act as a broker mediating between different worlds and discourses. She has to *"connect" standardisation* and *singularisation* strategies Standardisation is regulated by output demands, predetermined procedures and a tendency to reduce complexity. Singularisation is regulated by the demands of an authentic encounter, a readiness to deal with complexity and with someone's competencies as a point of departure in view of the individual life-story.

Collaborative Inquiry

The project aimed at involving different actors at various levels and stages of the research activity so as to do research with people and not on people. This process of collaborative inquiry has been fairly satisfactory, both for the researched as for the researchers. A combination of focus group activities, in depth interviews and participatory observation revealed basic issues and dilemma's in everyday guidance, counselling and training practice. The various moments of "bridging" between empirical data and theoretical notions and within and between the various countries involved have proved to be very inspiring and productive.

Symposia

Adult Development: Capturing New Ways of Thinking About the Life Course

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and
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Florence Guido-DiBrito, University of Northern Colorado, USA
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Kathleen Taylor, Saint Mary's College, USA
and
Elizabeth J. Tisdell, National Louis University, USA

Abstract: *We outline first a brief overview of a four-fold typology of developmental theory (biological, psychological, sociocultural an integrative models). We then discuss work that illustrates two of these frames: the sociocultural, which includes racial and ethnic, and relational aspects of development; and the integrative, focusing on time, development as narrative, and spiritual development. We close with a commentary on the current developmental literature and how this literature challenges our practice as adult educators.*

Introduction and Overview

The whole point of theory–any theory–is to help us understand something better. This symposium examines the theories that have been constructed about adult development, and the "something" that all these theories are trying to help us understand better is the life course–how it unfolds, and the meaning that can be given to various aspects and dimensions of that unfolding. A particular theory or family of theories serves as a kind of lens through which we view the life course; that lens illuminates certain elements and tells a particular story about adult life. Multiple lenses give us many different ways of illuminating different aspects of that life course. The purpose of this symposium is three-fold. First, we provide a brief overview of a four-fold framework, offered by Merriam and Caffarella (1999), for categorizing theories of adult development. Second, we discuss work illustrating two specific dimensions of that framework, the sociocultural and the integrated. And finally, we provide a commentary on the current developmental literature and how this literature challenges our practice as adult educators.

Building on the work of Perlmutter and Hall (1985), Bee (1996), and others, Merriam and Caffarella (1999) have developed a schema consisting of four dimensions: biological, psychological, sociocultural, and integrative models. We focus here on the sociocultural and the integrative frames because they capture some of the most innovative work being done in developmental theory today. We address the work on racial and ethnic development, a body of literature that is of increasing importance as we struggle to embrace diversity in our society. The notions of separation and connection, pointing to the work of theorists who argue for a complex and changing balance between these fundamental drives, is examined. We discuss how the various conceptualizations of time provide a new way of understanding change and development. We look at development as narrative, an approach which derives from the storied nature of our lives and which places the adults themselves in the role of interpreter. Finally, we describe spiritual development, suggesting that the ultimate meaning adults give to their lives provides yet another way to understand the developmental process.

The typology offered by Merriam and Caffarella (1999) is useful in several ways. When we consider the latest work in this area, across all four categories of this framework, we noticed that we seem to be beyond the crafting of grand theories of development, like those offered by Erikson or Levinson. In addition, there has been a shift in the literature on adult development towards thinking about development in a more integrative way, and it is in this frame that we believe the most significant and promising work is being done today. This trend toward integration and multiplicity of thought is two-dimensional. First, many scholars, even within the biological and psychological frames, are acknowledging the importance of taking into account elements from at least one other frame and often more than one, therefore arguing for a more holistic view of development. The second dimension relates to alternative ways of thinking about how development unfolds in adulthood, such as those offered by different concepts of time and by the notion of development as narrative.

As adult educators we are prodded to hear what was formerly unspoken. We can no longer ignore or take for granted issues of Otherness—gender, race and ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, spiritual commitment, social status... the list has no end. We also are being asked to think more creatively about the impact of development on learners and how we design programs.

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Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development

Florence Guido-DiBrito

Racial and ethnic identities are critical components of the overall framework of individual and collective identity. For some, especially visible legally defined United States minority populations, racial and ethnic identity is manifested in very conscious positive and negative ways. Others, especially U.S. white/European populations, manifest ethnic and racial identity in mostly unconscious ways through their behaviors, values, beliefs, and assumptions often viewed as "standard American culture." However, all individuals, regardless of race or identity, benefit from the development of a conscious ethnic identity.

Racial and ethnic identity have been misunderstood and, although some believe them to be biologically based (Spickard, 1992), are considered to be socially constructed (Waters, 1990). Several racial identity models (e.g., Cross, 1991), including white identity (e.g., Helms, 1995), discussed what could be described as an intersection between racial perceptions of others (i.e., racism) and racial perceptions of self (i.e., racial development). Although our perceptions of others are important and can act as triggers for development and consciousness, there is great value in the consideration of racial/ethnic identity for oneself and groups of individuals. A related concept, ethnic identity is developed from shared culture, religion, geography and language of individuals who are often connected by strong loyalty and kinship as well as proximity (Torres, 1999). Many models of identity appear in the literature for different ethnic groups (e.g., Garrett & Walking Stick Garrett, 1994; Padilla, 1995). These models typically outline commonalties likely within a particular ethnic group.

A multidimensional understanding of racial and ethnic identity assists us in understanding the many possibilities inherent in working with adult learners. Attention to racial and ethnic identity is critical in the learning environment in numerous ways. For example, learning environments must be inclusive of multicultural ways of doing, different knowledge bases, and styles of teaching and learning. Additionally, the creation and maintenance of a strong learning community that honors, supports, and challenges each learner, regardless of race and ethnicity, is essential. Educators working with adults at all levels can benefit these learners by creating environments that balance different cultural norms, such as designing collaborative and individual learning activities, encouraging in class reflection and discussion, and using visual, written, kinesthetic, relational and other types of learning. Creating positive multicultural learning communities requires educators to model authenticity, relational and self-sharing ways, by supporting nonjudgmental processing of multiple perspectives and by facilitating a respectful community of learners.

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Relational Aspects of Adult Development Theory

Kathleen Taylor

Most early developmental theorists, such as Erikson and Kohlberg, who drew on the experiences of men and boys, called for individuation and separation as prerequisites to identity development. More recently, however, researchers who have explored women's experiences have described an equally compelling role for connection and relationship. On one hand, both men and women need to separate from others, constructing an identity that is clearly their own. On the other, both men and women need also to be connected to others, to see themselves in relation to them and as part of a larger whole. Several theorists explore the possibilities for balance between these two apparently opposing drives. Peck (1986), the scholars at the Stone Center at Wellesley College (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver & Surrey, 1991; Miller & Stiver, 1997; Bergman & Surrey, 1997), and Kegan (1994), attempt to describe ways in which both separateness and meaningful connection are part of everyone's lifelong developmental process. In this view, identity derives as much from connection with others as it does from establishing one's separateness. Separation no long precedes connection in forging a healthy sense of self, and deep concern for other's needs and feelings does not signal inappropriate dependence.

Beyond theory, however, is the lived experience of adult learners. Some learners put others' needs before their own in ways that threaten their educational success. They feel guilty about taking up too much of the family's resources (for example, of time and money). As a result, rather than continue to endure the feeling that they are being selfish, they may drop out. Others manage to differentiate between doing something for themselves and being selfish; they realize that they need not respond with feelings of guilt when others are displeased. Analyzing these experiences through a developmental lens offers educators a way to better understand some of the challenges other than academic content that adult learners face as they negotiate educational programs.

Finally, how can educational environments support adults' developmental growth toward a construction of self in which connection and separation are in balance, rather than tipped in one direction or the other? Some of the literature speaks in terms of transformative and emancipatory learning or critical thinking. Recent research (Taylor, Marienau & Fiddler, 2000) describes teaching with "developmental intentions." These support learners in engaging with the world of ideas and learning from experience, in examining and challenging assumptions (their own and others'), in arriving at thoughtfully-held commitments, and in connecting with others from a place of mutual enhancement rather than the need to feel complete.

Such approaches to teaching and learning may not only support a balance between connection and separation, but may encourage a way of perceiving and knowing that leads to a deepened understanding of oneself, one's responsibility, and one's capacity to act in the world.

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Time as the Integrative Factor

Sharan B. Merriam

A developmental perspective on the life course is about documenting change over time, or change with the passage of time. Time, therefore, is a key variable in studying development and in understanding the nature, if not the causes of change. But development is not simply a function of the ticking of the clock and the passage of years. Except for certain physiological changes such as the graying of hair or menopause, just getting older is too simple an explanation to account for changes in behavior, attitude, values, or self-perception. Intertwined with the mere passage of time is the historical context in which one lives as well as the social expectations of a particular culture at a particular point in time. Time thus has three connotations when applied to development: the passage of time marked by chronological age; historical time, or the particular period in history in which one lives; and social time, a culturally-dependent timetable outlining appropriate behavior at various stages in the life cycle. As a multidimensional concept incorporating biological, sociocultural and historical dimensions, time can indeed function as an integrative mechanism in the study of adult development. How time functions as an integrative concept will be illustrated with reference to a developmental study of HIV positive men and women.

Historical time is defined as "long-term processes, such as industrialization and urbanization," and "economic, political, and social events that directly influence the life course of the individuals who experience those events" (Neugarten & Datan, 1973, p. 58). The impact of particular historical processes or events on development depends on the age or life stage of the individual at the time of the occurrence. Witness the relative comfort children have with computers compared to older adults.

The AIDS epidemic is an example of a historical event that has impacted not only the lives of those infected, but the whole of society as well. Further, recent advances in the treatment of AIDS in the form of protease inhibitors – also a function of historical time – has had a dramatic impact on the lives of HIV-positive men and women. Participants in our study spoke of having to prepare to live, rather than die, as a result of new treatments (Courtenay, Merriam, Reeves & Baumgartner, in press).

Life time is simply the number of years one has lived since birth, the passage of time measured in days, months, and years. Life time or chronological age is probably most useful when used in reference to biological changes, especially for earlier stages in the life cycle. In research on adult development, chronological age serves as a proxy for other biological or psychosocial factors. Age in and of itself does not cause changes to take place; rather, human behavior is affected by experiences that occur with the passage of time, not by time itself. The HIV-positive adults in our study whose health had dramatically improved with protease inhibitors, were cautiously optimistic about living a normal life span. Life time, or chronological age and its links to the physical body was again a meaningful concept in their lives and their development.

Social time is the transformation of calendar time into periods of the life cycle during which certain behaviors are expected and certain rights, responsibilities and statuses characterize individual behavior in that stage of life. As Neugarten (1976, p. 16) explains, social time is "a socially prescribed timetable for the ordering of major life events." This timetable reflects the social norms and expectations of a culture at a particular time in history. One can be "on-time" or "off-time" with regard to this social clock. For our participants, once life time was no longer suspended, social time began to play a role. Participants struggled with how to fit back into a context of socially prescribed norms and values—a context that had seemed irrelevant when faced with death.

In summary, the construct of time becomes a window through which we can better understand the changes people go through in terms of their behaviors, attitudes, values and meaning-making. While the parcelling out of historical time, life time and social time give us an even clearer picture of how time impacts development, in reality of course, it is the interaction of these three dimensions of time that affect development.

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Understanding Adult Development as Narrative

Marsha Rossiter

To understand development as narrative is to consider the storied nature of the life course. This orientation is based on the assumption that narrative is a central structure through which humans organize and make meaning of their experience (e.g., Polkinghorne, 1988). Meaning is constructed, expressed, and understood in story form. If we reflect for a moment on our everyday communication with colleagues, students, and family, we hear ourselves in the act of telling the stories of our experience. Although our conversational stories may be fragmentary, the centrality of narrative in our meaning making is clear.

When we understand that the process of meaning making takes a narrative form–that people understand the changes over the course of their own lives narratively – we can appreciate the value of the narrative orientation to understanding human development. It is an approach that attempts to describe development from the "inside" as it is lived, rather than from the outside as it is observed. The focus is on subjective meaning – how people make sense of the events of their lives through the life course. Developmental change is experienced through a constructed personal narrative that is revised and enlarged over time to accommodate new insights, unanticipated events, and transformed perspectives.

A view of adult development as narrative is:

1. *Contextual.* Development as narrative is shaped by context – both internal and external. Coherence and plot define the internal context. Just as any character's action in a story can only be understood in reference to the plot of the story in which the character is acting, so it is with human development–events of one's life mean something in relation to other events and in relation to the valued ends toward which one is striving. Externally, the narrative orientation is sensitive to the larger cultural narratives within which the individual life narrative is constructed. Every person's life narrative is in important ways shaped – constrained, enriched, influenced – by the larger sociocultural meaning systems within which it is situated.

2. *Interpretive.* A story is not a collection of facts, a logical argument, or a scientific proposition; it is, rather, an account of events emplotted according to human values, intentions, and purposes. As such it calls for interpretation. In understanding development as narrative, the interpretation that is privileged is that of the person whose development is in question. This self-interpretation is ever evolving – meanings are reinterpreted through the course of one's life. The life narrative at any given time is that subjective interpretation of experiences that represents the most satisfactory account (Cohler, 1982).

3. *Retrospective.* Narrative, in a sense, is history–the telling of what has gone before. To understand development narratively is to take a backward-looking, retrospective stance. A narrative perspective does not focus on predicting a particular pattern of development in a forward movement toward some endpoint. Instead, narra-

tive attends to that which can be understood about a developmental trajectory through the review and telling of it. As Freeman (1991) puts it, "It is only after one has arrived at what is arguably or demonstrably a better psychological place than where one has been before that development can be said to have occurred" (p. 99).

4. *Temporal.* Narrative suggests movement through time. Applied to development, narrative highlights this temporal flow in its attention to formation over form, to processes over states of being, to meaning making over pre-determined checkpoints along the life course. Narrative assumes a dynamic interrelationship between time and meaning in which an understanding of the past and future is continually unfolding in the present.

For adult educators, an understanding of development as narrative calls our attention to the interconnectedness of learning with the construction of the life narrative, and the transformative potential of autobiographical learning activities.

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Spiritual Development in a Socio-Cultural Context

Elizabeth J. Tisdell

Spiritual development (as change over time) has been given relatively little attention in mainstream academic adult education. There is some very limited broader discussion of spirituality in general, that focuses on how spirituality affects teaching and learning (Dirkx, 1997), or emancipatory education efforts (Hart & Holten, 1993). The more limited discussion specifically of spiritual development tends to rely on Fowler's (1981) study, which resulted in a stage theory (of 6 stages) of faith development, based on 97% white, Judeo-Christian sample. Not surprisingly, Fowler's theory is framed largely from a psychological perspective, with little attention to how the socio-cultural context affects spiritual development. Nevertheless, it is a landmark study in the area of faith (as opposed to spiritual) development, and contributes to our understanding of how people construct knowledge through image and symbol.

Developmental theorists have often overlooked the socio-cultural context, which inadvertently tends to propagate a view of development based on the dominant culture-white, Judeo-Christian, and middle-class. Given the roles of image and symbol (which are often culturally-bound) in the construction of knowledge, it is particularly important to consider how culture informs spiritual development. There are a number of writers from specific cultural groups who discuss how cultural image and symbol from within their culture inform spiritual knowledge construction and meaning- making, ways of living in community, and working for justice in the world (Anzaldua, 1987; Hill Collins, 1999, Gunn Allen, 1992, hooks, 1994). While these writers cited are not writing about spiritual development (as change over time), they are considering ways members of their cultural groups draw on the spiritual symbols and traditions of their own cultures to affirm their cultural and gender identity, and to guide their moral action in the world. This may suggest a more evolved and culturally grounded spirituality

Attention to spiritual development in its socio-cultural context offers some practical application for adult educators. First, adult educators might want to note that a search for, and/or an acknowledgement of the spiritual in the lives of adult learners is connected to the forces of meaning that give their lives coherence. Second, spirituality is about how people construct knowledge through conscious and unconscious processes of the meanings attached to image and symbol, which are often both cultural and emanate from the deepest core of our being and can be manifested and/or accessed in the form of art, music, or other aspects of creative work. They often manifest our passions, inspire how we act in the world in advocating for ourselves, and/or in working for justice on behalf of ourselves and others. Adult educators who encourage adult learners to work with image and symbol, and to critically reflect on the meanings and power such images hold, as Dirkx (1997) suggests, may be encouraging and facilitating spiritual development as adult learners continue to negotiate new knowledge and new meaning in the world- in their relationships, and in their acting in the world with conviction. As Walters & Manioc (1996) note, in considering the role of spirituality in social justice education, "it is a theme that is increasingly significant in popular education practice as culturally distinct groups, women recovering "womanist" traditions and ethnic collectives, draw on cultural and spiritual symbols in healing and transformative education" (p. 13). If one thinks of education and work for social justice as an aspect of spiritual development, it may be that attention to spirituality can offer new insight to the connection between individual and social transformation. It is time that adult educators pay attention to its importance.

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Researching the Shifting Landscape of Adult Education in the Third World: New Perspectives on the Relationship between Adult Education and Democracy

Zelda Groener, South Africa
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and
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Abstract: *Recent democratisation in Chile and South Africa has impacted the relationship between adult education and democracy. At the same time however, adult education practices in the 50 year old Mexican democracy raises new questions. Four researchers from Chile, South Africa and Mexico share their perspectives on the relationship between adult education and democracy.*

Recent democratisation in third world countries prompts new perspectives on the relationship between adult education and democracy. At the same time however, adult education practices in the 50 year old Mexican democracy also generates new perspectives. Chile, South Africa and Mexico are the focus of this symposium. Chilean researcher, Javier Corvalan, Mexican researcher, Juan Madrigal Goerne and South African researchers, Irene Chadibe and Zelda Groener are investigating various dimensions of the relationship between adult education and democracy. In this symposium, they will report their findings and critically discuss how their research is prompting new perspectives on adult education and democracy.

Throughout the 1980s, popular adult educators in social movements and nongovernmental organisations (ngos) in several Latin American countries, played a major role in driving the struggle for democracy. The element of participation dominated the many protests, campaigns and lobbies for democracy. The notion of participation was almost synonymous with the notion of democracy. The philosophy of democratic participation had its roots in the oppositional mode of political mobilisation. Chile was no exception. The Chilean democratic government which was elected in 1990 has opted for free market economy. New education policies have been formulated and new education systems have been developed to facilitate the processes of reform. As in many other democratising societies around the world, the educational system has been transformed from a centralised to a decentralised system. Arguing that communities should play a leading role in educational governance, the government has instituted processes of community participation to facilitate the role of these communities. Community participation however, was a dominant feature of the mobilisation activities of the Chilean masses in the struggles for democracy which culminated in the election of the democratic government in 1990. The official discourse of the democratic government, shaped by a free market ideology has penetrated and permeated the Education Ministry's vision of community participation. While the ideological underpinnings of community participation have changed, the Education Ministry has adopted the same strategies and methodologies of community participation which popular educators employed in the oppositional programmes. Hence, the paradigm of community participation reflects different, opposing and contradictory discourses. For the past two years, Javier Corvalan has been investigating community members' understanding of the processes of community participation. His investigation focussed on three programmes of education (1) 900 Schools Program (2) Exception Lyceum Programme at Montegrande and (3) the MECE-Rural Programme. In reporting his findings, Javier will share his perspectives on the relationship between adult education and democracy. In particular, he will share his intellectual reflections on the ways in which the official discourse of community participation has impacted the democratisation of the Chilean society.

South Africa's election of a democratic government in 1994 has also prompted new perspectives on the relationship between adult education and democracy. The values of equity, equality and redressing political and economic inequalities feature prominently in the country's democratic political philosophy. These are reflected in the democratic government's new national education and training policies for adults. Every educational institution in South Africa has been challenged to integrate these values into their policies and practices. The University of South Africa (UNISA), a distance education institution, attracts large numbers of adult learners to their undergraduate and graduate programmes. The majority are black adults who have been politically and economically disadvantaged by the apartheid system. Many live in rural and semi-rural areas. In the past, the throughput rate of these adult learners has been very low. Providing disadvantaged adults with access to higher education institutions has been hailed as an achievement in redressing historical political and economic inequalities. More recently, however, successful throughput has become a criterion for successful access. In response, UNISA's senate in 1994, resolved to extend its student support services by creating a network of learning centres and community satellite study centres in decentralised urban and semi-rural learning centres. The purposes of these centres are to provide support for adult learners on an individual basis and through face-to-face tutorials. Several learning centres were established throughout the country as pilot projects. Researcher Irene Chadibe is investigating the impact of the face-to-face tutorial support programme aimed at securing throughput for disadvantaged adult learners via a network of learning centres in urban and semi-rural communities. The investigation has focussed mainly on examining the extent to which adult learners make use of the tutorial support services and the level at which the learners' expectations are met by the tutorial programme. The study was conducted in two of the five UNISA urban-based learning centres and in two of the three rural-based satellite centres, situated in three provinces, Gauteng, North West Province and Northern Province. In sharing her findings, she will reflect on the relationship between adult education and democracy. She will share her perspectives on the impact of democracy on the lives of adult learners in higher education. She will extend the analysis of her findings to a critique of the successes and failures of democracy in redressing South Africa's political and economic inequalities.

The democratic transformation in South Africa has been narrowly linked to the transformation of its economy. In fact, the relationship between political and economic transformation has been conceptually linked. The government's new education and training policies for adults reflect an explicit political and economic agenda which reflects a strong commitment to democratic values and macro-economic policies. While it is clear that the national government has shaped the education and training policies, it is also evident that these policies have been influenced by international agencies. This is not unusual as it conforms with a trend which has emerged throughout the world since the 1980s. It is this trend which has essentially internationalised the education policy arena. The influences of international agencies on South Africa's education and training policies illustrate an interplay between the South African government and bilateral agencies (and the foreign governments which they represent); multi-lateral agencies; and international financial institutions. Critical questions are prompted, "How have international agencies shaped the paradigm of social transformation in which the new education and training policies have been framed in South Africa?" "What political and economic philosophies, ideologies and values have they promoted?" "Have these complemented the political and economic agenda evident in South Africa's education and training policies for adults?" or "Have these created tensions and contradictions?" It is generally known that international agencies seek to influence national education policies through an array of development policies. These policies range from general to being country-specific. Researcher Zelda Groener is analysing the influences which international agencies have had on the transformational framework of the South African government's education and training policies. She is attempting to develop a more in-depth understanding of these influences by investigating of the political and economic rationale underlying these agencies' development policies. But what has prompted the rise to prominence of these international agencies in the education policy arena raises interest. Some critics argue that the emergence of neo-liberal forces has prompted the rise to prominence of international political and economic forces, including those of international agencies. They further claim that the internationalisation of markets, promoted by neo-liberal economics, has necessitated the internationalisation of political, economic and education policies. Has neo-liberal development prompted a shift towards an emphasis, in the adult educational arena, on training. Is the shift toward neo-liberalism, forging a closer relationship between education and training, a phenomenon reflected in the education policies of this country. Reflecting on the findings, Groener will critically analyse whether the shift towards neo-liberalism, has compromised the attainment of democracy. Advancing the analyses, she will share perspectives on the relationship between adult education, neo-liberalism and democracy.

While South Africa and Chile, among many others, proceed apace as newly-democratising societies, Mexican researcher, Juan Madrigal Goerne argues that Mexico's democracy has not benefitted that country's indigenous peoples and marginalised groups. Under the democratic government in Mexico, professionalism in adult education has secured certain rights for adult educators, accompanied by required codes of conduct; professional standards, registration procedures and legislated policies. This is very similar to the professional procedures in the medical and law fields. In fact the origins of the notion of professionalism can be traced to those fields and Goerne argues that the concept of professionalism has therefore been shaped by the very nature of the medical and law fields. Professionalism, through is legislative frameworks also facilitates the operation of executive, legislative and judicial powers of the democratic government. But does professionalism in the field of adult education facilitate democratisation which benefits indigenous peoples? Asserting that there is a dynamic relationship between teaching practices, the professionalisation of adult educators and the parameters which define the profession, Goerne investigated the relevance of professionalism in providing adult education, as a right, to indigenous peoples and women who live in the margins of the society. A common response of many governments to illiteracy has been to provide literacy and basic education which have little relevance to the lives of the adult learners. In this mould, professional adult educators are singularly directed at teaching adults to read and write. The interrelationships between the social, political and economic roles which characterise the lives of adult learners, seem to demand a different kind of adult educator. Can a narrowly-defined professional adult educator serve much of a purpose? The multifacetted nature of the learners' lives prompts a multipronged approach to adult education, which in turn challenges the professional parameters of the straightjacketed professional adult educator. Fascinated by these challenges, Goerne has investigated the lives of adult educators in Latin America and the Caribbean, probing their backgrounds, educational contexts, teaching practices, their notions of profession and their perceptions of themselves as professionals. Prompted by his findings, he has developed new perspectives on the relationship between professionalisation of adult educators, democratisation and the needs of marginalised adult learners.

Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status in Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Research

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What does it mean to be an insider or an outsider to a particular group under study? Can women study men? Whites study Blacks? Hispanics study North Americans? Early discussions in anthropology and sociology of insider/outsider status assumed that the researcher was *either* an insider or an outsider and that each status carried with it certain advantages and disadvantages. More recent discussions of insider/outsider status have unveiled the complexity inherent in either status and have acknowledged that the boundaries between the two positions are not all that clearly delineated. In the real world of data collection, there is a good bit of slippage and fluidity between these two statuses. Critical and feminist theory, postmodernism, multiculturalism, participatory, action and teacher research are now framing our understanding of insider/outsider issues. In particular, the reconstruing of insider/outsider status in terms of positionality, power, and knowledge construction allow us to explore the dynamics of researching within or across one's culture.

Drawing from actual research experiences, participants in this symposium explore insider/outsider issues in terms of positionality, power, and knowledge construction. Each research experience represents a different combination of insider/outsider status vis-à-vis the culture under study.

The Ties That Bind and the Shackles That Separate: Race, Gender, Class, and Color in a Research Process

Juanita Johnson-Bailey

Within qualitative research there is a significant body of feminist literature that addresses the intimacy that occurs when women interview women (Coterrill, 1992; Minister, 1991; Ribbens, 1989). Yet another body of writings assumes that when Blacks interview other Blacks an empathetic understanding will be accorded across racial lines (Collins, 1989). And the synergistic extrapolation of each of these conclusions would be that when Black women interview other Black women there exists an immediate perceptive bond of sisterhood ideal for research (Etter-Lewis & Foster, 1996; Nelson, 1996; Vaz, 1997). However, all three deductions discount the intersections of societal barriers omnipresent in a hierarchial world.

The data used herein was situated in a larger study that examined the educational narratives of reentry Black women (Johnson-Bailey, 1994) and found that issues of race, gender, class, and color dominated the participants' narratives. These same dynamics also surfaced as factors that affected the research process. The study used narrative, biographic, and linguistic analyses as methodological tools (Alexander, 1988; Denzin, 1989; Etter-Lewis, 1991).

It is my position that the issues of race and gender were uniting forces during the interview segment of the study. The participants and researcher held similar views on race and gender issues. There were silent understandings, culture-bound phrases that did not need interpretation, and non-verbalized answers conveyed with hand gestures and facial expressions. At times these shared understandings necessitated stepping back and asking for clarification because the dialogue was not to remain private.

Race – All of the women in the study possessed an understanding of societal hierarchal forces that shaped and determined their existences. They identified racism as the specific dominating factor, and they used an oppositional world view to frame their stories. Although race was never raised as an issue in the interview process, race and the knowledge of living in a race-conscious society was a factor that the participants and I shared. Two areas of unanimous commonality for the women and the researcher were accounts of painful classroom episodes and an early childhood awareness of racial difference. This understanding of race, albeit through different means, unified us and provided a common ground of understanding.

Gender – The participants painted pictures of existences configured by gender subordination. They perceived a common understanding of gender with the researcher and spoke freely of how the researcher as a woman understood concerns around issues of child care, household chores, and family relationships. During the interviews, the women in the study communicated gender-bound assumptive connections when they discussed children, husbands, household responsibilities, doubts, and fears.

Much of the feminist literature presents all women as the same, using a White middle-class norm, and all people of color as similar. When specific racial groups are presented, the suggestion is its membership is monolithic in nature. The dilemmas that transpired during this research relative to class and color proved such conclusions imprudent.

Class – Disproportionately more Black women and their children are below and slightly above the poverty level (Hacker, 1992; Williams, 1988). Class is inextricably tied to the situations of Black women and their families, and class became an inevitable component in the investigative process. Several respondents related growing up poor and when the researcher related similar circumstances, the accounts were not taken at face value as the race and gender stories had been. Instead the women responded with, "Well you wouldn't know it to look at you now," or "Really?"

Color – As an issue of concern amongst Blacks, colorism is examined and debated in Black communities in a less than open manner. This intra-racial discrimination among Blacks gives preferential treatment to those who have lighter skin shades, thin facial features, and straight hair texture. Colorism is a vestige from slavery much like class is a function of a hierarchial capitalistic society, and sexism, evidentiary of a patriarchal system. Colorism is a complicating consideration in the interview process. It can never be assumed to be present in the process simply because a participant is a person of color or because there are skin color differences between the researcher and the participants. Only three of the eight women in the study spoke of colorism. Each raised the issue in an effort to determine its importance in the researcher's life. In analysis it was noted that the remaining women in the study who did not speak of intra-racial discrimination unknowingly related instances of how they had benefited from colorism.

Summary – The interviewing phase of qualitative research is dynamic and ever changing. Although there are power issues that a researcher must remain cognizant of, such as balance of dialogue, research agendas, and societal hierarchies (Anderson & Jack, 1991; Coterrill, 1992), basically each interview is a special unit of work unto itself. This does not change when women interview women, when Blacks interview Blacks, or when Black women interview Black women.

Interviewing Within Your Own Culture Away From Home: Its Effect on Insider/Outsider Status

Ming-yeh Lee

It is generally assumed that a common culture between interviewers and interviewees can provide a fertile ground for gaining access, nurturing rapport, asking meaningful questions and reaching empathetic understanding. In particular, when these interviews are conducted "away from home," the mutually perceived homogeneity can create a sense of community, which further enhances trust and openness throughout the research process. In 1997, I conducted a study to explore the relationship between Chinese cultural values and the meaning-making process. This project provided me the challenges and opportunity of interviewing "my people" – other Taiwanese Chinese, who were in the U.S. during the course of my study. This valuable research experience shed light into my insider/outsider status and illuminated the multidimensional power relations that shaped the interviewing process. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to discuss how the positionality of the researcher and the power dynamics of the interview process are negotiated by the interviewer, the interviewees, and the culturally embedded interview context constructed by both.

My insider status was an advantage when I started my research – easy access to the community, knowing the nuances of the language and how to ask critical questions while remaining sensitive. The experience of "being away from home," in particular, strongly enhanced the cultural bond shared between the interviewees and me. As a result, I had an endless list of potential interviewees referred by acquaintances. Many told me that "It's my pleasure to help out another person from the homeland," or "This is the least I can do for a fellow Taiwanese Chinese." Another prevailing cultural value that often shaped the interview content is valuing education and degrees. Many, when asked to share a significant life event, chose to talk about education-related events they encountered in the past (Lee, 1999). One middle-aged woman told me how she had worked her way through junior college. She stressed, with a sense of pride in her tone, "[the degree of junior college] is equal to a doctoral degree in my generation." Four men told me that since childhood their families have found them the best schools and they were truly "the best." It happened so frequently that I pondered whether the educational event indeed meant a great deal to them because of the education-focused nature of Chinese culture. Or was it that when interviewed by a highly educated woman from the native culture, the emphasis on their own degrees and education would add more weight to their side of the power equation?

While my insider status somehow promised rapport and easy access, it also put me in the less powerful position, parallel to my social status as a young woman in the Taiwanese Chinese society. One of my "older" interviewees said many times at different points in the interview: "Only people of my age could understand this…young people like you have no idea…." Another participant insisted on sharing her current luxury life style at length because "this is important for you to tell the Americans about our life now." Did they try to show me their expertise based on seniority? Or perhaps, like many from third world countries, did they tend to ensure the presentation of a less-distorted picture of their reality? Or did they overemphasize the part that seemed irrelevant to their story just because of the strong impact of the cultural value of saving face? Situated in the culturally constructed interview setting, I came to realize that I had oversimplified the binary power relationship between the researcher and the researched, and overlooked the multi-dimensional power relationship shaped by the prevailing cultural values, gender, educational background and seniority (Hsiung, 1996).

During the interview process, I became aware that my insider/outsider status was simultaneously perceived by my interviewees. My years of overseas experience and my feminist identity contributed to compromise my insider status. Some of my female participants, especially when explaining the events of gender discrimination that happened in their past, often started their stories with sentences like, "You may not see this, but in the isolated village I used to live" or "You may not understand but many families in my community…" It seemed that due to my identity and years of overseas residence, I was excluded from that part of their experience and hence additional persuasion/instruction was needed to assure my understanding.

As a result of interviewing "my people," I came to realize the shifting nature of my positionality. The power relationship embedded in the interview context is culturally constructed and hence subject to the influences of gender, educational background, and seniority – the same elements that structure Taiwanese Chinese society. All in all, interviewing with other Taiwanese Chinese in the U.S. created an interesting and challenging research context, which, to a great degree, is permeated by the prevailing cultural values and reproduces power relations.

Conflicts of Insider /Outsider Status in Research with Korean Americans

Youngwha Kee

It is often recommended that research with ethnic groups be qualitative to get more meaningful data. My study was with Korean Americans in the United States trying to understand their reasons for *not* participating in adult education. Fifteen interviewees were selected from different age groups using the snowballing method. Five households (20's, 30's, 40's, 50's, 60's) and three divorced (40's and 50's) women were included for the interview (total 5 men and 10 women). Their educational backgrounds ranged from no school experience to graduate school. The interviewees earned $150 to $7,000 monthly. Most of them had been living in the U.S. since 1983.

Because the researcher was a Korean living in the United Status, she expected to access the sample easily. Korean American respondents proved to be friendly during the research. But the researcher faced some difficulties during the interview. Some of interviewees had negative feelings about the researcher. In a severe case, an interviewee felt some anger towards the researcher, because the person considered the researcher's status as a foreign student in the U. S. to be more prestigious than his status.

The researcher considered herself an insider in the research with Korean Americans. The researcher could easily access Korean Americans in United States because of the sameness of the researcher's ethnic and cultural background. And the researcher did understand their traditional culture. Also, the researcher's language background allowed them to feel free to speak their own language, Korean rather than English.

However, in conducting the interview, the researcher had some difficulties. The study population didn't cooperate with the researcher because of the social status of the researcher. The interviewees of the study had low economic status and low educational background. So, the interviewees felt the researcher was totally different from them. They had some anger and treated the researcher as an outsider to their community.

First, the researcher's status is different from Korean immigrants, especially those who do not participate in adult education programs. Secondly, they were afraid to speak in English. But since the researcher spoke in English, she could not understand their not wanting to speak in English. Thirdly, there were illegal immigrants among the interviewees. They were concerned about revealing their situation. It made them consider the researcher as different from them and thus treated her as an outsider of the study.

The status of the researcher, whether insider or not, relates to accessibility, establishing rapport, and asking meaningful questions to get data. In terms of accessibility, the researcher is an insider in talking to Koreans in American society. However, sub-cultural factors in the background of the researcher such as religion, educational background, and economic status within a same ethnic background were different from the interviewees. The researcher was considered an outsider of Korean immigrant society. Relating to religion, the researcher as a Christian had difficulties gaining access to non-Christians, especially Buddhists who represent Korean traditional religion. The researcher's higher educational background blocked communication with some of interviewees. They assumed the researcher, because of her status, could ignore them. Treated as an outsider in Korean immigrant society, the researcher was denied access to some potential interviewees.

The researcher didn't expect to be treated like an outsider of the research. To get access, the researcher visited several potential interviewees who managed Korean restaurants or Korean shops. The researcher became a regular customer to those restaurants and shops in the hopes of getting cooperation. When they considered the researcher as one of their clients rather than a researcher, then they permitted an interview; subsequently, some were overly helpful in the interview itself.

Based on this experience with a particular cultural group, the researcher recommends several things. First, study the backgrounds of the study sample and identify the similarities and differences. This will result in insights on how to access the sample and prevent resistance to the researcher by the study sample. Secondly, a researcher who might be considered an outsider by the study sample might try to find a mediator who has a background similar to the study sample and who also understands the researcher. It will decrease the sample's hostility to the study and increase the quality of data.

The Insider/Outsider Dilemma in Researching Other Women in Botswana

Gabo Ntseane

The purpose of the study was to understand how semi-literate women learned how to move from unemployment and poverty in the rural areas of Botswana to owning and managing successful small businesses in an urban setting. Reflecting on this study's fieldwork, this paper describes how I switched back and forth between the insider and outsider positions in an attempt to not only address the unanticipated insider problems, but even more importantly, to maximize the quality of the data collected.

As an insider (local and female), I had no problem with establishing rapport and being accepted by the women I interviewed. Comments from the women are testimony to this. "I am really happy to see our own children showing interest in what we do.... As my daughter you will understand our situation better," said to me by one of the elderly businesswomen. Statements like these helped me see how feminist research situates the researcher's subjective experience as part of the text. In many cases, I was given information that was not part of the study. For instance, another said, "switch off the tape because what I am going to say is just woman to woman talk." According to Reinharz (1992) feminist researchers note that "being an insider of the experience enabled them to understand what some women have to say in a way that no outsider could" (p. 261).

The advantages of being an insider – namely, easy entry and access to all sorts of information – was not without problems because of the interlocking nature of culture, gender and power. For example, the use of cultural understandings such as language, proverbs and non-verbal expressions to explain new (business) concepts in a shared culture by participants with the assumption that the researcher who is an insider will understand can pose interactive and interpretive problems. As Kondo (1990) observed, "these cultural meanings are themselves multiple and contradictory... they cannot be understood without reference to historical, political and economic discourses" (p. 300-301). Being the same gender as the respondents proved to be a limiting factor in that women felt that in addition to the research purpose, I also needed to know what will sustain my family. As one put it, "when you finish writing our book at the university, you should come back here to learn how to manage a business." Statements like this demonstrate conflicting interests. The fact that I was doing research was not important but what I will do with the information as a female insider was. No wonder my respondents preferred to use the opportunity to teach and advise me on survival skills in our context. Another lesson is the issue of power in research. During fieldwork the researcher's power is negotiated, not given. For example, my academic status was not a threat to the women with comparatively low levels of education. My being at the university was perceived as less rewarding than being a small businesswoman. If gender had nothing to do with this behavior other cultural factors such as age definitely came into play. For example, older businesswomen often offered suggestions on how I could best talk to the younger ones and what information was important for the book about their stories. Similarly, those younger than me expected me to spend more time giving them advice on unrelated topics.

In the Setwana culture, the credibility of the interview is based on how many people approved of it with convincing comments and not on the individual who brought the idea. As an insider I was expected to accept group interviews. As one sewing businesswoman stressed, "I can not answer questions for the other person when they are here. I am the owner of the business and general manager but other people are responsible for other things in this business." But group interviews could have had a direct impact on translation. With group interviews, does the researcher consider responses from other people as part of the interview?

My not being a businesswoman and being at the university made me an outsider in some respects. For example, to get the businesswomen to provide information that they thought was trivial to be given to a middle-aged woman in their culture, I had to step out of the insider's boots. It was necessary for me to emphasize that professors at the university did not know many things about our culture and would like me to demonstrate that I spoke to small businesswomen in Botswana. By choosing to ally myself with academia, I became what Chaudhry (1997) calls the "objective feminist" (p. 447).

In conclusion, my field experience on the insider/outsider dilemma demonstrates the influence of context upon research activities. As researchers we could not and should not attempt to remove ourselves from this dilemma. This is crucial for both self-reflection and informed research.

On Dealing with Insider/Outsider Issues in a Cross-Cultural Team

Sharan Merriam and Mazanah Muhamad

Reading about methodological issues and actually encountering them in the field are two different things. In doing fieldwork in Malaysia, we experienced the advantages and disadvantages of being both insider and outsider; we also realized how an insider/outsider stance was an interactive phenomenon with the culture being studied. In this presentation we reflect upon our experiences as a research team against contemporary understandings of insider/outsider status.

Positionality – The notion of positionality rests on two interrelated assumptions. First, it is assumed that a culture is not a monolithic entity to which one belongs or not. Second, one's positions vis-à-vis the culture can change. With regard to the first assumption, Aguilar (1981) asks what it is that an insider is insider of? "All cultures (including subcultures)," he notes, "are characterized by internal variation" (p. 25). As the collective nature of Malaysian culture characterized nearly all of our interviewing sessions, Sharan's "positionality' as an uncomfortable outsider shifted. She began to expect others to be present and activities to be going on simultaneously with the interview. Malaysians find the communal atmosphere natural, normal, and comforting.

Shifting positionality characterized Mazanah's experience more so than Sharan's. Being Malaysian afforded Mazanah a general insider status, but unless one actually lives in a particular village or town, one is somewhat of an outsider to the community. This was even true when we went to the state where she was born and raised. Because she has left her village and moved to the capital, she is in a peripheral position to the "true" insiders who remained. Her position as an insider was most clear when interviewing Malay Moslem women. However, her education and social class rendered her more or less of an insider, depending on the interviewee. By virtue of her Western education and university affiliation, Mazanah was something of an "outsider-within," a position Collins (1990) has identified with regard to Afro-American academic women who make creative use of the marginality as intellectuals to study their culture. Gender, especially as it plays out in a highly patriarchal, Islamic culture was another factor that affected Mazanah's positionality. And though she had the Malay culture in common with other Malaysians, and understood much of the customs and religions of Chinese and Indian Malays, for these groups, her insider status was decentralized even more.

Power – Power was a factor in our negotiation of many aspects of the research process. As a team, Sharan's methodological knowledge was balanced with Mazanah's cultural knowledge. And as a team we could maximize the advantages of our insider/outsider roles. Some agreed to be interviewed so they could have a close encounter with a "white lady." In a status-conscious society like Malaysia, we had to negotiate access through gatekeepers such as village elders, work supervisors, and revered family members. The power of our position as "professors" at the university facilitated connecting with gatekeepers in the first place. On the other hand, those we interviewed also subtly negotiated our power as researchers.

The power inherent in Sharan's outsider status became an asset with regard to eliciting fuller explanations than would have been given to Mazanah, the insider, who was assumed to already "know." Mazanah's efforts to get respondents to elaborate their answers were met with comments such as "Why do you ask this? You should know!" or "You're one of us. You know." Mazanah pointed out that of course *she* knew, but Sharan didn't. As a result, Sharan took a more active role in asking questions in English, whether or not respondents knew any English, so that it was clear that she, rather than Mazanah, was wanting to know.

Knowledge Construction – Constructivist and postmodern notions of truth and reality make for a much more complex understanding of the "truths" insiders and outsiders uncover. Since we were studying developmental tasks and aging, a topic somewhat foreign in this culture, we were continually challenged by how to ask questions to elicit the "knowledge" of our respondents. Further, multiple levels of translation (Malay, English, Tamil and Chinese) in some situations complicated the entire process. With regard to the construction of knowledge, what an insider understands will be different from, but as valid as what an outsider understands. By extension then, it can be argued that a richer, fuller picture of a phenomenon can be gained by incorporating both insider and outsider perspectives.

In summary, our interaction as an insider/outsider team created what Bartunek and Lewis (1996, p. 61) call "a kind of marginal lens through which to examine subject matter. Crossing experientially and cognitively different standpoints creates this lens. It requires maintaining tension and distinctness among the standpoints." They go on to point out that "in insider/outsider pairings, the outsider's assumptions, language, and cognitive frames are made explicit in the insider's questions and vice versa. The parties, in a colloquial sense, keep each other honest" (p. 62).

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The Politics of Transformative Feminist Adult Education: Multi-centred Creation of New Meanings and New Realities

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Miriam Zukas, University of Leeds, UK
Kamla Bhasin, FAO South Asia Program, India
Jean Graveline, Brandon University, Canada
Mechthild Hart, DePaul University, USA
Vanessa Sheared, San Francisco State University, USA
Jane Thompson, Ruskin College, UK
and
Sally Westwood, University of Leicester, UK

Introduction

> We have to believe we can help in the creation of a new culture which is biophilic, a civilization which is not dying to be victorious but which is keen to live. (Bhasin 1994, p. 12)

The call for papers for this conference invited us to propose symposia which present "diverse or conflicting perspectives on a compelling topic or issue that *is or should be* of concern to adult education researchers" (emphasis in the original). The presumption here is that the best way to develop our knowledge and understanding is through the cut and thrust of debate across sharp disagreement and incompatible positions. This symposium proceeds from the different presumption that – though such debate may be useful in revealing weaknesses in espoused positions – advances in knowledge are best achieved through challenging and sympathetic dialogue among those with compatible if not fully shared approaches/perspectives /values/analyses who bring diverse locations, experience, foci, priorities, points of departure to the discussion.

The presenters in this symposium are drawing on practice/ experience/ research with diverse groups of women and others in very varied settings:

> Women's groups and feminists worldwide whose global transformative agenda is in danger of being denuded of politics as the human capital view of the relation between education and development prevails and welfare to work (in the economic North) and microenterprises (in the South) incorporate poor women into the global economy as cheap labour (Sallie Westwood)[1]

> Aboriginal women whose "experiences and voices are contextualized by an immediate and daily interface with 'colonial mentality'.... as they move wisely towards visioning for the future...(drawing on) a combination of Aboriginal and feminist anti-racist philosophies and pedagogies in Eurocentric patriarchal contexts" (Fyre Jean Graveline).

> The many people, especially the poor indigenous people, marginal people, women, and Mother Earth [for whom] the very mention of the word development is ominous, deathly. Development for them has meant and continues to mean colonization, taking away of their lands, forests, minerals; it means destruction of their culture, religion, their very lifestyles,...the very large number of people [for whom] development has meant extinction (Kamla Bhasin).

> The men and children as well as women who are living in poverty (in the U.S.) and are affected by 'welfare reform' whose language (defining them as 'lazy,' 'shiftless,' 'lacking morals,' 'cheaters,' 'irresponsible parents,' 'deadbeat fathers,') is one powerful mechanism through which they are deprived of voice in defining who they are and framing the issues based on their own lived experience (Vanessa Sheared).

> Working class women in Northern Ireland whose lives have been inextricably caught up in 'the troubles' over the last thirty years in ways that have left none of them untouched by the politics of poverty, social exclusion, sectarian conflict and all kinds of male violence (domestic, state, and paramilitary) (Jane Thompson).

> Poor solo mothers in racially segregated Chicago's inner city, or anywhere, living in public housing ghettos which have become jobless ghettos as well, dependent on public aid;...mother-activists for whom learning and teaching from life-affirming perspectives is an integral part of the their everyday experience, values and political strategies (Mechthild Hart).

Though the concerns of the presenters overlap to a remarkable degree, their priorities and the populations and challenges they focus on vary significantly. We expect that this heterogeneity will stretch/ inspire all those involved (as presenters and/ or audience) as they encounter others who are intensively involved in places and on issues that have not been priorities in their own work. The symposium thus aims, not only to present established transformative feminist, anti-racist, anti-colonial, indigenous perspectives but to contribute to their development. It seeks to model the process of multi-centred creation of new knowledge that the work of the presenters supports, contributes to and calls for.

In this period of neo-liberal triumphalism, the exigencies of global competition and the global market are used everywhere to enforce policies that put priority on unfettered transnational profit-making at the expense of people and the planet. All over the world, governments are cutting back social services, privatizing public goods, offering tax concessions to business, subsidizing highly capital intensive production by large corporations, weakening environmental and labour laws, and deregulating industry while wages fall, workforces are 'downsized' and de-skilled, people are robbed of their subsistence, and the gap between those who have and those who have not widens.

In this context "dominant and emerging discourses in adult learning and research are increasingly being constructed by the academy in service to government and business interests" (Thompson). Mainstream education becomes increasingly a business of human capital formation (Cunningham, 1996). Women and other 'others' are seen mainly as disempowered, underdeveloped, uneducated, and illiterate. That is, as "the backward element in the modernization of the economy and the state" (Westwood). Their cultures, traditions, knowledge, work and values are ignored/ despised as they are 'educated' for integration into development for participation in the world market. The spectre of debt and deficit is used to justify and impose these policies called Stabilization or Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the South and Restructuring in the North and to reinforce the already hegemonic preeminence of capital.

The pressures on critical and transformative Adult Education in this period are enormous. At the same time, however, the destructive human and ecological consequences of global economic growth are becoming all too evident. The dark side of 'modernization' and 'development' is looming clearly into view even in the North and among the populations who have been longest and most thoroughly insulated from their harmful impact. Received notions of 'progress' and the presumed superiority of 'modern' Western science and knowledge are shaken:

> We cannot walk into the 21st century without asking and answering questions like – do we need more development and progress of the kind we have had or less of it? Who should lead the way now – the 'developed' people and nations, or the 'underdeveloped' people and nations? In our race for survival who is ahead? Who needs to be educated, lectured, the 'rich' or the 'poor?' (Bhasin, 1994, p. 7)

The firm divisions in the dominant Western worldview between humanity and nature (or more accurately 'man' and nature) and between individual ('man') and community, construct 'individual rational man' as quintessential human being and knower. He claims his neutral, linear, masterful/mastering scientific reason, separate from the emotional, the spiritual, and the physical/bodily as the sole source of universal knowledge. Women are relegated to these devalued realms. All non-Western, non-modern cultures, knowledges, and social arrangements not (yet) blessed by these separations are perceived as backward. So women, indigenous peoples, and all manner of marginal groups become deficient 'others' to a white male Western 'centre' which claims universal validity for its own knowledge and values in contrast to the particularity of all 'others.'

Adult Education in this period which aspires to do more than fulfill increasing government and corporate training needs in support of the destructive neo-liberal economic agenda is challenged to:

1) move beyond these false (patriarchal, colonial, ethnocentric, racist and anthropocentric) claims of universalism without succumbing to debilitating particularism or relativism;

2) "offer alternative accounts of development" (Westwood);

3) pose/ foster alternatives to dominant profit-centred logics.

To all these ends, adult educators must find ways to support and embrace many equal and varied centres of knowledge creation while aspiring to identify, build, and act upon common values, general concerns and common understandings across huge divides. For the multiple voices of those who have been defined as 'other' and deficient that are emerging today in social movement and in academe are crucial sources of new understandings and new possibilities (Miles, 1996):

> The old categories, the old concepts have become insufficient; they are almost unable to grasp the violence of the times. While we need to extend the horizons and to deepen the existing human rights discourse, we need too, a new generation of human rights. We need to urge the passing of a paradigm that has understood human rights as the rights of the powerful: we need to listen to the voices of those who do not share that power. To see these violations through the eyes of the victims – victims of development, of progress, of technical fixes – through the eyes of those who have been denied privileges and power in the system....Through the eyes of the South in the South; of the South in the North; through the eyes of women.
>
> Because they will tell us a very different story.... (Corinne Kumar cited as the frontispiece in Christiansen-Ruffman, 1998)

The transformative feminist adult education agendas reflected in the presentations in this symposium are multi-faceted, involving among other things, working within and across specific communities to recognize and build critical analyses, to resist dominant definitions, affirm identities, and articulate alternative values and possibilities. In all these presentations the articulation of specific group identities and interests and the affirmation of particular communities, cultures and knowledges is seen to contribute to general understanding. Community/group empowerment and identity provides a basis for broader alliances and struggle. Connections are thus made through affirming differences rather than denying them. As varied marginal groups of women and others find the space and power to name their own particular worlds and needs, we can see that their histories, lives and work offer resources for articulating alternative values and priorities grounded in their specific vulnerabilities to power and nourished by their specific cultural traditions and specific responsibilities for sustaining human and non-human, individual and community life:

> Traditional indigenous cultures and epistemologies carry life-centred world views of immanence, balance and connectedness (Graveline).
>
> Poor mothers...have salvaged a life-affirming perspective. Women/mothers have a visceral sense of what endangers their children and their community, and the corresponding political actions against hunger or unhealthy, unsafe living spaces draw on the body as a source of knowledge. Mother-activists engage in a politics of the flesh, working on and pointing to the need for profound change (Hart).
>
> The survival of billions of peasant families is intertwined with the survival of nature. No wonder women have been in the forefront of the environment movements the world over. Women are the last bastions of sanity. They can offer solutions because they are 'backward,' they are not 'integrated' not 'educated' because they have not 'progressed' too much on the wrong paths. So today we need to talk to women not because they need our help, but because we need women's help to save the world (Bhasin).

The voices of these women and indigenous and Black and Third world communities are crucial. Transformative adult education must honour, support and learn from these groups to resist "the incorporation of women (and others) into the neo-liberal agenda as clients rather than citizens" (Westwood) and to propose alternative agendas. There is an "urgent need to articulate alternative meanings and realities and to recognize alternative voices" (Thompson).

All the presenters agree that in this educational work:

> Both critical analysis and cultural renaissance are necessary strategies in the struggle to advance traditional [and women's and marginal] worldviews in the contemporary age of areocentric [capitalist, male] domination (Grapevine, bracketed words added).

And that:

> Theory cannot be separated from practice – discourses constructed in the academy without any engagement with the struggles of ordinary women [and others] lack credibility. Education can only contribute to empowerment and social change if it recognizes the significance of collective as distinct from individual learning (Thompson).

The symposium will provide an opportunity for the presenters in various ways to share their own experience and theories and to explore (among other things):

- what education looks like that doesn't serve 'development' and the market;
- the power of the forces of containment that undermine transformative education and politics. The ways women's struggle for education rights can come to serve 'development' and the feminist agenda of women's groups worldwide be robbed of its politics to serve policies of incorporation for women (Westwood);
- the ways a womanist framework can help us listen to those in poverty and support them in reframing issues based on their lived experiences (Sheared);
- how transformational popular learning explodes the frequently convenient myths of women's apathy, personal deficiency and pathology and the implicit authority of teachers/researchers (Thompson);
- how to acknowledge and support the subversive and visionary learning and teaching that goes on in the everyday life of community and "learn from and support [educational and] political work that places the well-being of a future generation above everything else" (Hart);
- how voice, experience, ceremony, humour, visioning and relational work are used in the classroom to raise consciousness, revitalize Aboriginal identity, build community and oppose oppressive structures (Grapevine);
- how progressive educators can aspire to more than non-violence through the positive value of love and can promote light rather than only fighting darkness (Bhasin).

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[1] The bracketed last name of a presenter indicates either a paraphrase or direct quotation from the Abstract of their presentation for this Symposium.

Global Perspectives on Labour Education into the New Millennium

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Abstract: *This is a comparative exploration of labour education across five continents by international leaders in the field. Beginning from unique national contexts, questions of distance education, pedagogy, labour-university linkages, and leadership training are mixed with engaged discussion of the role of national and international structures, and alternative models of civil society and the role of labour in it. Across the globe, we see that challenge remains to educate from top to bottom while nurturing the ideals of social justice.*

New Frontiers in U.S. University-based Labor Education: The Harvard Trade Union Program Labor Leadership Forum

Since the labor upsurge of the 1930s, organized labor in the United States has sought to build a network of labor and trade union programs in land grant (public) universities. Demanding a share of post secondary public educational resources, unions lobbied state legislatures demanding that publicly funded universities develop labor education programs in collaboration with organized labor. Labor was also successful in directly approaching universities and gaining a foothold in some premier private institutions such as Harvard University with the launching of the Harvard Trade Union Program in 1942. While collectively these university programs have trained tens of thousands of labor activists through credit and non-credit courses, with the decline in power of the labor movement, trade union and labor programs have become increasingly marginalized, isolated or in some cases entirely eliminated.

Labor differs in a number of ways from many traditional university client groups. The labor movement is organized as a group with its own leadership, structures, policies and objectives. It designs and delivers its own programs and it often regards post-secondary institutions with some hostility. Universities have similarly questioned the appropriateness of labor education in a university setting. It is a sad political reality that while business programs explicitly aimed at touting the virtues of "privatization" or "entrepreneurism" are viewed as exciting public policy programming, labor programs are constantly forced to take the defensive against charges of "advocacy."

The Harvard Trade Union Program (HTUP) has evolved with the changing environment of labor education in the United States. The HTUP is the oldest senior union leadership program in the U.S. From the outset, the HTUP was charged with the mission to provide labor leaders with the same advanced, non-credit, executive education that Harvard developed for government and business leaders.

For most of its history, the central educational activity of the HTUP has been a 10-week residential program, operating annually during the spring semester. HTUP fellows are mid-career union leaders, who are sponsored by their union to attend the program. There is some engagement with students in other Harvard programs, but the majority of the HTUP's curriculum consists of dedicated classes specially designed for the union leaders. For both labor and the university, the connection with other Harvard programs remains an important aspect of the HTUP as many generations of Harvard students, including some of the current university faculty, were first exposed to labor thinking and union leaders through forums and joint classes with the HTUP fellows. The HTUP has sought to design an educational program that fosters mutual learning.

While the residential fellows program remains the core activity of the HTUP, in recent years, the program with financial support from the Ford Foundation has developed an exciting model for creating innovative and new public policy dialogue among labor leaders, community activists and academics. The Labor Leadership Forum (LLF) sponsors short, intensive, mutual learning symposium, where participants explore the economic underpinning and possible policy options of major social issues and problems. For both organized labor and the academy, the Forum provides a unique mutual learning environment by bringing the experience and insight of workplace leaders to researchers and research and analytical findings to the attention of activists and leaders. From a labor education perspective, it has permitted the HTUP to attract participation from very senior labor leaders, too senior and too busy to participate in longer term programs.

Generally, these are issues which labor believes that its perspective could be enhanced by dialogue with senior researchers and academics. In the HTUP, activists and leaders jointly identify topics for Forums in advance, and design sessions to facilitate mutual learning and networking. Participants jointly explore ideas about how society might respond to diverse social and economic problems, such as rising inequality, injustice, crime, inadequate access to society's benefits to the disadvantaged, global financial crisis.

The underlying rationale for the LLF was our belief that there is an urgent need to bring together representatives of labor, activists, academics and opinion leaders in business and the community. For most of this century, organized labor has played a vital role in developing progressive policies in the United States. Unions have strengthened democratic processes and provided a voice for individuals to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. Today, despite 40 or so years of declining union density in the U.S., organized labor remains the most important, mass-based, democratic, social organization in the country, with over 15 million members, and with union locals in every city and state.

The Forums seek to address the need for innovative labor thinking and for emerging leaders to develop the background knowledge and confidence to engage fully in these public policy debates on both domestic and international issues. It is a need widely felt within the union movement, as demonstrated by their interest and sponsorship of the LLF. From a labor education perspective, it is a way of moving labor education from the margins to the center of the public policy concerns and activities of the university.

South African Perspectives: Questions from the "Periphery"

For many South African labour educators, the closing decades of this century feel rather schizophrenic. In our collective memory lie the not-too-distant experiences of the "years of struggle" alongside current experiences of our post-apartheid reality. Our version of "social movement unionism" in the 1980s produced a vision of a radically transformed future, some of which filtered through into the economic and social policies adopted by the ANC in its original electoral platform. Since 1994, the trade unions have participated in tripartite forums to substantially expand workers' rights, and have played a key role in developing the broader education policies and workplace training strategies of the new government.

Our labour movement has experienced in a condensed and truncated way many of the processes that took place over decades in other countries. And like elsewhere, the union movement's new role of "social partner" of the state and capital has had its isolating and demobilising effects, thus weakening its ability to protect workers from the growing effects of globalisation. The loss of layers of leadership to government and the private sector have diminished its strategic and organisational capacity and led to a growing gap between union leadership and rank-and-file membership. As the ANC government has increasingly embraced the neo-liberal economic policies that are globally dominant, workers have been buffeted by retrenchments and casualisation of jobs, leading to a significant drop in union membership in some sectors and growing stratification amongst workers. The labour movement has become more inward looking, and less inclined to forge links with other social groupings.

Some of these broader developments have been mirrored by trends within labour education. Put rather simplistically, union education has moved away from a concern to develop a coherent, alternative political vision to a more narrow emphasis on organisational skills training and "servicing issues," and on providing the economic and legal expertise to engage with government and business. As the focus has shifted from shop-steward training to "capacity-building" of leadership and full-time staff, this has tended to privilege those with higher levels of formal education and marginalise those without (often women workers, older workers, and those living in rural areas). This has been accompanied by moves towards the institutionalisation of labour education.

We are painfully aware in South Africa that the radical, social-movement unionism of our recent past cannot be simply "re-created." Furthermore, educators – however radical – do not "create" social movements; their role is to serve such movements as they develop in their own time and with their own momentum. What role can we play, then, if we are to strengthen the kind of labour education which will further workers' interests in the new millennium?

In order to elaborate on this question, I will draw on my experiences of co-ordinating and teaching an "Advanced Course for Trade Union Educators," offered since 1997 by the national trade union development and education institute, Ditsela, and delivered through my university department. The majority of the 30 students who attended are employed as full-time educators by their unions, and are generally young with little experience of the unionism of the 1980s, or knowledge of union history.

The first issue we have grappled with is that while university-based labour education and institutionalised forms of trade union education can play an important role in helping to build capacity to engage effectively with employers and government, there is a danger that such programmes can isolate participants from the "heartbeat" of the union's life, and blunt their appreciation of the intellectual potential of everyday organisational activity. We are struggling to find effective ways to link our course work with the many informal sites of experiential learning.

A second issue is that ironically, our present era of instant global communication has coincided with a substantial weakening of communication capacity within our labour movement. We are conscious that perhaps the most important learning on the educators' course takes place when participants network and share experiences. But we have been singularly unsuccessful in sustaining this network outside of the course. How can we work to harness the possibilities that electronic technology presents for the sharing of knowledge in a context such as ours where information literacy and skills as well as the availability of such technology are highly unevenly distributed? Can our labour movement successfully compete with the globally dominant, giant media industry?

A third issue is that trade union educators such as our course participants are generally uninvolved in workplace training issues. Those labour activists who do engage with workplace training issues quickly find themselves entangled in a profit-oriented industry associated with the commodification of knowledge and increasing competitiveness. At the same time, elements of "credentialism" and aspirations of upward mobility and "career-pathing" are creeping into the world-view of trade union educators. In an era of "historical amnesia" and "new realism," it is extremely difficult to keep alive traditions based on solidarity and collectivism. We need to empower labour educators to take alternative understandings of "skills training" that emphasize its shared, social purpose rather than its role as a source of international competitiveness.

What this suggests is that one useful way of conceptualising the role of the labour educator is that of building bridges – or better, still, networks – for facilitating communication across time, between generations, and across geographic, institutional and intellectual space.

Australian Unions: Part of the System or Part of Civil Society?

From 1983 to 1996 the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was in government in Australia at the federal level. During that time the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the ALP were parties to an "Accord." This formal agreement covered not just wage fixation but employment, methods of combatting inflation, industry development, health care, superannuation, and other matters coming under the rubric of the "social wage." The Accord went through a number of renegotiations and moments of tension but lasted the full thirteen years.

The Accord meant that unions were represented on a raft of advisory bodies along with government and employers. Gains resulted. Lower paid workers without industrial muscle benefited from nationally negotiated wage increases. A national health care system was reintroduced. And many more workers were drawn into employer funded superannuation schemes.

It could be said that during the period of the Accord the unions were in the ascendancy. However, other features of those thirteen years make for a different story. Union membership dropped significantly, from over fifty percent of the workforce to just above thirty percent. Decisions were taken at peak level, and the democratic processes at the workplace were weakened. The government implemented economic rationalist policies, such as floating the Australian dollar and lowering or removing import tariffs, and workers in many industries lost their jobs. Some industries closed.

Some unionists felt their leaders had lost sight of their major purpose of protecting and improving wages and conditions. In effect, they objected to their peak body being part of the system. Jurgen Habermas describes "the system" as being the processes of exchange that make up the economy, and the political and administrative controls that make up the state. It is the combination of money and power that dictates much of our lives.

The conservative Coalition Government, which was elected in 1996, has been no friend to unions. The spirit of tripartism has been abandoned. Legislative "reforms" have been introduced to reduce the power of the unions.

Deprived of their direct influence on government, trade unions have had to reconsider their position. Are they part of the system, or must they now operate as part of civil society? "Civil society" is a concept offered as a counterbalance to the system. Eva Cox (1995) describes it in terms of community groups with democratic, egalitarian and voluntary structures, such as sporting clubs, craft groups, local environment associations, some ethnic and religious groups, playgroups and neighbourhood centres.

These changes in industrial relations present union educators with a challenge: to help union officials and members distinguish between the roles they can play in the system, and in civil society. If the decision is to engage more completely in civil society, then union education programs will need to refocus on local democratic practices, on workplace representation, and strategies for union renewal. This shift is already taking place, in some union educational programs and in the ACTU project "Organizing Works," which is aimed at educating a cadre of young union activists.

But as well as distinguishing between the system and civil society, union educators will need to help union officials and members examine different concepts of civil society. Cox suggests that civil society is constructed on "social capital," that is, the accumulation of trust though cooperation at a local level. This concept, however, is a little *too* civil; and we may need to search for "harder" forms which envisage the development of trust amongst like-minded people, but also envisage the existence of people and organisations who cannot be trusted.

Antonio Gramsci (1971) described one of these harder forms of civil society as being made up of organisations such as schools and universities, enterprises, and the church which shored up the state and reinforced its hegemonic control. Activists needed to see these organisations as sites for struggle, to gain entry to them and to engage in what Gramsci called "a war of position" to alter their policies and practices. With this concept of civil society in mind, union educators will need to provide programs dealing with infiltration, persuasion, provoking and managing change, subversion even.

Another of these harder forms of civil society is to be found in social movements (Newman, 1999). A number of recent social movements have brought about huge social change: examples are the women's movement, the environmental movement, the indigenous people's movement, and the vast collection of people combatting the spread of HIV/AIDS virus and caring for sufferers. Union educators can help officials and members learn from other movements and form alliances with movements with similar ideals.

Union educators can draw on all three ideas of civil society in the design and implementation of programs. The intention will be to develop a form of unionism which can generate social capital at a local community level, can engage in collective action within the structure of the state, and can forge alliances with other movements committed to the ideals of social justice. The intention will be to create a civil society which provides effective alternative forms of representation, and an alternative site in which we can act and give meaning to our lives.

Labour Education in Europe

European trade unions have faced the heaviest assault on their activities since the ravaging unemployment of the 1930s decimated organisation and membership. The reasons for this are well documented and do not need reviewing again here. Rather, I want to explore how labour education has fared during the period of decline, identify the new challenges facing the unions and explore how education providers need to respond.

It is a commonplace of company decline that the first budget to be cut is that devoted to training. It is regarded as a peripheral activity and an investment with limited short-term returns. Reducing revenues from declining membership and cuts in State support have led trade unions to act like other businesses and look to their training budgets. The difference for the unions is that training is a core, not a peripheral, activity and the failure to support it contributes directly to the downward spiral of decline.

Current research by the European Trade Union College drawing on national reports from 15 countries identifies a common litany of problems. Revenue decline has meant the closure of training centres or their sell off to compete in the market place and the reduction in the provision of courses and the development and distribution of new teaching materials. Hostile employers were reluctant to provide time off for training or seeking to undermine its independence through joint provision or via the restricted framework of works councils. Traditional course provision around structured programmes that had been common in Scandinavia and countries such as Italy and France had been challenged as unresponsive to new problems. The countries in Southern Europe, such as Greece, Portugal and Spain, which had emerged from dictatorships in the 1970s had failed to establish widespread education programmes after initial surges of activity. All of this led to redundancy and demoralisation for labour educators and declining course participation.

As the trade unions and labour education emerges from this period of decline there are clearly new challenges to the process of renewal. However, there are indications that give some cause for optimism. Firstly, we may not like the new world of work and new patterns of employment may not be conducive to mass membership but at least the reality is being confronted. Secondly, the emergence of a social dimension within the European Union is now established and further underpinned by the election of social democratic governments in Europe. This process is inevitably uneven, as the recent elections in Austria demonstrate, and there remain limited expectations of radical change. Thirdly, European trade unions are moving closer together and the ideological divides between "communist" "Catholic," and "socialist" confederations are far less significant. Finally, and perhaps most significantly for labour educators, there is the new responsibility assumed by trade unions for their own plight. More recently, we have seen policies developing and taking their inspiration from the USA and Australia, which re-focus on organising and self-activity. These approaches are not without their own problems and contradictions but it is impossible to develop them successfully without a major educational underpinning.

It would be foolish to argue that the problems for European trade unions are simply fading away and labour educators cannot ignore the need to deal with them in programme delivery. I want to conclude this paper by focusing on three areas of content and two issues of training delivery.

The first area of content I have already touched on, that of what the British TUC refers to as "Winning the Organised Workplace." There are clear instrumental reasons for training activists to recruit new members but the joiners are quickly lost if organisation and self activity is not at the heart of the strategy and this can't be achieved without an educational "life support system." The second area for development is in response to what have been described as "new" management strategies. No longer new but still pervasive across Europe, trade union responses are now beginning to engage in the debate, identify the contradictions that are characteristic of human resource management and force themselves into the gap. Thirdly, there are the opportunities inherent in the development of European-wide industrial relations systems and global corporate strategies. Conference exhortations for international solidarity now ring true for shop floor workers but there are twin dangers that the responses are either to revert into a parochial nationalism or be overwhelmed and disempowered.

In terms of content delivery I will touch on just two issues. Firstly, the electronic delivery of programmes. Every European trade union confederation is exploring distance delivery of its programmes and placing materials on its Internet sites. What they are often failing to do is to ensure that this leads to interaction not isolation. Initiatives in Sweden are integrating electronic delivery with face to face programmes but there is much to learn from other trade union movements about how to use electronic delivery effectively. Secondly, many of the European trade union confederations are establishing or re-establishing links with universities. However, opportunities are growing for fruitful relationships between committed academics and trade unions with limited resources to undertake research or provide some types of programmes.

There are now opportunities to place labour education at the heart of trade union activity in ways that have not existed in Europe for many years.

Canadian Challenges

Like most other industrialized countries, Canada's governments are actively involved in creating conditions for increased privatization, deregulated services, and a more compliant workforce welcoming to foreign investment. Canada's labour movement is fragmented by province and sector, uneven in strength, and, although stronger than the U.S., still declining from 37% to 32% over the last 10 years. In Ontario alone, a province of 10 million people, it's necessary to organize 30,000 new members a year just to maintain current union representation, and we are well short of this level. The leadership, at the middle as well as top levels, is still overwhelmingly white, male, and over 45, even though the membership is increasingly diverse, young, and female.

Key Challenges

1) **We're divided**, by union, province, age, race, gender, class. These social realities are exploited by employers, and internalized by leaders and members alike. In our own union, a class-based pecking order plays out among health care aides, registered practical nurses and registered nurses, to say nothing of housekeeping, laundry and kitchen staff. Solidarity needs to be negotiated, rather than assumed. And now that we have a "sovereignty–association" deal between Quebec and English-speaking Canada in terms of union structures, we badly need to build some bridges.

2) **We're under pressure**. The increasing concentration of media in English-speaking Canada, under the ownership of union-busting magnate Conrad Black, subjects all of us to a barrage of negative messages about workers and their organizations. Yet we're holding our own. A Vector poll, conducted by a coalition of unions in November 1999, found that 59% of union members polled, strongly agreed with the statement that "unions are essential to protect workers' interests, because employers are getting more powerful, and workers have less security due to imports, contracting out, and the impacts of the global economy." Union education needs to dive into this "crack in consent" (a favourite, evocative phrase of educator dian marino).

3) **We're cautious about change**. It's odd, how union activists simultaneously propose radical employer change, and doggedly resist transforming our own organizations. We still hire and fire arbitrarily; under-train and burn out our staff; and reward for servicing while preaching about external organizing and internal mobilizing.

Challenging the Boss in Us

Consider two situations we face routinely in our courses:

Vignette 1: She's the chief steward in a small hospital and she's losing heart. But she thinks there are some kindred spirits in the course, and they'd understand if she just lets loose a bit. This is a safe place to vent some frustrations about bad apples who bad-talk the union but who quietly come for help because they're always in trouble with the boss; of the lack of appreciation for the skill with which she guided the last grievance; of the trouble from her spouse about the phone always ringing during supper; of the unpaid overtime that never seems to end.

Vignette 2*:* He's got a good relationship with the supervisor. They can sort out most problems. In fact, he enjoys talking to the supervisor more than he does to most of the members who don't have much to say about anything interesting. Many of the members say he's "in bed with the boss," but at this point he doesn't care much. He's not sure what this course can teach him, and has been warned by his supervisor that it's likely to be brainwashing.

Finding New Options

While skills in talking back to management, and competence in handling the collective agreement are still important, these capacities alone will not move these worker representatives forward. Here are some options, and we've tried all three at some point:

Option 1*: Ignore the feelings, and march through the manual.* This is the preferred route for new union educators who are afraid that if they leave the book, they'll get hammered from some authority figure in the union. It leads to increasingly lengthy coffee breaks, and to participants developing vague but urgent errands that take them out of the class early.

Option 2*: Tell them what they ought to think.* For years, union educators have been telling people what they ought to think and feel. It's embedded in our manuals, including the Canadian Labour Congress steward training course that we co-authored 15 years ago. But the members in our courses are the most active and critical from their workplaces – the kind that step forward to be a steward, even though they're in despair. James Scott, in his book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, quotes: "When the Lord passes by, the peasant bows deeply and silently lets out a long fart." We're trying to develop resisters, not individual peasants capable of a silent fart.

Option 3*: Take a risk and dance with their doubt.* As union educators, we can help workplace leaders distinguish between a reasonable question from a member (e.g., Where do my dues go?) and malicious sabotage. We can use the situations activists grouse about to do some problem-solving; we can risk not knowing the answers; we can be more playful with the familiar scenarios that make people tight and anxious.

Democracy within Our Courses

Dancing is less familiar to most union activists than arguing. But we're trying to dance, tentatively, awkwardly, with as much humble, good humour as we can muster. We're laughing at the boss in us, and helping activists to do the same. This is one way to help people to re-connect with the impulse for justice and dignity that built unions in the past and can renew them in the future. Not only is this approach more fun. It's more feasible politically. How long do you think you can survive in union education when the participants in your courses are bored or patronized? We can either model deep democracy within our courses, or deal with the fact that participants will vote with their feet. Let's invite them to dance.

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